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The Shape of Things

THE CONFUSED REPORTS OUT OF PARIS AS WE go to press make it difficult to assess the chances of full European cooperation on the Marshall plan. From the outset it has been evident that regardless of Russia's attitude the American government is determined to give large-scale assistance in the rebuilding of Western Europe. This explains the grudging American bid to Russia to participate and also the flagrant snubbing of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, which meets this week in Geneva. It explains too the skeptical reception the plan received by the Moscow press, which viewed it, with some justification, as a wider statement of the Truman Doctrine. That Molotov is present in Paris at all is due to the French-British dread of a permanent East-West split and to the fact that both countries have already begun to build their economic bridges eastward. Moreover, the evident intention of a number of Russia's "satellites"—particularly Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—to keep their western avenues of trade open, may have made Russia hesitate to act on its first impulse and stay away. For Russia, as well as the eastern nations, will recover much more rapidly if it shares in an all-Europe effort than if it holds firmly to eastern regionalism. As for Western Europe, while it faces an immediate dearth of American dollars with which to buy American-made steel, machinery, textiles, and foodstuffs—a fact acutely disturbing to American exporters—it is also desperately short of coal, lumber, electric power, and fertilizers, all of them potentially abundant in the eastern countries. A coordinated plan for Europe, such as is already on the drafting boards of the Economic Commission headed by Gunnar Myrdal, should be precisely what Secretary Marshall is asking for. Russia might attempt to block such a plan; it could certainly curtail its application. But we should not be too hasty in writing off Russian cooperation, even in the face of a Molotov rebuff. After Paris, Geneva should be the next way station on the bumpy road to peace.

★

IN VETOING THE WOOL PRICE-SUPPORT BILL, the President rightly pointed out that its provisions contradicted the efforts which the government was making to bring about a lowering of trade barriers throughout the world. His action is said to have brought about an

immediate improvement in atmosphere at the Geneva conference, where eighteen nations are attempting to agree on mutual tariff reductions and to lay the foundations for the International Trade Organization. Even so, it is to be feared that the reckless effort of Congress to add to the very stiff measure of protection already enjoyed by the wool growers will continue to hamper the Geneva negotiations, for it has shown that the Republicans, and not a few Democrats, continue to think in terms of Smoot-Hawleyism. In view of the possibility that within eighteen months a Republican Congress may be joined by a Republican Administration, that is a poor augury for future trade relations.

★

FACED WITH THE FACT THAT UNLESS QUICK action was taken, the wool growers would be left without any government support, the Senate meekly accepted the veto and promptly passed a new measure on lines that Mr. Truman had indicated would prove acceptable. It leaves out the objectionable import-fee and quota provisions and simply authorizes the government to continue the present price-support program and to sell surplus wool without restrictions. That is far from an ideal solution of the problem, but it would be anomalous to deprive the sheep herders of the kind of aid other farmers are receiving. If it is true (a) that native wool cannot compete with foreign even with the assistance of a thumping import duty, and (b) that a domestic wool supply is essential for national defense, then subsidization is justified. It may prove costly to us as taxpayers, but a tariff giving equivalent assistance to the wool growers would be a good deal more costly to us as consumers.

★

IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO BLAME THE COAL crisis entirely on the Taft-Hartley Act, for the probability of trouble in the mine fields when government seizure ended on June 30 has long been manifest. But it is certain that the act has seriously aggravated the crisis and that its provisions are calculated to prolong rather than end it. The walkout of more than half the nation's miners immediately after the Senate voted to override the President's veto seems to have been entirely spontaneous. If it was inspired by John L. Lewis he must have

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operated by telepathy, and that is not a crime, though Representative Hartley, who assailed the miners' leader as "rebellious and mutinous," apparently wishes to make it one. In any case the past week's stoppage was of symbolical rather than practical importance, since it merely anticipated the holiday period. The real question is what will happen after July 7, when the miners' vacation ends, if the operators and the union have reached no agreement. In the event of an actual or threatened strike endangering the public interest, the President, under the new law, can appoint a board of inquiry. On receiving its report of the facts he can direct the Attorney General to petition the Federal Court for an injunction enjoining the strike for a maximum of eighty days. But supposing these steps are taken, on what terms are the men to be ordered back to the pits? Are they to be compelled to work without any contract, on any conditions their employers impose? Obviously, that would be "involuntary servitude." Can the court then order maintenance of the status quo? That would mean continuation of the contract made between the government and the U. M. W., which the operators have never approved. Moreover, some of its provisions would be illegal under the new act. It appears, therefore, that before the court could issue an injunction, it would itself have to dictate the terms of a temporary contract. This is an extraordinary situation, but as readers of Alfred Friendly's article on page 9 will realize, it is by no means the most bizarre feature of the Republican Party's successful effort to muddle and embitter labor relations.

★

NEXT SUNDAY GENERAL FRANCO WILL WIN the easiest battle of his career. Indeed, the plebiscite in which Spaniards are supposed to pronounce themselves for or against the Law of Succession was won by the dictator on the day it was announced. Staged to give an appearance of legality to an arbitrary and despotic measure, the plebiscite is as much of a farce as the Law of Succession itself. Little can be done by the anti-Franco majority to combat it. In several dispatches from Madrid, Sam Pope Brewer has reported in the *New York Times* the hesitation of the opposition parties to urge upon their followers the only possible expression of resistance: to stay away from the polls, leaving the show to Franco and his Falange. Though the official penalties for abstainers are light, the extra-official reprisals, as Mr. Brewer has pointed out, might be extremely serious. The plebiscite takes place during a period of terror that has made 1947 the worst year since Franco came to power. It is a question of conscience for the opposition leaders to expose a large part of the nation to new repressions. They might take this risk if the number of abstainers had any chance of being accurately recorded, but what would certainly happen is that non-voters would be pun-

ished while their repudiation of the Law of Succession and its infamous author would remain an official secret. *The Nation* therefore denounces the plebiscite in advance as a scandalous fake designed to hoodwink the world by providing a façade of false legality behind which the dictatorship can continue to make impudent grimaces at the United Nations, whose resolution of censure has so miserably miscarried.

President Ike

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER is so attractive a personality that it is easy to forget that he is a five-star general; and easy also, in considering the rather sensational news of his appointment as president of Columbia University, that he is not an educator. Yet even as that fact obtrudes, so does the reflection that the duties of the president of Columbia University have very little to do, strictly speaking, with education.

His task, in relation to the university, is one of co-ordination and administration. Columbia is so large and so complex that one man would be unable to direct it in all its ramifications or to impose his will or any neat theory upon it. It is so large and so complex that in a sense it must run itself. Each department determines its own policy—and the ultimate authority in the rare cases when it is invoked, is exercised by the trustees, who delegate their power, whether to president or department, only on sufferance.

The president's larger job is to represent the university to the world and, to put it bluntly, keep funds flowing into the institution's coffers. This being so, he must be a public figure who commands the respect of a wide range of opinions and interests. General Eisenhower is demonstrably a good organizer and a good administrator. Moreover, there is little reason to doubt that he will be able to conquer and "contain" the sources of Columbia's income and meanwhile keep up a workable liaison with the Board of Trustees. And it is a matter of satisfaction that while in the nature of the case he must fulfil and will be quite capable of fulfilling the functions of a "stuffed shirt," he himself has no resemblance to the species.

As a public figure, and particularly as a five-star general, he has another qualification which is not to be minimized. For all his medals, he is a man of peace; he has often reiterated his belief that education is the most effective weapon against war. As a retired general and the head of a great university he can throw his prestige and his knowledge against the military mind that thrives on war and rumors of war. "Your business," he said to a graduating class a year ago, "is to put us out of business." He is now in a position to assist in that enterprise.

Holding the Bag

WHEN the Taft-Hartley bill became law, President Truman had to make a decision almost as difficult as the one he faced a few days earlier on the veto itself. The new problem was whether to temper the legislative wind to the shorn union lamb or to let the Republicans take over the administration of the new law in their own way. His statement to the press last Thursday indicated that he had chosen the former course. He would see that the new law was "well and faithfully administered" and urged both management and labor to show moderation.

He seems to have persuaded Paul M. Herzog, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, to stay on with his two colleagues, and is reported to be planning to seek out the two best and most liberal men he can find to join them in constituting the new five-man directorship. Similarly, he will make his own nomination for general counsel of the board, a position which the law makes vastly more important in fact than that of board member.

This is the good-gray-honest-Truman way to do it. But it is otherwise hard to justify, for several reasons. If Mr. Truman really believes what he said in his superb veto message, he knows that the law is unworkable. In picking his own men to administer it he is, first, exposing some of his friends to the certainty of failure. Second, since he believes the law will force unions to rely on their economic strength rather than on peaceful procedures, he is doing unions no favor by postponing for a few months their day of realization. He would be better advised to let the hail storm descend than to interpose a paper parasol which will be shot full of holes and blown inside out in a few minutes; and unions will be the worse off for not having taken to the storm cellar *instantly*. Finally, and most important, the President is playing directly into his opponents' hands. No matter how unworkable and impossible the law turns out to be, Mr. Truman will never be able to prove it if it is his own team which does the administering.

Even before the secretary of the Senate affixed his name to the law, the Republicans began establishing their alibi on precisely this point. House Majority Leader Halleck roared for an Administration promise that the law would not be sabotaged—thus suggesting that it would be. Senator Ives, the most competent, technically, of the law's supporters and therefore the first to foresee what may happen as the law goes into effect, took the same line. He repeated, an hour before the bill passed, a double-barreled warning, which presumably absolved him from the consequences of his vote. First he emphasized, as he has frequently done before, that the law is

"not perfect." Next he declared that its success or failure would depend on its administration and the adequacy of its appropriations. As for its administration, he took pains to point out that Herzog was a man to be trusted; his old friend of New York State labor-law days would not sabotage the law. But, he warned, it could be sabotaged in other places. Looking at the veto message, Ives implied that it was hard to assume that there was *not* a "definite intent to sabotage."

As for adequate appropriations, while it is true that the Republicans will not wilfully ruin their own legislation at the outset, one must nevertheless be very naïve to think that the Congress will unhesitatingly pour out the enormously increased funds necessary for the operation of the greatly expanded law. And one must be very trustful to assume that Congress will not consign the law to a slow death by financial starvation, once it is clear it is not working out well.

The alibi that has been so carefully established could be destroyed if Mr. Truman had not cajoled Herzog to remain, and if he had informally notified the Republicans that he would nominate for board members whom-ever they suggested other than convicted felons. The responsibility for the law would then be theirs alone. Herzog's position in this matter is difficult to understand. He made no bones of his opposition to the measure while it was pending; he has cogently expounded the reasons why it cannot work. Despite his friend Ives's handsome pat on the back and avowal of faith, Herzog is understandably suspect by other Republicans. They will be only too delighted to make him the personal scapegoat for everything wrong with the law as it works out in practice.

His colleagues, John M. Houston and James J. Reynolds, Jr., are safe enough. Houston has kept cautiously quiet during the fight over the bill. Reynolds, it is fairly well known, approved of it, disassociated himself from NLRB criticism of it, and importuned the President to sign it in the first place. The general counsel, Gerhard Van Arkel, was forthright in his opposition. Honestly and sensibly, he resigned an hour after the veto was overridden.

If the President and the members of the NLRB are not to be impaled by Republican screams of "sabotage," they will be obliged to make the new law work. Presumably they hope to do so, and are therefore to be congratulated for their sanguine temperaments.

In addition to the present duties of the board—already such as to have provided it with a one year's back log of cases—they must be prepared to conduct five additional varieties of union elections. It is perfectly within reason to anticipate four of these each year for any company plagued with middling-bad labor relations.

They are obliged to decide all jurisdictional disputes without benefit of arbitrators on whom they might un-

load the work. Jurisdictional disputes, be it remembered, are the most complex, devious, and impervious to reason of all labor cases; witness the high-priced talent which has got nowhere in the Hollywood situation. Note also the fact that the brewers-teamsters' altercation has a history of some fifty years, all the facets of which presumably would have to be weighed in settling the issue.

The board is also in the new business of seeking injunctions in jurisdictional disputes and secondary boycotts. Whether it will or no, whether it believes an injunction is the correct procedure for settling the dispute or not, it must apply for one, once a showing is made that such a dispute exists.

The law debonairly gives the NLRB the chore of deciding whether union initiation fees are excessive or discriminatory—a nice task for an idle Saturday afternoon.

The board also has some half a dozen new unfair labor practices to prevent—union practices defined as unfair under the new act. This will be one of its toughest assignments. How does one tell, this side of ten Supreme Court cases, when a union organizer is or is not illegally "coercing" workers to sign up?

And all the while, it turns out, the board is not the board, but rather a sort of vaudeville horse composed of two men under the same cover who may or may not choose to go in the same direction. The general counsel is autonomous. The five-man board selects his field personnel, but he supervises their work. He alone decides which cases to handle, which to reject, how to prosecute them, how far to take them, whether or not to bring them before the board. If there is a would-be Dr. Robert Ley in the United States, the NLRB general counsel's job is the one he should be gunning for.

Oil and Palestine

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE most revealing bit of late news about Palestine does not mention that country at all or appear to refer to it. It occurs in a story from Lake Success reporting that a plan to set up a world oil authority will be considered next month by the Economic and Social Council. The request came from the International Cooperative Alliance, which represents cooperative societies in thirty-nine nations and is the largest non-governmental group affiliated with the United Nations. The plan submitted by the Alliance specifically proposes administration by the world oil authority of oil deposits in the Middle East "by and with the consent of the states involved." The authority would be directly under and responsible to the Security Council and would plan and enforce conservation measures, assure all nations equal access to oil, guarantee all purchasers—public, private, or cooperative—an equal opportunity to buy oil, adjudi-

cate disputes over oil that might come up between governments or other interested parties. The attitude toward this proposal of the two most important "states involved" is easy to predict. The *New York Times* reports: "The plan is expected to meet stiff opposition from American and British petroleum interests that now control most of the oil extracted in the Middle East."

Recent Washington hearings on the Anglo-American oil treaty emphasized the coming shortage of oil for consumption in the United States. Middle Eastern petroleum, several witnesses insisted, must soon be drawn upon to supplement the output of North American and Caribbean fields. It was evident that both government and oil witnesses preferred for the moment to keep power politics off the stage and the domestic issue in the foreground. Neither isolationist nor internationalist sentiment can easily be mobilized against oil for the cars of America: too many people remember the little A stickers that still adhere to a few unwashed windshields. But military and strategic considerations lurked just off stage.

Oil will largely determine the fate of Palestine. This is true no matter what the U. N. commission sees or hears on its visit to Jewish settlements in the Negev desert or Arab villages in the hills. It is true no matter what commitments have been made in the past. For pending the day when atomic power can be applied to planes and tanks and the other machines of war, oil will remain the one important source of military mobility. By the same token it is the chief economic stake in the present struggle for power in the Middle East, where Britain and America have in effect merged their interests to form an oil empire exercising all-but-monopoly control over the richest petroleum resources remaining in the world. Other nations participating in the exploitation of the area are not even junior partners, in terms of policy and power. They are at most minor beneficiaries.

Unless deposits are discovered in the Negev, as some experts think is likely, Palestine is without petroleum. But the country is immersed in oil politics just the same. The Iraq pipe line terminates at Haifa, and new lines from Saudi Arabia may be routed through Palestine. And quite apart from tangible properties, Palestine is inextricably tangled in the complex effort of the great powers to establish relations with Arab politicians which will facilitate the full and profitable exploitation of Middle Eastern petroleum.

Certain Washington officials are now expressing the view that there is no "American policy" on Palestine. They brush aside the commitments made by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman as mere political declarations, without essential meaning or effect. They say we are "neutral"; that we will reserve freedom to make up our

minds on the subject of Palestine when the commission reports in September. They indicate quite plainly that oil will be as important as domestic political considerations in influencing the final decision.

Apparently these policy-makers believe they can also ignore the various pronouncements in Congress supporting Presidential promises. There was, for example, the concurrent resolution adopted on December 19, 1945, which demanded "free entry of Jews" into Palestine and a "full opportunity for colonization and development so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home." This followed by only a few months a communication addressed to the President by a majority of members of both houses requesting that he use his influence with the government of Great Britain "to open forthwith the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization" and to urge "all interested governments to join with the United States toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth. . . ." If such statements do not constitute "policy," then they are the cheapest sort of political deception. Perhaps that is what the officials in question intended to imply.

Oil and the expectation of war; oil and the fear of Russia; oil and the shortage in America; oil and profits. These are factors to be kept in mind as the U. N. commission pokes around in the Holy Land, and the experts in London and Washington prepare their reports. The fate of the people of Palestine, Jew and Arab, the fate of the displaced in Europe, will not go far toward offsetting those factors in the final reckoning unless the powers—and particularly the United States—take the position that progress and the economic development of the Middle East will produce more security than oil plus deals with the Mufti and his Arab League accomplices.

Ordinary people, the sort that build up cooperative societies and irrigate deserts, will argue for this position. It will be opposed by diehard military men and their counterparts in the oil companies. It will be opposed by the men who represent the British government in Palestine and sentence young Jewish terrorists to death without even dreaming that the processes of military law might create an unfortunate atmosphere for the U. N. inquiry. But perhaps enough pressure can be brought by opponents of the old techniques of imperialist control to influence the report of the commission and possibly even the minds of officials in Whitehall and Washington. The proposal by the Cooperative Alliance that Middle Eastern oil be taken right out of the hands of individual powers and administered by a world authority is an impressive move in the right direction. It should have the support of all liberal persons and groups. It

should be pressed in Washington as well as at Lake Success. Incidentally it accords to the letter with that dangerous little clause supposed to have been injected into the Atlantic Charter by President Roosevelt over the objections of Prime Minister Churchill:

They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Wallace in the West

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, June 24

SINCE Henry Wallace spoke to 30,000 Angelenos in Gilmore Stadium on May 19—admissions ranged from 60 cents to \$3, and more than \$30,000 was contributed to the Progressive Citizens of America—California has been seething with new political currents. In both San Francisco and Oakland the same overflow "paid-admission" crowds were on hand. A columnist for the *New York Post*, with the omniscience that distance always lends to political commentary, has described the Wallace meetings as drummed-up left-wing demonstrations and therefore without political significance. The left wing was certainly present en masse at Gilmore Stadium, but any doubts as to the political impact of the Wallace tour have been removed by the resultant open breach in the Democratic Party in California.

Prior to the Wallace meeting a committee headed by George Outland had prepared a policy statement for the party which Colonel James Roosevelt, state chairman, intended to present at the Jackson Day dinner in Los Angeles on June 6. This statement obliquely criticized the Truman Doctrine by questioning "the methods" being used by the President and by urging "a more active policy of cooperation with the United Nations." Apparently Colonel Roosevelt hoped that the policy statement would hold the left in line and yet not alienate the right. Shortly before the dinner National Committeeman Ed Pauley asked Roosevelt what he intended to do with the statement and was told that it would be read at the dinner and that printed copies would be distributed at the tables. Pauley promptly replied that if such were the plan he would have to advise Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder not to appear at the dinner. A day or so later Sullivan wired Roosevelt that he would be unable to attend, and Snyder also sent his regrets. But apparently Pauley reconsidered, for Sul-

livan soon telephoned Roosevelt that he would be present after all.

On arriving at the airport Sullivan was handed a schedule which included a press conference and a number of meetings with Democratic leaders. I am informed that he had previously stipulated there were to be no press conferences and that he had agreed to appear only for the purpose of reading John Snyder's speech (this phase of the story, I might add, is firmly denied by Colonel Roosevelt). In any case, he must have been keenly disturbed either by the arrangements or by what Pauley had to say about the policy statement, for he left by car the same night for Palm Springs and the following day returned to Washington by plane. At no point during this extraordinary in-again, out-again trip did he meet Colonel Roosevelt. His only explanation, issued from Rhode Island a week after the dinner, was that both he and Snyder were kept from the dinner by the pressure of "a historic legislative week in Washington."

In consequence, the Jackson Day dinner was rather like a marriage ceremony at which the minister, Colonel Roosevelt, was present with the ring and the book, while the bride and groom—the left and the right—were embarrassingly absent. At the last minute Pauley decided to attend, and in deference perhaps to his surly presence the "policy statement" was not read or distributed. Thanks to some frenzied last-minute recruiting by A. D. A. Democrats and some good staff work, the dinner was sold out, but neither the main speech, an uninspired effort by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, nor the singing of Dinah Shore and Frank Sinatra nor the antics of Danny Kaye managed to dispel the general apathy. Dore Schary struck the one significant note when he said that "a man who should have been here became worried by the free expression of an idea. By failing to be here he has insulted a very great lady . . . and a name that he should have always held in great respect and honor."

After the dinner the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, a notably independent body, voted to censure President Truman for having "refused to allow" Secretary Snyder to be present, demanded the resignation of Pauley as national committeeman, voted to retain in California the entire proceeds of the dinner, and had harsh things to say about Gael Sullivan. Inci-

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dentally, this same committee had previously repudiated the Truman Doctrine. Pauley replied by sharply criticizing James Roosevelt on two counts: first, for having prepared the "policy statement"; and, second, for having "brought it up at this time"—implying that he objected not so much to the statement as to its timing in relation to Wallace's appearances. A few days later six crotchety Democratic state senators issued a statement blasting Colonel Roosevelt and indorsing the Truman Doctrine.

Thus, so far as official relationships are concerned, the Democratic Party in California is sharply split. The state chairman has been repudiated by the national committeeman and, in effect, by the President and the National Committee, although the National Committee did announce on June 13 that efforts were being made "to repair the breach." On the other side, the central committee of the largest county in the state has repudiated the national committeeman and bluntly censured the President. The split was unquestionably produced by an upsurge of popular sentiment which has made Henry Wallace the symbol of the people's profound dissatisfaction with Truman and Company. It was Wallace who forced the issue in California—not Pauley or Roosevelt.

Determined to drive the wedge still deeper, Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney General, lost no time in inviting all Californians interested in organizing a Wallace delegation to meet in Fresno on July 19 for the purpose of forming a statewide committee which would, in turn, select the Wallace delegates. The invitation states most explicitly that only those individuals should attend who are prepared to support Wallace "all the way." Convinced that a revolt against Truman can be organized in the West, Kenny is determined to take a Wallace delegation to the next Democratic convention.

Ed Pauley will, of course, head a Truman delegation. There is not the slightest possibility at this time that such a delegation could attract liberal or progressive support, though it is not unthinkable that a few liberal stragglers might be induced to join it later. Before the Fresno meeting no one can say just how representative of liberal-labor strength the Wallace delegation will be, but it will certainly have a large rank-and-file following and will draw support from a surprisingly large number of Democratic county committees—those of Los Angeles, Alameda (Oakland), and San Diego counties among others. It is quite possible that a majority of the Los Angeles County Committee would go along. Conceivably there could be a third delegation, pledged to Governor Earl Warren. Having won the Democratic and Republican nominations in 1946, Warren will certainly be tempted to take advantage of California's wide-open cross-filing system and the split in the Democratic Party by entering a slate of delegates in the primary. A Warren delegation would draw votes from Truman, not from Wallace, and in a three-cornered Truman-Warren-Wal-

lace fight a Wallace delegation would stand a good chance of success.

There could be still another delegation, pledged to either James Roosevelt or Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, which would be, in effect, an uninstructed delegation. Its formation would seriously interfere with Mr. Wallace's chances; on the other hand it would not have much strength if isolated from the mass support which he obviously enjoys. Much depends, therefore, on the attitude of such middle-of-the-road liberals as George Outland, Chet Holifield, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Dore Schary, and, of course, James Roosevelt. The appearance of this fourth delegation would precipitate a major struggle for control of the liberal movement in California which could degenerate into a repetition of the disastrous Patterson-Rogers fight of 1946.



Drawing by Helen

Henry Wallace

The idea of the Fresno meeting, that is, of a grass-roots

people's convention, is a good one. And Bob Kenny cannot fairly be accused of "jumping the gun" in issuing the call for this meeting. If a revolt against Truman was to be organized in the West, action could not have been postponed much longer, for the problem of what to do with the sentiment aroused by the Wallace meetings assumed large proportions immediately after the Jackson Day dinner. There was also the danger that leadership of the Wallace movement might be preempted by some of the more impetuous and politically irresponsible left-wing Democrats in Los Angeles.

Wanting to postpone a decision as long as possible, most of the middle-of-the-road liberals have looked with favor on the idea of a "favorite-son" delegation or some last-minute compromise with the Truman-Pauley axis. Colonel Roosevelt's position has been that Truman's nomination is assured and that the most any insurgent movement can hope to achieve is the nomination of a liberal for the Vice-Presidency and some platform concessions. A fight between the Pauley and Roosevelt forces over this issue would be essentially meaningless. Ed Pauley is too sophisticated and flexible a politician to be much concerned over a "policy statement" mildly criticizing the President's foreign policy; nor would he get excited about a few finely phrased declarations in a party platform. His major concern is to defeat a ground-swell

movement for Wallace in California, and it was solely from this point of view that he took exception to the "policy statement." The Pauley crowd neither like nor trust Jimmy Roosevelt. They opposed his election as state chairman a year ago, and their opposition has never abated. Since they are now in undisputed control of the pro-Truman elements, the only rival delegation that could possibly win would be one that was explicitly and noisily anti-Truman, in short, a Wallace delegation.

Nevertheless, consultations should have been held with the middle-of-the-roaders before the Fresno meeting was publicly announced, if only for the purpose of explaining to them, as a matter of protocol, the reasons underlying the decision. The meeting should also have been preceded by several months of intensive spade work with the trade unions and other mass organizations. To date Colonel Roosevelt's only comment on the Fresno meeting has been that since it is for Wallace "all the way," he cannot attend.

That the West is the place to organize a revolt against Truman, or, as Bob Kenny puts it, "to demonstrate his unsuitability," is clearly shown by the open breach in

California—the most clear-cut and unbridgeable split between pro-Truman and anti-Truman forces within the Democratic Party that has occurred anywhere as yet. Powered by the steam that one can hear hissing in California's political boilers, a conference of liberal-labor groups in the Western states in late September or October might well succeed in laying the foundations for a Western revolt. A set of basic interests cutting sharply across party lines unite the Western states in support of an expanding economic program with strong emphasis on reclamation and power projects and in opposition to Eastern industrial dominance, monopoly control, patent pools, discriminatory freight rates, and the like. The strongest regional support for President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley bill came from the Pacific Coast Congressional delegation. With Wallace as the symbol and Kenny as the strategist, a Western revolt could assume large proportions.

The political situation in California is the key to the success or failure of such a movement. An internecine fight among liberals in California for leadership of an anti-Truman movement would spread dismay and confusion in the other Western states.

In 1946 the left wing split away from the liberal Democrats in California by forcing the ill-considered candidacy of Ellis Patterson for the United States Senate. Can it be that the liberal Democrats will make a similar mistake in 1948 by splitting with the left wing?

Some light is thrown on this question by the results of a poll of Democratic voters taken in Los Angeles this week. They show Truman leading Wallace by only a slight margin, with Governor Earl Warren in third place, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in fourth. Under these circumstances the middle-of-the-roaders would hardly want to risk the valuable name of Roosevelt in a primary fight; the same poll shows that Governor Warren's "non-partisan" pretense is beginning to wear pretty thin. Still unknown is the attitude of organized labor, more particularly of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and the right wing of the C. I. O. Will organized labor in California merge its differences for a common political purpose? In the last analysis, the answer to this question will determine whether a successful revolt against Truman can be engineered in the West.



SCHIZOPHRENIA AMERICANA

COAL—a Test Case

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Washington, June 28

FOR those who like their humor sardonic the Taft-Hartley labor law is the perfect dish. Its proponents, it may be recalled, began and ended most of their arguments with the clinching comment that the law was necessary, if for no other reason, to "take care of John L. Lewis." But less than forty-eight hours after the law was passed, these same advocates found themselves busily explaining that "because of the peculiar circumstances" the law may not be effective in stopping a coal strike.

This second-guessing is considerably closer to the truth. It is correct as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. The act is not merely unable to stop a coal strike but is bound to create zany confusion and frustration if anyone makes so bold as to attempt its application in the coal industry. Yet the law must be applied.

There is only one escape from it, and that only temporary. If Lewis can negotiate a contract before August 22, when the provisions of the law that alter the Wagner act take effect, he can eliminate some trouble and postpone the rest for a year. But it seems very likely that a part of the industry, particularly the Southern operators, will choose not to grant a contract so soon. To obtain agreement, they would have to give Lewis a closed shop, whereas if they hold out until the law takes effect they may be able to avoid making this concession.

Let us assume, then, that there is no disposition to get a contract before the effective date, and that Lewis is obliged to take the steps prescribed under the new law. What does he have to do just to get what he now has, not to mention anything more? How fast does he have to run to stay where he is? Take a deep breath:

Lewis and the United Mine Workers have for some years enjoyed a union shop. A miner must join the U. M. W. to keep his job, once he is hired in a mine represented by that union. Further, for some years Lewis has been able to conduct either nation-wide or regional bargaining.

He dare not relinquish either of these assets. In periods of slack demand either the open shop or mine-by-mine bargaining would whipsaw his wage scales down to the point of disappearance, as he learned

through bitter experience in the early '20's and early '30's. He must therefore retain present contract provisions on those subjects, which means he must *obtain* them, as if for the first time, under the new steps prescribed by the law.

The NLRB has never made an over-all determination of an appropriate bargaining unit for the coal industry. As an initial move to getting a closed-shop contract Lewis must petition that the entire industry be considered the proper unit. Assume that he files this petition by July 1. The board must hold a hearing on the petition unless all parties waive it. Obviously they will not. Assume the maximum possible expedition, with the hearing held before the board in the first instance, rather than before a hearings officer. The date for it could not in justice to the parties be set before July 15.

The hearing will cover some 3,500 mines and will take up such troublesome issues as whether to include mines now organized by the Progressive Mine Workers and mines not organized at all. (Let us skip for the moment the problem of how to exclude those mines from the bargaining unit without at the same time being forced to rule that bargaining must be by individual mines.) The hearing cannot possibly be concluded before August 1.

Either the Southern operators or the U. M. W., depending on the decision, will be dissatisfied and will refuse to bargain on the basis of the decision. The other party will file a complaint of refusal to bargain. Everyone is breaking his neck for the sake of speed; so we will assume the date is now only August 5. The board will draft a complaint and serve it on the parties the next day. But under the law it cannot set a hearing for at least five days. It is now August 13. Since the main issues have been decided, the verdict could be entered in a couple of days, by August 17.

In the meantime, let us assume, the U. M. W. has filed with the Secretary of Labor its reports on the compensation of all officers and their manner of election or selection, on all dues and fees required, the procedures of its constitution and by-laws in some dozen different matters, its assets, liabilities, receipts, and disbursements for the past twelve months, and in some manner not yet determined can prove that copies of these reports have been furnished *all* its members. At the same time, it has given the NLRB an affidavit by each officer of the national union and each officer of all the local unions, swearing that he is not a Communist, Communist sympa-

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thizer, or a fellow who believes in the overthrow of the government by force.

Let us assume that there has been no slip-up, that every officer has found a notary and filed an affidavit, that every member has received the proper report. (If there has been any lapse, the union is disqualified, or else the NLRB must interpret the law on these points loosely. In the latter case there are just that many more issues for the courts. Let's forget it, for the case is getting complicated enough anyway.) So the complaint is issued by the NLRB and the aggrieved party will then carry the case to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The record and petition must be printed and the case set for argument, giving time to both parties to prepare briefs. If there is maximum alacrity, the case may be argued early in October. The court gives it precedence over everything else, and a decision comes down in early November.

There may or may not be a good chance to obtain a writ of certiorari. In any event, the losing party is sure to try. Let's say a petition is drafted, printed, and filed in two weeks. The other party has twenty days in which to file a response. By now we are in the middle of December.

The Supreme Court, also giving the matter precedence, may have its answer in a week. Assuming it denies the petition—which is unlikely, since the issues are so novel and important—the matter of an appropriate bargaining unit will be decided by Christmas. If the court grants the writ, and takes the case, add three months as a minimum to this time-table.

The next step is to see whether the employees in the bargaining unit determined upon wish to be represented by the U. M. W. An election appears to be necessary—an election in 3,500 mines. This will cost, if previous experience is a guide, \$180,000, and will take at least two weeks. The Ides of January are upon us. After the election the U. M. W. must collect signatures of 30 per cent of its members on a petition asking for a union shop. Let us say that this task is accomplished by February 1.

It is then necessary for the board to conduct another election—it could not have done this before, for the petition, to be honored, must have been presented by a union already certified as a bargaining representative. So the miners vote again, another \$180,000 is spent, and perhaps in two weeks' time the NLRB is able to assure itself that 50 per cent of all the miners want a union shop.

Still breaking time records, the union and operators would convene within a week, on Washington's Birthday, to hear Lewis's demand for a union shop. Assume, although there is every reason for making exactly the opposite assumption, that the operators are willing to grant the demand. But half a dozen coal-mine states have laws which forbid the union shop. They may have been

enforced with great laxity, if at all, in the past, but now their enforcement falls ultimately on the federal government. No employer can take a chance lest a disappointed non-union job applicant have an air-tight case against him. So some of the operators refuse the union-shop demand.

Lewis cannot yield. On this issue alone, whatever others exist, the negotiations break down, by March 1.

Then, presumably, the eighty-day injunction procedure for threatened "national-emergency" strikes starts to run its course. We need not go into the details of this procedure except to note that the injunction order would probably be appealed and that the whole matter might be suspended while the order was being reviewed. Assuming it stood up, there would be a third NLRB election to see if the miners would accept the last offer of their employers. If they refused, and the injunction was lifted, and the strike took place, the President would be issuing his report to the Eightieth Congress just as it was getting ready to adjourn—about a year from now.

Thus the dispute would not be settled until there had been a year of NLRB work, three NLRB elections, at least one Appellate Court review of a board decision, a proceeding in a District Court, possibly one or two Appellate Court reviews of that decision, two reports by a board of inquiry, one report to Congress by the President, and some mixing in, to a greater or lesser degree, by the Supreme Court.

Absurd? Of course. In the first place the actual time-table for all this would be nearer two years than the breakneck one-year schedule recited above. Secondly, Lewis would clearly not have been content to operate all this time on an open-shop basis, and just as clearly the nation could not have lived for a year without coal.

Would the "emergency" injunction have come into play before—say, early this July, if there was a strike at that time? Possibly, but it is hard to see how the preventive machinery of the law could be invoked before the negotiating machinery of the law was permitted to operate. And if it could, are there any other terms on which a settlement could be made without denying the U. M. W. the union shop? The law, though, is supposed to permit the union shop.

In point of fact, it clearly does not permit the union shop except after this twelve-month period or longer of hocus-pocus.

The coal industry is an extreme case. Yet much the same procedure would be invoked if a union shop were demanded in any other industry where industry-wide or regional bargaining has been the rule, or in any company where an employer chose to challenge the union shop. The period would be shortened only in cases in which the NLRB had previously determined the appropriate bargaining unit and in which there was no good basis for contesting that determination. The time schedule

might be much longer in the maritime industry. The last time the NLRB held an election in one branch of it, seven months passed before all the sailors got back from the seven seas.

One final note, returning for a moment to coal. In the event of a strike, just what does the court enjoin under the emergency procedure provided in the new law? Lewis would have issued no strike order, posted no pickets, paid no strike benefits. What tangible act can the court enjoin, and at the same time refrain from ordering miners to work against their will?

And if it could make the injunction effective, the court would be in the business of setting wages, hours, and working conditions without very much of a guide to follow. For the 1945 owner-union contract has been long since abandoned, and the operators never accepted the government (Krug-Lewis) contract.

Perhaps Lewis will make everything easy by just pulling the miners out on the ground that their working conditions are abnormally dangerous. The new law specifically decrees that this sort of action, if in good faith, may not be held to be a strike.

Revolution in Eastern Europe

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

II. A Regional Planned Economy

Vienna, June 1

THE seeds of a regional planned economy are being planted in the capitals of Eastern Europe. It is an old, old dream. There were a few open discussions of the idea during the war, but the Soviet Union frowned and that ended it. Now the concept is being quietly revived.

The Soviet Union is now quite sure that its neighbors are "friendly." As a result of its capitalist and imperialist operations in the past three years it need not worry that it will be isolated economically by the Eastern European countries as it was in the pre-war period. And it cannot very easily oppose a constructive plan which is so similar to its own successful regional-planning programs.

Time will be needed for the seeds to develop. But the impetus is there. The knowledge of these nations that any assistance they may get for their reconstruction and rehabilitation, whether it comes from Uncle Joe or Uncle Sam, will have too high a price tag on it contributes to their determination to work out their many problems as a unit, drawing strength from one another.

The old restrictive nationalisms are gradually dying out, and the natural links that were broken after the First World War are being welded together again. Economic realities are helping to level the old chauvinist barriers. This time the rivalries of the great powers will not be able to prevent regional economic agreements,

and no large influential pressure groups now exist within the countries themselves, determined, for their own selfish purposes, to obstruct regional cooperation.

INTERLOCKING TRADE AGREEMENTS

The framework for economic collaboration has been gradually built up during the past two years. Its three prerequisites now exist—similar social structures, similar economic structures, and similar basic political attitudes. Plans already exist to integrate the economic progress of the backward agricultural countries with that of the advanced industrial countries—Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. A whole network of interlocking trade agreements already covers the area and is growing into a workable program of economic interdependence.

Poland's remarkably strong coal position serves as a firm foundation. Poland is sending coal to every other Eastern European country except Bulgaria, which has enough for its own needs and exports what is left over to Yugoslavia. In return, Poland receives from Austria, for example, scientific equipment and industrial products.

Czechoslovakia has made a trade agreement with Bulgaria by which it will send Bulgaria several power stations, some mining machinery, and other industrial equipment in return for tobacco, ores, and hides. Czechoslovakia's state-owned Bata National Shoe Company will also build and operate a shoe factory near Sofia which will manufacture 20,000 pairs of shoes a week.

Hungary's copper requirements are being filled by Yugoslavia alone. Rumanian oil is going to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Rumanian wine to Poland, and Bulgarian tobacco, like Polish coal, to all countries in the region.

Austria has not fitted fully into the picture yet, but representatives of the Austrian Social Democratic Party who attended the Congress of the Eastern European Socialist Parties in Budapest last month said they realized the necessity of restoring Austria's economic links with

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the East. Markets for Austria's industrial products can be found now only in Eastern Europe with its great consumption potential.

So far the Soviet Union's trade relations with these countries have been pretty one-sided, designed for the aggrandizement and rehabilitation of Russia. In time they will be worked down to a more equitable arrangement, but there will never be a return to the situation that existed before the war, when Czechoslovakia's trade with Russia was only 5 per cent of its total foreign trade and Poland's was less than half of 1 per cent. The potentialities of Russian trade with Eastern Europe are tremendous. By supplying raw materials and receiving finished goods Russia will help these countries raise their standard of living and keep them out of their former bondage to the highly industrialized Western nations.

Still other trade possibilities, outside the Eastern European family, are being explored: Poland has an extensive agreement with Sweden, and Czechoslovakia with Finland. Future and existing agreements with all the Scandinavian countries, with other countries of Western Europe, and with the Middle East, where a growing sense of nationalism is combined with a comparatively low standard of living, will continuously strengthen the economic unity of the countries of Eastern Europe.

The Western powers could help, of course. Great Britain has significantly reversed its position, as is indicated by its recent agreements with Poland and Hungary and its current talks with Yugoslavia. The United States is evidently determined not to help countries within the Russian sphere, or if it does, to do so on its own terms. But it is seriously mistaken if it thinks that the new regimes will revise their policies to get dollars.

Without American help the new regimes will lower their objectives: they will postpone the rise in the standard of living which they had anticipated and simply make strenuous efforts to maintain minimum consumption levels. Without American assistance the recovery of Eastern Europe will be hard. But it will go on.*

Imitating the Soviet Union, the various countries have launched long-term plans for industrial development. With UNRRA help, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have got off to an excellent start. Yugoslavia has a five-year plan, Poland a three-year plan, Czechoslovakia a two-year plan, and Hungary is embarking on a three-year plan on August 1. Bulgaria, having suffered least, is taking it more easily and gradually. Rumania has not done any serious planning as yet, and Albania should be considered an autonomous region within the federal system of Yugoslavia, with its economy geared to that of the larger unit. Four-power occupation of Austria and the delay in obtaining a treaty have held up nearly all planning in this already industrialized country, but the

powerful Social Democratic Party has detailed projects which will fit into the new Eastern European pattern.

The rapid pace of industrial development called for by all the plans anticipates the absorption of surplus agricultural labor. Such a development would entail a drastic reorganization of each country's economic structure and a great change in this agrarian region's mode of life.

PROGRESS OF NATIONALIZATION

Whatever inspiration has been drawn from the Russian system, there has been no indiscriminate, slavish adoption of it. There has been absolutely no collectivization, and no general arbitrary abolition of private enterprise. In Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, where nearly all basic and large industries have been nationalized, private initiative has still plenty of scope. In Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania nationalization has made little progress. An exception is Bulgaria's tobacco industry, which was brought under strict state control soon after the war.

Nationalization of large industries in Austria is being delayed by Russia's interpretation of the "external-German-assets" clause of the Potsdam agreement, by which it claims ownership of most Austrian plants. Elsewhere, for specific compensation, the Soviet Union has left German assets to the states concerned: the synthetic oil plant at Most has been turned over to Czechoslovakia, and coal-mining equipment in Silesia to Poland.

As an ex-enemy state Rumania is not permitted to nationalize properties owned by citizens of U. N. countries. The larger part of Rumanian oil is thus owned. The Russians now control the rest through "Sovrom Petrol," a corporation in which theoretically the Soviet Union and the Rumanian government have equal shares but which is actually controlled by the Russians. Rumania's maritime services are monopolized by "Sovrom Transport"; its lending and credit facilities and its export and import trade will eventually all center in "Sovrombanco." The lumber industry is to be run for Russia's benefit by "Sovromlemm," and air transport is monopolized by "Tars." Russia's economic infiltration of Rumania has been bluntly carried out, but if one recalls past imperial practices and the tactics of power politics, condemnation of it will not be too severe. The important thing is that Rumania is the only Eastern European country whose economy Russia has succeeded in tying firmly to its own.

So far Austria, aided by the Western Allies, has successfully resisted similar "fifty-fifty" proposals by the Russians. Hungary and Russia have a very weak joint air line, "Maszovlet," unclear arrangements on motor transport, and a confused, indefinite deal on bauxite deposits. The Rumanian government could have stalled on Russian demands as Austria and Hungary have done.

Considering the obstacles created by Russian policy, the meager means, the creaky economic and bureaucratic

* Mr. Poulos mailed his piece from Vienna before the Marshall plan was announced.—EDITORS THE NATION,

machinery which had to be used, the strides toward industrialization in Eastern Europe in the past two years have been truly remarkable.

THE WORKERS SUPPORT THE NEW REGIMES

The revolution has not led to chaos and will not lead to chaos—despite the wishful thinking of Western diplomats and economists—largely because the working class believes it has acquired a new incentive. The achievements of the workers of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary during the past two years have been incredible. The workers are the strength and backbone of all the Eastern European governments, though in Yugoslavia there is considerable peasant support for Marshal Tito, and the other governments too have large rural followings.

The organized labor movements are under the exclusive direction of the Communists except in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. These countries had sizeable industries before the war and therefore some trade-union tradition.

In Austria the Communists are greatly outnumbered by the Social Democrats; in Hungary many workers joined the Communists in the first excitement of liberation but have now returned to the Social Democratic fold. The Social Democrats are much the strongest of the Hungarian workers' parties. The Socialists of Czechoslovakia and Poland have kept a foothold in the labor movements of those countries but have lost considerable strength to the Communists. Such trade unions as existed in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in the past, before they were suppressed by the various dictatorial and semi-dictatorial governments, were controlled by the Communists. The Communists control them today, too.

Most of the workers are better off than they were before the war, and those whose lot has not actually improved are better off in comparison with other classes. But the great problem of alleviating the misery and discontent of the peasants remains to be solved. All the countries of Eastern Europe except Austria and Czechoslovakia have a surplus rural population. From 70 to 80 per cent of the region's 100,000,000 inhabitants try to make a living off the land—a third more than the land can support. Industries have always been too limited to absorb the surplus. Between 1929 and 1937 Yugoslavia's total population increased by almost 2,000,000, while industrial workers increased by only 200,000.

AID FOR THE PEASANTS

Programs designed to correct this situation face many difficulties, and the condition of the rural population will remain an unsettling factor for some time to come. Greater or lesser land reforms have been instituted throughout the region. The land has not been collectivized but has been turned over to the peasants in private ownership, a policy which in the long run may prove

disadvantageous to socialism. The hurried conversion from large-scale farming to small, in some cases impractically small, holdings, has created new problems, particularly in Hungary and Poland, but the political, social, and economic situation at the time the reforms were executed allowed no alternative.

After the land reforms the new governments turned to organizing agrarian cooperatives. The few ventures in this line undertaken before the war—in Bulgaria with considerable success—were managed by the large landowners and wealthy peasants and their benefits went to this class. Now, under state control, cooperatives handle a large proportion of the produce the peasant sells and the manufactured goods he buys.

In Bulgaria and Yugoslavia peasants on adjoining farms pool their machinery and labor in "labor cooperatives." The system enables them to grow a greater variety of crops and to breed better livestock.

Efforts to increase the yield per acre are tied up with the introduction of modern (1920) agricultural machinery, to which the peasants are traditionally hostile. Countries which have received tractors from UNRRA—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia—have set up "machine tractor stations." These have been especially successful in Yugoslavia. Operating out of the stations, tractor teams work for cooperatives and individual peasants. The major plowing burden, however, is still borne by draft animals.

Scientific approaches to crop cultivation are also being made. For example, Czechoslovakia is planning to shift the emphasis from grain production to stock breeding and truck gardening. Hungary is thinking of reducing its maize production. But Hungary, more thoroughly stripped than the other countries and not qualified to receive aid from UNRRA, is having greater difficulties all along the line. As a result, it is far behind in setting up and carrying out a complete program of cooperatives, tractor stations, and experimental farms.

Recognizing the importance and strength of the peasant population, the new regimes are trying hard to win and hold its support. The Bulgarian government has organized mechanics, technicians, carpenters, artisans, doctors, and dentists in "labor brigades" which go into the villages on Sundays and holidays to repair machines, mend household equipment and furniture, build sheds, and prescribe for the sick.

Agriculture in Eastern Europe will undoubtedly improve in time, after the many plans and programs get into full gear. Yugoslavia has already brought industrial prices into closer harmony with agricultural prices. The disparity remains a serious problem for the other countries and is an important factor in plans for rapid industrialization. The length of time that will be required to solve these problems depends a great deal on international politics.

A. V. C.'s Big Chance

BY DANIEL JAMES

THE American Veterans Committee has its second chance to take the leadership of those veterans of World War II whose interest in their nation's life goes somewhat beyond bonuses, beer, and skittles. Its first clear challenge to progressive thought and action was dimmed during last year by internal difficulties. The Communists, who at the outset had left it alone, bored into chapter after chapter and threatened to take over national control. That they did not speaks well not only for the top leadership but for an awakened political sense in the rank and file. These refused to accept a minority control that had bedeviled so many sections of the liberal and labor movement. They demonstrated that it was possible to hold to a firm progressive course without yielding to a group which, whatever the label it wore, followed slavishly a line dictated from outside.

The showdown came at the recent Milwaukee convention. The situation was critical, not only because of the year's difficulties but because of a necessary change in national leadership. Charles G. Bolté, the national chairman, had gained unchallenged prestige during the period when the organization built itself up from a handful of service men, most of them in the army, to its present substantial strength of over 100,000. Now he was leaving to carry on his university work in Oxford. Gil Harrison, vice-chairman, who had become the main target of Communist attack, had decided to withdraw in the interests of greater harmony. On the election of the executive officers and of the new National Planning Committee the strength and unity of A. V. C. would depend.

At the convention the issue was somewhat complicated by a "third caucus" led by Michael Straight, the young publisher of the *New Republic*. Straight, outspokenly anti-Communist, insisted that American foreign policy was the chief issue liberal veterans had to face. The Truman Doctrine menaced peace and required a united front of all liberals. The main effect of the Straight caucus was to draw off non-Communist strength from the Communist-led faction. But the sentiment of the convention itself in voicing overwhelming disapproval of the Truman Doctrine robbed his platform of much of its appeal. It was soon apparent that the great majority was forming behind the Independent Progressive caucus.

When the voting returns were in, the Independent

Progressives had elected a new chairman, Chat Paterson, by an over-all majority, the Straight group running a bad third. Richard Bolling, Midwest field director of Americans for Democratic Action, won the vice-chairmanship easily against a combined opposition vote. Of the twenty-four posts on the National Planning Committee, the Independent Progressives won twenty-four.

There is no doubt, then, about the mandate carried by the new National Planning Committee. The threat of Communist control is ended.

The question is: what will A. V. C. do with its new opportunity? If the tenor of resolutions passed indicates anything, it should do well. The convention, after attacking the Truman Doctrine, came out strongly for more United Nations control in world affairs and international control of atomic energy along the lines of the American plan. It blasted the Taft-Hartley labor bill—then entering its final stage—but criticized jurisdictional strikes. It took a strong stand against racial and religious discrimination, called for a permanent FEPC, demanded that "the government assume responsibility for getting homes for veterans," and backed General Bradley as head of the Veterans' Administration. It turned thumbs down on a veterans' bonus—in opposition both to the Communist and the American Legion line. "Bonuses," it declared, "are handouts and as such are inconsistent with the more modern and intelligent theories of social and economic security."

The new members of the Planning Committee suggest that the A. V. C. is reaching out beyond the group that originally brought it into being and directed its early destinies. Chat Paterson, the new chairman, served for eighteen months as the A. V. C.'s man on Capitol Hill. His experience will be invaluable to an organization that intends to focus much of its attention on Washington. Bolling, the vice-chairman, has had more than an academic acquaintance with the fight for civil liberties: he carries a scar on his left temple—a gift from Gerald L. K. Smith's goons one day in New Orleans. Four of the new members have labor backgrounds. Three represent Southern liberalism; one of them, Lester Persells of Atlanta having helped unseat Herman Talmadge. Six of the group have had experience with the federal government. Two are Negroes. The Planning Committee is representative of all parts of the country.

To class either A. V. C.'s platform or its new leadership as "right-wing" is therefore nonsense. Both are liberal enough to be a thorn in the flesh of the present wielders of Congressional authority. They are liberal

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enough to attract veterans who see that the things Roosevelt stood for in American life are seriously threatened. More than that, at a time when liberal thought is once more showing signs of life, they provide A. V. C. with a common ground to share with other left-of-center

movements. A revitalized A. V. C. will undoubtedly attract those veterans who remember the war was fought for certain objectives beyond victory and who have been looking for an organization with unequivocal standards and an uncompromising leadership.

Radio: Tool of the Reactionaries

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

A BILL to revise the Communications Act of 1934 is currently being pushed through Congress with unseemly haste and little opportunity for responsible civic groups to prepare and present their point of view. The National Association of Broadcasters has seized the opportunity to press its case against the Federal Communications Commission and its "infamous" Blue Book on radio's public-service responsibilities.

Radio, here and elsewhere, is one of the big prizes in the current struggle for power by reactionary private enterprise. The agitation has spread to Canada, where an unscrupulous campaign is being waged to bring discredit on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and, at the same time, to expand commercial broadcasting. An independent Canadian columnist, Jack Scott, describes it as "a campaign of trick slogans and falsehoods." Canada's privately owned stations have bought full-page advertisements, at a cost of thousands of dollars, in over seventy newspapers, and quaintly refer to their contents as a "series of public discussions." They have also used their own radio facilities to bombard the public with propaganda. The C. B. C. has rather stuffily decided that, as a public organization, it is precluded from answering back. Thus the "discussion" before the public has been, to say the least, one-sided.

The campaign has had open or tacit support from most Canadian newspapers—signal exceptions are the *Montreal Star* and the *Ottawa Journal*—and also from certain "free-enterprise" interests. A number of high-powered public-relations concerns in Toronto and Montreal are actively involved. It has now reached its climax in hearings before a special parliamentary committee.

The private station owners' brief opens with the time-worn slogan about the peril to free speech offered by a monopoly. There is, however, little or nothing in C. B. C.'s record to suggest that freedom of speech has been either curtailed or threatened. An even more contemptible argument by innuendo is contained in the fol-

lowing passage from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters' brief. Referring to the exploratory studies of the Aird Commission, which laid the groundwork for Canada's present broadcasting system, it observes, "The commission was most favorably impressed by the German radio system. *That was one year before Hitler took over.*" (The C. B. C. bitterly remembers that had the Aird Commission been heeded to the full, the present controversy would never have arisen, for among its recommendations not later adopted was the gradual absorption, by purchase, of private stations into the C. B. C. system.)

Elsewhere the brief submits as evidence in support of its case the results of a public-opinion poll purporting to prove that the majority of Canadians support a system of commercial enterprise. It is instructive to note that this poll was financed, not by the private stations, but by the Imperial Oil Company, Aluminium, Ltd., Canadian Industries, Ltd., Canadian General Electric, and Northern Electric. "Since then a number of companies, corporations, and trade associations have participated."

But while in the United States commercial broadcasters attack the FCC, Canadian private interests seek expanded activity through the creation of a Canadian FCC. To understand this paradox some knowledge of the Canadian system of broadcasting is necessary. Radio in Canada represents an uneasy compromise between the British and American systems. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, deriving its basic revenue from a license fee paid by radio-set owners, controls and operates all network broadcasting. Private commercial stations are limited to local-station operations. But the C. B. C. functions not only as a network broadcasting system but as a regulatory commission with powers over private stations far exceeding those of the FCC. It is empowered, for example, "to control the character of any and all programs broadcast by private stations" and "to determine the proportion of time which may be devoted to advertising." Though the enforcement of these and like powers has never been more than perfunctory, private stations resent control, and the main object of their present attack is the C. B. C.'s dual role as broadcaster and arbiter of the policies or practice of private stations.

The strength of their case on this count has to be

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admitted, for the C. B. C., as its own chairman has declared, has come to be a serious financial competitor with private stations for the advertising dollar. This results from the fact that the license revenue (the fee per radio set is \$2.50) does not cover C. B. C.'s operating costs. Because of Canada's vast area and scattered population, operation of a nation-wide radio system is more expensive there than in any other country in the world. One single station in New York can cover a population as great as that of the whole of Canada. In Canada thirty or more powerful stations and thousands of miles of expensive land lines are necessary. C. B. C. has therefore had to supplement its license revenue by accepting sponsored programs—mostly from the United States—and even "spot announcements." The public will not stand for a further increase in the license fee, and C. B. C.'s resources, even supplemented by advertising, remain inadequate for effective service.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters contends that while they welcome C. B. C.'s competition, they resent its regulatory powers. They ask that these powers be vested instead in an "impartial" commission equivalent to the FCC. Coupled with this is a demand that private stations be admitted to the network field of operations. (They provide no satisfactory answer to the question of how this will be financed.)

The claim that continued competition from C. B. C. will be welcome is of course specious. This is only the first round in a struggle to obtain the ultimate demise of C. B. C. The opinion poll presented to the committee indicates, as has been said, that a small majority of listeners favor "independent ownership of radio." But while the sponsorship of this poll casts doubt upon the accuracy of its findings, it is probably true that many Canadian listeners would prefer to be rid of the license fee. Envious eyes are cast on the varied entertainment programs heard, free, by listeners in the United States.

But here, surely, is a case where democracy and public interest are not well served by deference to popular opinion, which rests on very partial knowledge of the relevant facts. Should Canada acquire a system of broadcasting similar to ours, those who support the change must weigh the price. They might well study with more care the price that we are paying for a system in which private enterprise has been allowed to get away with murder by an FCC without stomach for its regulatory responsibilities. The price for Canada can be estimated with some confidence as follows:

1. Private radio will concentrate, as it has done in the United States, on audiences in densely populated urban areas. Canada has vast areas of thin rural population. They are important to Canada. Much of the energy and funds of C. B. C. are spent in trying to provide for their needs. From private radio they will receive short measure.

2. Private radio will tend, as here, to provide minimum service where handsome profits are not immediately forthcoming. As one Canadian paper—the *Montreal Star*—which has foreseen the danger in the current crisis, puts it, "It is a fact that in our complex, technical, international world a democracy must maintain a ceaseless effort to educate itself. Radio discussion, explanation, and interpretations of policy are important instruments to this end. . . . C. B. C. has undertaken many programs, worthless commercially and not necessarily with large listening audiences. It is important to ask, if the C. B. C.'s revenues are to be restricted, whether there will be any alternative available, prepared or able to spend large sums of money—without profit—to maintain these national objectives." The private stations' current concept of public service is illustrated by their answer to a question on this point posed by the parliamentary committee which sat in 1946. "One station reported that it recorded interviews with local British war brides and sent the recordings, free of charge, to the brides' parents in Britain. . . . Other stations had put on local man-in-the-street interviews. Many considered that they had done well by putting their facilities at the disposal of war-loan committees."

3. Educational broadcasts and similar special services, expensive and unprofitable, will be curtailed. Even in the United States, where \$400,000,000 goes annually to program making, such services hardly match up to the urgent needs of our time. Canada, which is a poorer country, is unlikely to fare better.

4. Canadian listeners will be inundated with programs "made in the U. S." They will be popular. But the growth of sound Canadianism, in fostering which the C. B. C. has played a distinguished part, will be retarded if not eliminated altogether. Canada will become, on the air at least, a cultural dependency of the United States.

5. French Canadians form over a third of the population. French Canada gets very special service from the C. B. C. There are those who question whether commercial radio will provide comparable service.

To the Canadian populace, as ill informed about radio as our own, glutted with vicious and one-sided propaganda, such a price may not seem heavy. It is, however, to be hoped that more enlightened groups may weigh in time the implications of the present drive by powerful, moneyed interests to seize control of the Canadian air. A sensible suggestion is that of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, which pleads for the appointment of a royal commission to study Canadian radio needs in 1947. Such a step would provide time for a sober review of Canada's peculiar cultural problems and might be expected to produce the right answer. It would also remove the discussion from the area of political partisanship.

Del Vayo—The Fascist Phoenix

FOR more than a year I have been insisting, to the point of tedium, that fascism is recovering its strength with a speed exceeding the most sensational predictions. One could count on one's fingers the people in this country who have shared my conviction. Many liberal observers have been concentrating so eagerly upon the big diplomatic battle, Washington versus Moscow, that they have paid little attention to this astonishing revival. But one American voice has consistently, and with a high sense of democratic responsibility, stressed the fascist danger. I refer to William L. Shirer, who last Sunday came back to the subject in his comment in the *New York Herald Tribune* on the latest report of the International Committee for the Study of European Questions.

I have that document before me. Its authors are also liberals, mild liberals most of them, but they live in Europe and can hear closer at hand the growling of the awakened beast. The report is dramatic but not hysterical. Instead of large phrases it offers a collection of well-authenticated facts. Only in one sentence does it reveal how deeply the committee members have been moved by recent developments: "The Allied peoples are beginning to wonder if the considerable sacrifices they accepted in the course of an unprecedented war have not been suffered in vain."

It must have been hard for a man like Edouard Herriot, whom I heard only a year ago in Paris repudiate those cynics who were proclaiming the peace lost, to subscribe to such a comment. But a year ago Schacht had not yet been consulted by the American military authorities on the economic problems of the Western zone; the former chief of the Nazi General Staff, General Franz Halder, was not yet "cooperating with the historical division of the General Staff of the American army"; Franco had not yet, for all practical British and American purposes, been acknowledged as Spain's irreplaceable chief of state; and the Pope had not yet bestowed upon Perón a high Vatican order. It is only in the last year that fascists have been received and even welcomed into the Western democratic brotherhood. The struggle for recovery that in the past has followed the defeat of every ideological movement of similar proportions has been one of enviable brevity for the fascists. A few were sacrificed in the first flush of victory, but as one of the Nürnberg casualties put it before he mounted the scaffold, "individual Nazis, not Nazism, have been hanged."

The facts about Schacht and Halder are not taken from the committee report. It was the United Press which on June 18 reported that "[American] intelligence officers who have been questioning Schacht said his ideas for stabilizing German economy will be seriously considered." It was Karl von Wiegand who, having met the former German Chief of Staff "casually" in an eye clinic at Marburg University, reported on June 22 General Halder's present relations with the American army and his ideas about war with Russia. "Soviet Russia [said Halder] could be invaded through the White Sea and Archangel, and the invading forces could

drive down toward the Volga River, the Mississippi of Russia in Europe. At the same time other forces could go through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea. Another army could advance from Turkey. Another from Greece and Thrace through the Balkans." A typical Nazi application of the Truman Doctrine. Though von Wiegand may have embroidered into the story some of his inveterate Germanophilism, the interesting fact is that a year ago Halder would have been more interested in saving his skin than in selling his solution for the world's present troubles.

It is in the light of the whole record that the committee's report should be read. To many names long since mentioned in *The Nation*, the committee adds those of Nazis occupying high positions in the Western zones. The man who practically controls the allocation of coal is Herr Helmut Kugler, not only a member of the Nazi Party but a former official of Hitler's Intelligence Service. The general director of the entire railway transport system in the British zone is Dr. Fritz Busch, another Nazi party member.

The report mentions other leaders of Nazi Germany who, more jittery than some of their countrymen like Herr Kugler and Herr Busch, fled to neutral countries during the war instead of awaiting confidently the future favors of the Allies. I was interested to discover an old acquaintance of mine recovering in Switzerland from his war-time hardships as a Nazi spy. It is the famous Baron von Stohrer, a man as huge as his audacity. In World War I he was the chief German plotter in Spain, and it was this valuable experience that led Hitler to send him to Madrid as ambassador at the beginning of World War II. Today he is supposed to be in charge of the whole Nazi diplomatic underground.

The committee charges that, in spite of Swiss assurances, "all German assets which were exported into Switzerland before the collapse of Germany and which belong to German or Nazi leaders who succeeded in escaping to Switzerland or other foreign countries remain in the hands of the latter [the Nazi leaders] today—even if temporarily blocked—and have escaped from the Allied powers." Thus fascism has not only reinstated its leaders but has saved enough funds to finance its revival. It is a revival in which almost every country, in one way or another, is involved. The report lists fascist activities in progressive Sweden as in reactionary South Africa. Fascism puts great hope in the United States, counting upon a favorable turn should the Republicans win in 1948.

The committee describes the insolent and defiant celebration last April in Italy of the anniversary of Mussolini's death. The report came too early to include such manifestations of fascism's rebirth as the incident in a public meeting in France where somebody jumped up and shouted, amid applause, "I have the honor of having been sentenced as a collaborator"; or the new provocative behavior of the Mosley group in Britain. But it gives full consideration to the situation in Argentina, whose capital has taken the place of Rome as Madrid long ago took the place of Berlin.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Divided Soothsayers

IT IS now thirteen months since the stock market began descending from its post-war peak, nine months since its violent break immediately after Labor Day. The pundits who claim that the market "always knows," that it is the best long-range predictor of the economic weather, felt certain last fall that a recession; if not a depression, was on the way. Month by month since then we have been given new warnings of the imminence of that recession, but it has still to appear. Recent stock-market action suggests an acute division of opinion between those who think trouble is just around the corner and those who are ready to bet on the prolongation of the present boom.

From early February to the middle of May the stock averages moved fairly steadily lower; since then the trend has been sharply reversed, and a large part of the lost ground recovered. However, many professional traders have been selling on the rise, for between May 15 and June 17 the short interest on the New York Stock Exchange rose from 1,314,391 to 1,540,493 shares. Publication of these figures on June 21 did not depress the market; on the contrary, the bulls decided that the bears would be forced to cover and so add to the buying pressure.

Who is right, the bulls or the bears? Will business maintain the present very profitable rate of activity, in which ease stocks on the whole are cheap, or are production, sales, employment, and profits about to start sliding downhill? The soothsayers of Wall Street seem to be getting very contradictory answers to these questions from their crystal balls. Thus in the latest issue of *Barron's* we find H. J. Nelson, "The Trader," full of good cheer. He points to the "sustained strength of retail buying," the generally sound inventory position, the unprecedented demand for heavy-industry products, record-breaking employment, and the new all-time peak in average weekly earnings, and concludes that "fundamental developments have become much stronger than such factors as the defeat of tax relief."

The editorial in the same issue of the same magazine reaches directly opposite conclusions. Its author rebukes President Truman for the optimistic tone of his tax veto message and, disagreeing with Mr. Nelson, interprets the denial of tax relief as definitely deflationary. "The special forces which have been sustaining business activity for so long," he declares, "now threaten to subside all together and not too many months hence."

In attempting to arrive at some conclusion about the rights and wrongs of this controversy it is worth while to review briefly the chief elements of the post-war boom. They are five in number—consumer restocking, inventory rebuilding, business investment, residential construction, and exports.

The flattening of the retail-sales curve since the beginning

of this year suggests that consumers have satisfied their most urgent needs in many lines and are now buying more cautiously. At the end of 1946 retailers became alarmed about the size of their inventories and reduced orders drastically, particularly for soft goods. At the same time they took measures to clear their shelves of sub-quality and *Ersatz* goods. As a result the position of the big retail organizations now seems much healthier. Department stores have reduced orders-plus-stocks by \$582,000,000 from their high point last August and brought their ratio to sales back to the pre-war figure. For the year to date department-store sales have been 11 per cent above 1946, but allowing for price increases this probably means a small decline in volume.

A recent Federal Reserve study shows that while many families drew heavily on savings during 1946, the total of personal holdings of liquid assets increased. Moreover, a larger number of consumers than in 1946 see good times ahead and may therefore be expected to spend freely. On the other hand, plans for purchasing houses and durable goods, other than automobiles, show a decline in comparison with last year. And nearly half the consumers interviewed expressed a belief that prices would go down, suggesting that some purchases may be postponed in anticipation. Nevertheless, the total of consumer purchasing seems likely to remain at a high level.

The rebuilding of inventories last year was a very important factor in sustaining economic activity, but the job is about completed. Industry is still adding to inventories but at a reduced rate, and the additions are to stocks of finished goods rather than to raw materials. The total, while high, is not abnormal in relation to the current volume of business, but any serious decline in business activity might start a dangerous wave of liquidation.

Business expenditure on new plant and equipment remains at a very high level. Plans call for an outlay of \$3½ billion in the present quarter—a little more than in the first—and the total for the whole year is estimated at \$14 billion compared with \$12 billion in 1946. Investment activity on this scale suggests that business men expect to find a profitable outlet for increased production.

The abandonment of most building controls is expected to increase the volume of business construction. On the other hand, it is feared that as a result both labor and materials will be diverted from residential building and the present declining tendency in materials prices will be reversed. Housing officials in Washington predict that new housing contracts will fall off sharply in the next few months.

With the outlook for the chief components of domestic demand somewhat mixed, the maintenance of exports may prove decisive for the continuance of prosperity. As I pointed out on this page recently, exports have been phenomenal since the beginning of the year, but a sharp reduction is threatened because our foreign customers are rapidly exhausting their supply of dollars. It has been estimated that each drop in exports of a billion dollars means a million unemployed; so that if the current rate of \$16 billion were reduced by no more than 25 per cent, the effects would be extremely serious. The United States, no less than Europe, has a big stake in the success of efforts now being made to find a sound basis for financing European recovery.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Romantic Survey

THE HIDDEN DAMAGE. By James Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

FOR any thinking person who has spent some time in post-war Germany the most inescapable problem has been the sorting out of one's emotions toward the German people. The pity provoked by the misery and squalor and hopelessness of their daily lives is constantly in conflict with the thought of the unspeakable outrages of the concentration camps, and the German with whom one is in daily personal contact is compared to the Vansittart version until the head spins and one discards the problem as soluble only at the highest level of authority and the lowest level of human emotion.

No book on post-war Germany that has appeared to date has done very much to resolve this confusion of feeling; the expert accounts of such events as the Nürnberg trials and the plots against Hitler, though of the greatest interest, deal with events so remote from the average human experience that they almost belong to the realm of romantic fiction, while books about the German people are likely to be a jumble of statistics or hobby-horses for someone's particular prejudices. James Stern's "The Hidden Damage" is therefore doubly welcome in that it deals with the reactions of a highly sensitive human being to other persons and is a subtle and penetrating impression of post-war Germany written by a man who knew the country and the people thoroughly before the war, and who can view them now with understanding, compassion, and detachment, and record his impressions in vivid prose.

The book is primarily an account of Mr. Stern's trip to Germany, under the auspices of the War Department, as a member of a team engaged in determining what effect aerial bombing had had on the civilian population, but it is also the description of the romantic return of a passionate lover of Europe, in search of the past and with half an eye on the possibilities of renewing the affair.

That France and England can be embraced again with pleasure there is no vestige of doubt in the author's mind; he approaches them both with the excited trepidation and ardor of a man too long separated from his mistress, and neither he nor the reader is disappointed: toward Germany he is much more tentative—Germany is the adolescent love with whom it was finally necessary to part for reasons of temperamental incompatibility, who has changed with the years almost beyond recognition, but who can still be viewed with sympathy because of the early love, who is hateful because of certain characteristics developed with the years, but who still bears traces of what was once enchanting.

Mr. Stern was chosen as a member of the survey team because of his knowledge of the country and the language (he had worked for some years in a bank in Frankfurt, a job which he detested and from which he sought relief by working late at night as a barman in one of the more disreputable bars in the city). He claims to have had no particular talent as an interviewer, but whatever his faults may have been in this respect, they are undoubtedly his virtues as a writer. If his mind had not wandered from the prosaic questions of the *Fragebogen*—occupation and address before and during the war? did bombing affect health, work, or sleep? how many air-raid casualties were there in the family? what damage was done to the home? how were the electricity, drainage, and sewage systems affected by raids?—the reader would not have been rewarded by the wonderfully illuminating flashes with which every interview he records is graced: the old man who at the end of his questioning expresses the wish that the Jews "who went to America" will return to Germany because "unter den Juden we were always able to buy so much cheaper"; the bitter Red Cross nurse whose recalcitrance causes Stern to finish up his interview with her thus—"Not married?" "Nein." "And no children?" "I said I was not married." "I heard you. Maybe that explains a lot."

The best sections of the book, how-

ever, are the descriptions of the awful damage inflicted on the German cities and the accounts of the people inhabiting the ruins. Mr. Stern met many old friends and acquaintances, and not all are any longer sympathetic. The Schmorell family, whose son has been beheaded and who have been tortured by the Gestapo, are infinitely pitiable, but not so the attractive Gisela Dunkelmann and her circle of friends, whom Stern finds the most guilty of all, because as intellectuals they were, or should have been, the most aware, and yet they show no trace of remorse.

It is the author's ability to maintain a remarkable degree of perspicacity and detachment in his judgments, despite his memories and his affections, which makes this book such a valuable document for the student of Germany. As an aid to enlightened, wise, and unbiased understanding of the German people it should be made compulsory reading for our entire occupation forces.

ANTHONY BOWER

Vergil and Horace

THE GEORGICS OF VIRGIL. Translated by C. Day Lewis. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

HORACE: A PORTRAIT. By Alfred Noyes. Sheed and Ward. \$3.50.

IN THE foreword to his translation of the *Georgics* of Vergil, C. Day Lewis states his belief "that every classical poem worth translating should be translated afresh every fifty years." Fair enough; sound enough; and raising interesting questions. What authority is to decide what classical poems are worth translating? Who is to do the translating into prose or verse? What enterprising publisher will engage to get Mr. Frost, if he knows enough Greek, to work on Theocritus, or Miss Millay, who does know enough Latin, to render the elegies of Sulpicia? Or Mr. Cummings to do the pattern poems of Simmias of Rhodes? Perhaps there should be a law—that every contemporary poet deliver a translation of some classical poem, within two, three, five years, failure to do so resulting in a suspension of his license.

Day Lewis has done a workman-like and readable job. Taking a leaf from Vergil's unfinished book, he has seen how the half-lines of the incomplete Aeneid added a wonderful, if accidental, grace to the long run of the hexameters; and he has deliberately broken his own six-beat lines with occasional short lines of three stresses. He has been as literal and line-for-line as possible, pointing out that didactic poetry is about the only kind that lends itself graciously to this kind of translation. Where the Georgics are didactic, Mr. Lewis's translation keeps them from seeming obnoxiously so; where they are not, as in the famous Orpheus and Eurydice story at the end of the fourth book, neither the translator's method nor his talent is equal to the occasion; but then whose would be?

An eminent enthusiast on agriculture, our own Louis Bromfield, contributes an introduction to this first American edition. (An English edition was published by the present publishers, the Oxford University Press, in 1940.) Mr. Bromfield's remarks are enthusiastic and idyllic, if not evangelical: what nobody seems to want to stress is that Vergil, for all the numerous contrasts he drew in favor of country as against city life, and in favor of the arts of peace as against those of war, nevertheless more than thought, he knew, that farmers had a hell of a tough time, and that farming was a continual battle. *Tantae molis erat!*

One would hardly suspect Alfred Noyes, that easygoing, folksy, rather careless, rather old-fashioned poet, of being the man to appreciate the elegance, the fastidious craftsmanship, the subtle music, of Horace, than whom no one, ever, better combined absolute precision with infinite suggestion. It is true that "modern" is almost a dirty word in Mr. Noyes's books; that he is diffuse and repetitious; that his convictions, at times, almost compel the reader to believe that, were Horace alive today, he would be receiving instruction from Monsignor Sheen. Mr. Noyes's enthusiasm is great, and his pretensions to scholarship modest; from the warmth and enthusiasm of his pages, from his real love of his subject, there is recreated, without too much false light or sentimental glamour, a stubborn, plausible, engaging little human being, a poet

of the first order. There are, in Mr. Noyes's text, many moving passages; none as moving as the Latin selections he so generously quotes. Mr. Noyes's own "isometric" translations are quite good, though he sometimes has difficulty with the second person singular, apostrophe in our time being more or less of a lost art. Mr. Noyes makes clear that Horace was not, as our systems of education used to seem convinced, a poet for freshmen—nor for old fogies at the Union League Club either; you have to be a little mature, whatever your years, before you can begin to understand him. Mr. Noyes does understand, and what's more, he delights, and both the understanding and delight are conveyed to the reader with confidence in the judgment of the interpreter. What more could a poet ask, after two thousand-odd years? To have someone, with some sense, who knows and who cares; one has not been boasting, then, in predicting "*Non omnis moriar.*" ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Old Jim Crow

JIM CROW AMERICA. By Earl Conrad. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.

INTO THE MAIN STREAM. A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South. By Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Associates. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

IN READABLE journalistic style Earl Conrad has prepared a vigorous indictment of Jim Crow America. While there is little novelty in the indictment, it has been drawn up by a good reporter with an eye for interesting detail and dramatic contrast. Dissecting the scheme of socio-economic domination that masquerades in America as "a race problem," Conrad devotes good chapters to the triple exploitation of Negro women—to women, as Negro women, as unwilling concubines of white men; to Negroes in the labor movement; to Negro migration; to the new "literary renaissance"—the airing, that is, which the "race problem" has received since 1943; to the treatment of racial minorities in the "white" press; to the Negro press; to restrictive covenants; to the iniquity of unequal educational opportunities; and to the Negro issue in contemporary politics. Much of it has been

said before, but it needs repeating; and Conrad has the knack of restating the familiar as though it were the news of the hour.

In a final chapter Conrad makes a point of major importance. While American liberals have been genuinely interested in the Jim Crow system, this interest has too often been of an intermittent, fitful, and oblique character. Jim Crow has usually been involved in liberal pronouncements as an after-thought; as something exterior to the central concerns of the liberal movement. If the liberals were to address themselves whole-heartedly and realistically to the task of uprooting the Jim Crow system, they would find that such an undertaking would raise every essential issue with which they profess to be concerned, and they might then find in 13,000,000 American Negroes and 3,500,000 Americans of Mexican descent the mass base for a powerful political movement. But to this day American liberals have been unable to see the strategic advantages in an all-out centralized assault upon Jim Crow. What is needed at the moment, as Conrad points out, is a single national pressure group made up of every element that has expressed an interest in the elimination of the Jim Crow system. "The phalanx of white friends of the Negro," writes Conrad, "although operating in labor, church, business, and other spheres, needs now to be brought into a great special camp, with the driving fervor of the old abolitionist movement." I believe, too, that Conrad talks great good sense when he writes that "the right 'button,' that which has historically and inevitably been dynamic in America, is white enlistment in behalf of the Negro." Today we have thousands of eager and willing volunteers, but as yet we lack organization and a general staff.

"Into the Main Stream" constitutes a good supplement to Earl Conrad's impassioned indictment of Jim Crow, for it is devoted to the thesis that *some* improvement in race relations is taking place in the South. Dr. Charles S. Johnson and his associates have struggled hard to making a showing (a) for the proposition that some improvement is taking place; and (b) for what might be termed the meliorist theory of race relations. It is difficult, however, to sum-

marize their findings, for they have not attempted to draw any conclusions from the materials which they have so laboriously collected. The volume has a rather curious subtitle: "A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South." In the general context of what is termed race relations in the South, the word "best" stands out rather embarrassingly. Granted that improvements have taken place, just how good is the "best" that this current survey shows in Southern race relations?

Of 224 "inter-racial committees" formed between April, 1943, and July, 1944, 27 are in Southern cities, but most of these cities are located in or near the border states. Nowadays Negroes are permitted to vote in North Carolina and in certain Southern cities, but generally speaking, the franchise is still withheld in rural areas. Occasionally, by prearrangement, a Negro is elected magistrate in an all-Negro township. In some areas a few carefully selected Negroes are now called upon for service on grand juries. More Negro lawyers are admitted to the bar every year in the South, but admission is difficult, and the bar associations are still lily-white. Within the last decade Negroes have been added to the police force in a number of Southern cities for service in Negro communities, but usually with a qualification, stated or implied, that they are not to arrest white persons.

Also within the last decade welfare institutions have added, here and there, trained Negro personnel, and in general more provision is being made for Negroes in welfare programs. Jim Crow practices are giving way, very gradually indeed, in common carriers. The press of the larger cities has been making an important contribution to race relations by the fairness of its news coverage and its advocacy of various reforms. There are faint stirrings of conscience in the church, some betterment in housing and health facilities; and "better practices" are developing in some institutions, both public and private, notably in federal agencies. But this constitutes about the sum-total of the "best practices" that the industrious authors of this volume have been able to produce.

On the crucial issues their research actually demonstrates the absence of

substantial improvement. For example, they report that there is "scarcely even a straw blowing" to indicate improvement in the working conditions of Negroes employed as domestics and in personal service. While war-time gains were made in industry, most of them took place outside the South, notably in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries on the West Coast. More Negroes are joining trade unions in the South, and here real progress can be noted. But candid admissions made throughout this survey serve to minimize the significance of the improvements which the authors note so hopefully. "Not a single college in Virginia reported even one full course on the Negro or on race relations"; "there has been no widespread increase in total Southern library facilities for Negroes"; "there is no state in the South where a distinct effort is made to reach Negroes with health facilities comparable to that directed toward whites"; and so forth. After making these repeated admissions, general in character, how much importance do the authors of this survey really mean to attach to the isolated "best practices" which they have so industriously garnered from current offerings in the

South? How important are these gains measured against the Monroe, Georgia, lynching of July 26, 1946? While some improvement is taking place in the South, it is to be noted, so to speak, around the edges of the problem and is occurring for the most part within the framework of the Jim Crow system.

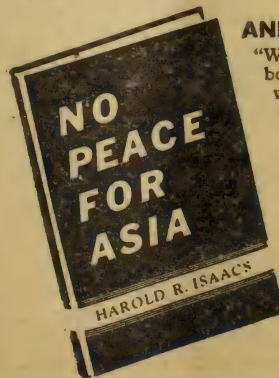
On the second point which seems to run as an implied thesis through this volume—namely, that the slow, gradual, meliorist approach to race relations in the South is the best approach—the verdict must be negative and on the very evidence that has been assembled to defend this contention. For the "best practices" are heavily counterbalanced by the "worst realities" in the South today. Here Earl Conrad might be said to have the best of the argument. "The liberals in the South," he writes, have never been decisive because they have rarely shown a "disposition to make the full demands which the situation requires. . . . While quietists and moderates make their snail's-pace gains, the neo-Confederates wait for the right situation to smash down heavily with their swift military blows that dash to bits the gentle talk and gentle action of the gradualists."

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What is impressive about the evidence assembled in the Johnson book is the record, not of white penitence, but of Negro good-will. Some years ago the Georgia Federation of Colored Women, disturbed by the fact that there was not a single institution in the state for the care and guidance of Negro girl delinquents, bought a 130-acre tract, improved it, with funds provided by a WPA grant, to accommodate seventy-five girls, and furnished it with funds which they collected. Asked to accept as a gift the land and improvements, the Georgia legislature grudgingly agreed to do so and then refused in 1939 and again in 1941 to provide an appropriation for the support of a badly needed institution which had not cost the taxpayers a cent. In 1942 Governor Arnall finally got a small appropriation for the institution. Stories of this sort, scattered through the volume, indicate pretty clearly that the Negro is responsible for much of the improvement in race relations noted in the South in the last decade. CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Dostoevsky's Genius

DOSTOEVSKY: A STUDY. By Janko Lavrin. The Macmillan Company, \$2.

HE WAS the first European novelist to explore the unconscious and annex it wholesale to modern literature." Thus Professor Janko Lavrin, opening his brief appraisal of Dostoevsky, proclaims what is for him of primary, compelling significance in the Russian writer's work—his preoccupation with the conflict, of a moral nature, raging within the individual. Professor Lavrin is understandably enthusiastic about his subject, and the enthusiasm leads him into a number of odd exaggerations whenever another writer than Dostoevsky is discussed ("Proust . . . the coldness of a peephole eavesdropper"); but in his own field of inquiry, regarding Dostoevsky as a psychologist who projected his own travail into the lives of his characters, he has some pertinent and well-expressed reflections to offer.

Dostoevsky's great talent lay in his ability to dramatize ideas. His men, and some of his women, are beset by a fervent desire for knowledge of God's existence. They are, however,

not intellectually impassioned in this quest; at least, that is not the main-spring of their desire. "Dostoevsky tackled the problem . . . primarily as a psychologist interested in God as an active element in man's consciousness—an element which fills the latter not only with the highest longings but also with the bitterest doubts and torments." Dramatized, such a concept evolves into a tragic character of split personality, like Ivan Karamazov, in whom a rigorously logical skepticism wars with a will to believe. In him the issue at stake is voiced clearly and its implications are fully recognized, for he is intellectual; but in other characters the conflict is waged underground and not so sharply defined, or perhaps not joined at all on the level of consciousness. Kirillov—in "The Possessed"—sublimates a religious yearning to accept God in an atheism which conveniently sets up the new man as God. Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, and Ippolit—in "The Idiot"—are all absorbed, to varying degrees of intensity, in the questions of God's existence and man's freedom; they are exalted because within each of them *both* sides of the argument vie uninterruptedly in a spiritual tug-of-war. Only Prince Myshkin, in what is paradoxically the most skilfully constructed of Dostoevsky's novels, represents but one half of the good-evil dualism which subsists in Dostoevsky's troubled heroes.

In this twentieth century several authors—Joyce and Kafka, notably—have made a descent into the spiritual "underworld"; but in his own time Dostoevsky was blazing a new trail when he embodied antinomic features in one character by use of the split inner dialogue. He was always primarily concerned with mental stress, which drove the persons in his fiction to grave and violent outbursts; this emphasis on psychological cause led him to what Professor Lavrin calls "visionary realism," in contrast to the detailed realism of a Zola, who depicted the manners of an entire society.

Dostoevsky anticipated the modern attitude toward criminals when he sought to distinguish, in his memoirs of Siberian penal life, "The House of the Dead," between the supra-normal and the abnormal aspects of mental activity. Nietzsche wrote of him later,

"He was the only psychologist from whom I had anything to learn."

Professor Lavrin's book, which subjects the five later novels to a careful scrutiny of plot, as well as a thorough analysis of character motivation, is interesting and illuminating. It does not especially attempt to fix Dostoevsky's historical position with regard to the main body of European literature, nor does it calculate in any formal manner his influence upon succeeding writers of renown; but as an introduction it is provocative. PAUL HENISSART

Fiction in Review

IT IS not at all uncommon for light fiction to betray a deep hidden bitterness; the work of Angela Thirkell is a case in point. But it is rare indeed to come across a light novel which, like Rupert Croft-Cooke's "Miss Allick" (Holt, \$2.75), announces an open anger. The theme of "Miss Allick" is the bad condition of modern literature, particularly of modern novels. It is a subject to which the author brings so much quiet passion that one must suspect him of having at some period in his career been that most unhappy of public readers, a fiction reviewer.

Mr. Croft-Cooke believes—and I agree with him—that in novels as in love people by and large get only as good as they ask for. He believes too—and I agree with him—that literature is no mere decoration of life but a true index of the health or sickness of a society, and that just as dictatorship, war, and all the other hideous phenomena of our political day undoubtedly answer a profound need in the modern mass-personality, so the debasement of our literary standards must reflect a loss of standards throughout our lives. The Miss Allick of Mr. Croft-Cooke's title is a governess with a firm determination to become a best-selling novelist. She succeeds—and not only once, but season after season. The secret of this grim lady's success is simple: she infallibly appeals to her times because she *is* her times. Her only values the easiest values of the moment, her opportunism indistinguishable from sincerity, Miss Allick is the perfect expression of a civilization diabolically contriving its own destruction.

There is a wonderful description of Miss Allick's dull fierce movement, as the cycles spin, from the romantic novel to bohemianism, to national pride, to social consciousness, to international politics—each step of the way hailed as a "classic" by the critics. Mr. Croft-Cooke's outline of the modern writing career might have been funnier, but it could not have been more accurate or better calculated to demonstrate the way in which literature marks our political directions; whatever liveliness is missing from "Miss Allick" is more than compensated for by its intelligence. And even the fact that Mr. Croft-Cooke's governess lacks convincing human quality, which we at first take to be a failure in character-drawing, assumes another significance as we grasp the full seriousness of the book's intention. Miss Allick's inhumanity is her author's final argument that it is monstrosity and not the human possibility that modern life and fiction celebrate.

Of the accumulated spring novels that I have been going through these last weeks I have so far found only one other, besides "Miss Allick," that seems to me to be worth noting—Henry Morton Robinson's "The Great Snow" (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75). The story of what happens to a family—husband, wife, two children, and some guests—marooned in a country house during a twenty-day snowstorm, Mr. Robinson's novel, although primarily concerned with states of mind, has a nice excitement about it: it makes you look out of your window to be sure that you, too, are not housebound by a blizzard. It also stirs your Robinson Crusoe instincts. But it is less for these pleasant gratifications than for its human decency that Mr. Robinson's book must be noticed. "The Great Snow" is written out of an affection and hope for people that is almost obsolete in current novels, especially in novels which claim a psychoanalytical inspiration.

I think there is little question that the main motive in present-day psychiatric or psychoanalytical fiction is revenge, especially against the psychiatrists and analysts themselves. It is as if we wanted to turn our dubious understanding of the workings of the mind against the very people who first invited us to self-knowledge, tell them that they are mad before they might tell

us that we are mad. This hostile attitude is of course new even in so-called Freudian fiction; up to a few years ago our chief impulse, as we tried to use the methods of analysis, was the impulse to make ourselves heroes rather than to make villains of the analysts. And heroism was mostly a matter of sensitivity: the more the writer could reveal of his own delicate mechanisms the more virtue and stature accrued to him. There was undoubtedly too much loving self-reference in our past performance, but at least it was a step short of what seems to be the current attitude—the need to assert ourselves by hitting out with blind passion against anyone who might question us.

In such a situation Mr. Robinson's novel, which regards the findings of psychoanalysis as an instrument of health, is something of a cultural anomaly. There is a good deal of muddle in Mr. Robinson's use of Freudian concepts, but this is of less importance than the fact that Mr. Robinson puts his Freudian principles wholly at the service of his characters, as a means of adding to their size and well-being. And he is never either didactic or mealy-mouthed about this purpose; to the best of his ability he tries to translate his clinical information into novelistic terms, and to avoid static resolutions. For instance, the most interesting passage in his book concerns the feelings of a markedly masculine father when he has to recognize the effeminacy of his young son. At first outraged, he gradually begins to see not only his own responsibility for the boy's character, but the kind of strength that resides under the son's seeming weakness. The result of this insight is no absolute happiness on the father's part, but merely an acceptance of the good-and-bad of which life is compounded—a larger humanity. It is this ambition for its characters that makes "The Great Snow" a mature and estimable novel.

DIANA TRILLING

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Innocent Eye" by Herbert Read

REVIEWED BY IRWIN EDMAN

"Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism" by Gershom G. Scholem

REVIEWED BY HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

Films

JAMES AGEE

IF YOU regard all experiment as affectation and all that bewilders you as a calculated personal affront, and if you ask of art chiefly that it be easy to take, you are advised not to waste your time seeing Jean Vigo's "Zero de Conduite" and "L'Atalante"; go on back to sleep, lucky Pierre, between the baker's wife and the well-digger's daughter, if you can squeeze in among the reviewers who have written so contemptuously of Vigo's work. If you regard all experiment as ducky, and all bewilderment as an opportunity to sneer at those who confess their bewilderment, and if you ask of art only that it be outré, I can't silence your shrill hermetic cries, or prevent your rush to the Fifth Avenue Playhouse; I can only hope to God I don't meet you there. If, on the other hand, you are not automatically sent either into ecstasy or catalepsy by the mere mention of avant-gardism, if your eye is already sufficiently open so that you don't fiercely resent an artist who tries to open it somewhat wider, I very much hope that you will see these films. I can't at all guarantee that you will like them, far less that you will enjoy and admire them as much as I do, for they are far too specialized. I can only be reasonably sure that you will find them worth seeing.

"Zero de Conduite" is a forty-minute movie about a French boys' boarding-school. It is hard for me to imagine how anyone with a curious eye and intelligence can fail to be excited by it, for it is one of the most visually eloquent and adventurous movies I have seen. But its fullest enjoyment depends rather heavily, I believe, on subjective chance. I happen to share a good deal of Vigo's peculiar kind of obsession for liberty

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and against authority, and can feel this in particularly clear emotional focus, as he does, in terms of the children and masters in a school. So the spirit of this film, its fierceness and gaiety, the total absence of well-constructed "constructive" diagnosis and prescription, the enormous liberating force of its quasi-nihilism, its humor, directness, kindness, criminality, and guile, form for me as satisfying a revolutionary expression as I know.

On one seeing, anyhow, the film is quite bewildering, even if you understand its main device, as I was slow to do; but if you know the device, and accept it, the bewilderment itself becomes essential to the poem, and to your pleasure in it. As I see it the trick is, simply, that Vigo gets deeper inside his characters than most people have tried to on film, is not worried about transitions between objective, subjective, fantastic, and subconscious reality, and mixes as many styles and camera tricks, as abruptly, as he sees fit—always, so far as I can see, using the right style at the right moment, and always using it with force, charm, and originality. I assume that he intended, as one of his main points, to insist that these several levels of reality are equal in value, and interpenetrative; and I

would accept this aesthetically for its enrichment of poetic perception, metaphor, and device, even if I rejected it intellectually.

It seems clear to me that on the wild level of "Zero," and on levels less adventurous, the unprejudiced eye could learn its way around such intricate treatment as naturally as it learned to link the many disparities which make up the basic vocabulary of conventional movies. Most movies, including many of the best, have been made timidly and under great handicap, with fragments of the movie alphabet which were mostly shaped and frozen by around 1925. In an important sense Vigo is far from "unconventional"; he is merely making much of the rest of the alphabet available. He has gone as far in this, I think, as Eisenstein or Dovshenko—in a very different direction, of course—and a great deal that he has done in this film, bold as it is, should be regarded less as inimitable experiment than as the conquest of more of the full ground on which further work can be done. It is as if he had invented the wheel. Many others were fumbling at it; some still are; but nobody of anything remotely like his ability is trying to find further uses for it; and one is sure to be branded as a solemn snob,

incapable of "enjoying" movies, if one so much as dares to speak in favor of these elementary devices by which enjoyment could be enlarged.

The boys in "Zero" are seen as they see each other; the audience is one of them. Although they are much the hardest, most happily perceived children I have seen in a movie, in one sense they are sentimentalized. They have the aloof, dangerous beauty of young, wild preying animals; whereas some of the schoolboys I knew were merely unnoticeable, others were sick, others gentle or timid, and still others were safe-playing, sycophantic dolts from the day they were born—faculty members already. I wish they had been shown in this variety, however it might have complicated Vigo's child-worship and his anarchic fury. The teachers, however, are perfect. Seen as the boys see them or hope to see them, they are masterpieces of caricature, mainly ferocious, one coldly compassionate, one in the hyperboles of admiration. The sympathetic teacher who inspires them to revolt is a sort of lay Chaplin; another, an inspired epitome of the snoop, suggests Groucho Marx or, still more, a tiptoeing lobster dressed in an undertaker's suit; the headmaster is a pompous, murderous, shrieking midget.

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There are so many wonderful scenes that I can mention only a few: the silent, mysterious opening, in which two boys in a railway compartment play out the most beautiful white-magic I have ever seen, with toys, tricks, and suggestions of competitive vice; a blood-slowing capture of paralysis of time on a Sunday, and on the carpet of the headmaster's office; a dormitory riot and procession, bearing a crucified teacher through a slow-motion storm of pillow feathers, which combines Catholic and primordial rituals and as an image of millennial, triumphal joy has only been equaled on film, so far as I know, by newsreel shots of the liberation of Paris. Vigo does some beautiful things, too, with subtly *slurred* rather than slow motion; and the stripped, mean sets and the occasional glimpses of pure naturalistic action are grim and firm as stone outcrops. Maurice Jaubert's score seems good but nothing extraordinary as music, but fitted with the film I like it as well as any outside Dovshenko's "Frontier."

(To be continued)

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

AT TWENTY I was as impressed by the late Paul Rosenfeld's "Musical Portraits" as most people were; but rereading it at thirty I could see that it was only a fancy rephrasing of generally accepted estimates; and what caused me to reread it and check my earlier impression was the conviction I had arrived at by this time that he did not really have the critical perception he pretended to in his writing. What little I saw of the writing after that always confirmed this opinion; and just recently it was confirmed again by his review of the program given by the American Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House in the spring of 1937, which I found in an old issue of the *New Republic*.

The program consisted of three ballets of Balanchine with musical scores by Stravinsky: two of Balanchine's greatest works, "Apollo" and "Le Baiser de la fée," the second with one of Stravinsky's finest and most moving scores, and "The Card Party." And Rosenfeld wrote that the third ballet's "appearance of relatively colossal magnitude was somewhat illusory, flowing to a distinct degree from the

fact of its companions' puniness: a puniness the consequence of wooden choreography combined in one case with a vital if languidly classical score, and in the other with an interminable fantasia on themes of Tchaikovsky's. . . . The choreography of 'Apollo' was utterly empty of poetry, effortful, and essentially at variance with the music. If that of 'Le Baiser' was less antagonistic to its score, it was largely for the reason that that composition itself is Stravinsky's feeblest."

On the other hand, W. J. Turner, who died in England last winter, was the most distinguished music critic of our time. An artist, a poet himself, he wrote about the qualities of Mozart's music, which are so difficult to describe, with a poet's penetration and precision of statement; and he had those illuminating insights which constitute the sole value of a critic's writing and are to be found in the writing of so few critics. Only the book on Mozart is still in print here; but you may be able to find others in the library: the one on Beethoven, the one on Berlioz, the collections of articles, the volume called "Music" (published in the Isaac Pitman "Art and Life" series).

An RCA Victor executive—in private conversation, and speaking, I was told and believe, as a disinterested music-lover—was reported to have expressed his amazement and impatience at the way some people talked and wrote about the superiority of the old Busch Chamber Players' recorded performances of Bach's Brandenburg concertos to the performances recently recorded by Koussevitzky with a small group from the Boston Symphony for Victor, when, this executive contended, anyone could hear how poor the soloists in the Busch performances were in comparison with those in the Boston.

Well, I can't: listening to the newly issued Boston performances of Nos. 2 and 5 (Set 1118; \$4.85) and to the Busch versions I hear that Moyse and Rothwell produce fine tone with their instruments even if not as fine as Laurent and Gillet, that Eskdale is as good a trumpeter as Voisin, that it is Burgin's violin-playing which is poor in comparison with Busch's, and Foss's piano-playing which is even poorer in comparison with Serkin's. And I am amazed that anyone with claims to understanding should think there is nothing involved beyond the tone of the flute and oboe; that he should fail to hear and appreciate in the Busch performances

what more there is that makes them the wonderful and exciting things they are—the relaxation, lightness, and grace, the sensitive accentuation of the bass, the balance and consequent clarity of the lines of sound in the contrapuntal texture and their sensitive inflection; and that he should fail to hear the opposites of all these things in the Boston performances.

Listening to the Boston performance of the Andante of No. 2 I became aware of a bareness in the sound of the accompaniment, and realized that it was caused by the fact that the two cellos were playing the bass-notes alone without the keyboard instrument prescribed in the score. The bareness was even more striking in the concluding Allegro, where long solo passages were heard far above the bass—so striking that it was clear that Bach could not possibly have intended this result, and that he had expected the keyboard instrument to fill in the harmony, as Serkin does in the Busch performance. Here is Koussevitzky, outraged by a biographer's statement that there were things he did not know and had to learn when he began to conduct the Boston Symphony, but revealing that today he still doesn't know, and can't even hear, the necessity of the keyboard instrument Bach prescribes for a performance of the Brandenburg Concerto No. 2.

Busch has been criticized for his use of a piano instead of a harpsichord; but the force of the criticism is lessened by the discretion of Serkin's playing. Its only flaw is the over-romantic style of his performance of the cadenza in No. 5; but this is better than Foss's lack of any style at all.

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Letters to the Editors

All Is Not Well with China

Dear Sirs: The Chinese government has charged that the beaten-up and arrested students were Communists or their agents. Chiang, Chang Chun, and Wu Kuo-Cheng, the Mayor of Shanghai, have all said so again and again. None the less, that is a lie, pure and simple. Every simple person can see it. Even Dr. Hu Shih, who is certainly no Communist, called such a charge ridiculous nonsense.

The logic of the government is simply this: the Communists are against the government; the students who demand peace, democracy, salvage of education, and freedom from hunger are also against the government; therefore, the students are Communists or their agents. Since to put all the young men and women in jail is not feasible, killing, thrashing, and imprisoning their elected executives are chosen to do the trick.

Consequently, the professors sympathetic with the students and the reporters not misinforming the public are also Communists. Communists do not deserve to enjoy the common human rights—the government has made up its mind on that. And the government has police, military, Gestapo, and guttersnipe forces as well as an inexhaustible supply of paper and ink to print bank notes for paying those forces.

One cannot but let the democratic world know that all is not well with China. There follows a manifesto by seventy-six professors of Shanghai, issued five days ago:

Watching the recent nation-wide upheaval among college students with deep concern and close deliberation, we, professors at various universities and colleges in Shanghai, are of the opinion that the aspirations of the students are laudable and their requests legitimate, while the government's attitude and proceedings in dealing with the matter are unjustifiable.

By peaceful means the students have been asking for the salvage of education, the adoption of democratic policies by the government, the relief from the pinch of hunger, and the end of the civil war. No doubt if their wishes were taken cognizance of now and fully complied with eventually, the students as well as the nation at large would before

long be happily lifted from the pit of suffering they are all in now. There is nothing to be feared in this movement of the students. Rather it clearly indicates that the nation is pulsating with a new spirit. China's own history is full of such regenerating instances, ancient and modern. But to our surprise and despair, the government chooses not only to ignore the resurgent will of the people as voiced by the young but to resort to hot-headed repressive measures. On May 18 the National Government of Nanking decreed its six "expedients in maintaining social order," and thereafter high-handed and disreputable steps have been unscrupulously and ruthlessly taken to suppress the student movement all over the country.

During the last fortnight large numbers of college students have been molested, brutally beaten up, arrested, and imprisoned on the false charge of their being "Communist agents" in Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, and other big cities. Pistols, guns, bayonets, iron rods, and heavy wooden clubs bristling with nails or barbed-wire coils have been indiscriminately used to wound and to kill. Hundreds and thousands of government agents, including policemen, soldiers, gendarmes, and plain-clothes men, broke into dormitories at midnight to arrest students. Girls pulled out of their beds by the hair were not even allowed to put on day dresses before they were thrown into police and military vans to be rushed to jails. The arrests are being continued, and the arrested will not be sent to the courts. Nor is it known when the imprisoned will be set free or whether wholesale murder will be their common fate. As teachers of the young men and women, we have therefore decided to declare:

"We strongly condemn and protest against the use of brute force, on the part of the government, to suppress the student movement as well as the criminal violence employed and illegal arrests made by the government agents;

"We demand the immediate release of all students thus arrested and the government's assurance in good faith that such wanton abuse of power will not be repeated;

"We demand full protection for such basic human rights as freedoms of the body, of speech, of publication, of congregation, of the forma-

tion of societies, of lecturing, of demonstration, and of petition, and the instant abolition of the six 'expedients';

"We ask that the outlay on education in the country's budget be increased from less than 4 per cent to 15 per cent, which may be contrasted with the 80 per cent going to military expenditure; and

"We strongly urge the immediate ending of the civil war and the sincere practice of democratic policies by the government."

YANG WEN-PEU

Shanghai, June 6

We Learn from History . . .

Dear Sirs: When General Marshall recently advised Americans to study the Peloponnesian War, I got out my Thucydides, blew off the dust, and read, in an effort to find out just what he meant. I still cannot understand what he finds in Thucydides to recommend the policy he is pursuing in foreign affairs. I wonder if the General paid any attention to the causes of the war or if like most military men he was interested in nothing but the military details.

The situation preceding the Peloponnesian War was remarkably similar to the world situation today. The two great Mediterranean powers were Athens, a democracy, and Sparta, a totalitarian, communistic nation.

In Sparta, nominally a monarchy, all land and other natural resources belonged to the state; individual accumulation of wealth was prohibited, even to the possession of the smallest amount of gold or silver; and the use of wine or any imported luxury was strictly forbidden. Every activity of life from childhood to old age was regulated by law. Universal military training—really universal since it included girls as well as boys—furnished the government with the prime requisite for true totalitarianism. Art, science, philosophy, and all things that contribute to a free and liberal enjoyment of life were wiped out. The sole aim of the country was the militarist goal, complete and instant readiness to fight.

Athens was the heart of the world's democracy and had long been the center of learning and culture in the West. But it was no longer the true democracy of old, living simply and beautifully

on the products of the soil. Its merchants monopolized the commerce of the Mediterranean, and individual wealth accumulated, while "plain living and high thinking" were no more. Athens had a navy which surpassed all other navies combined. It had seized bases and outposts all over the Aegean. It had made defensive alliances with two oligarchies, Regium in Italy and Leontini in Sicily, whose function was to curb Sparta in the West. It had an alliance with the other great naval power, Cocyra. It was in a position to cut off Sparta from its chief grain supply in Sicily.

Athens had already ruined Megara by economic boycott, because Megara would not side with it against Sparta. It was preventing home rule in Aegina. Urged on by the big-navy party and the greed of its merchants, it assumed that its manifest destiny was to control the Mediterranean world and eliminate the Spartan Communists. Its people were swamped with taxes, levied largely for the purpose of realizing the imperialist dreams of its militarists and merchants.

Voices were not wanting on both sides to warn that only ruin could ensue from the threatened contest for supremacy. Even among the war-loving Spartans old King Archidamus told his people that they were piling up woes for their children's children. But the Spartan militarists were sure they could win a speedy victory, and the Athenian authorities were equally confident.

After the war started, there were occasional efforts to make peace, but the militarists were always too strong and the conflict dragged on for years, with Sparta eventually the seeming victor but both parties so exhausted that they fell an easy prey to Thebes and Macedon.

ASA M. HUGHES

Lansdale, Pa., June 19

A Planned Economy

Dear Sirs: In order to bring down the very high and unreasonable prices of meat and thereby help the families of limited means every American should pledge his country at least two meatless days per week. Two meatless days per week will also do us good physically.

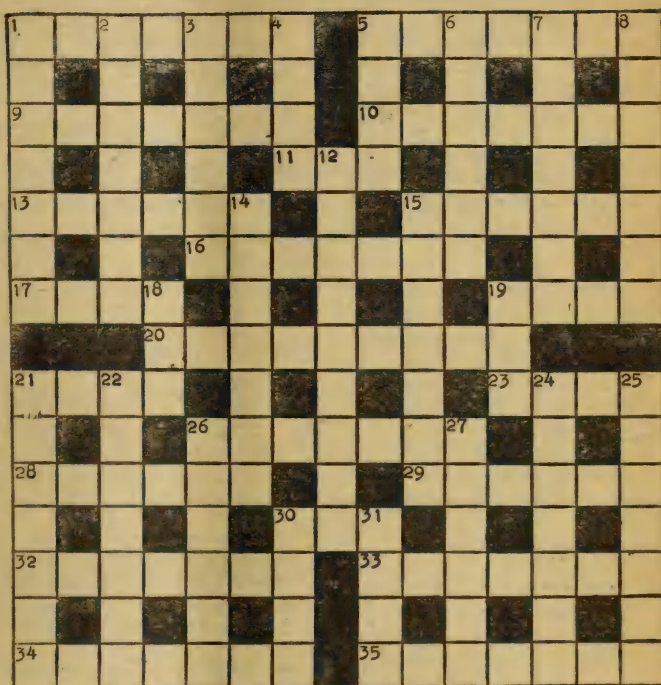
I also believe that we should strictly abstain from steaks and roast beef for at least thirty days. We have been eating too much steak and roast beef lately. This will likewise have a good effect on meat prices.

WILLIAM ROSS

Brooklyn, June 26

Crossword Puzzle No. 218

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 The outer man
- 5 High color
- 9 Scalding hot
- 10 Cure seen about last month
- 11 "Even copious Dryden wanted, or forgot The last and greatest --- to blot"
- 13 Bird allowed around a hostelry
- 15 Deliberate
- 16 Part of an animal's foot which doesn't reach the ground
- 17 Was carried away
- 19 In order
- 20 To the professor it might savor of a sinecure (4 & 5)
- 21 Bread upon the waters?
- 23 Dick
- 26 At no time (3 & 4)
- 28 Not the presiding deity of the Golden Age
- 29 The cock, none the less, shows people their turn of duty
- 30 A wild theory
- 32 Exceedingly hard, this
- 33 "-----" half-brother of the world! With something good and bad of every land"
- 34 Lacking finish
- 35 No longer a medicine of secret composition

DOWN

- 1 A man at last
- 2 Star of the belted one
- 3 If red, would end = began

- 4 Scandinavian legend
- 5 Denomination
- 6 Cry "Wo!" back
- 7 Wash even more than Sir Harry
- 8 It marks a look-out place
- 12 Glances which may prove fatal
- 14 Isn't one in suspense?
- 15 Parley in another language
- 18 Hard to tell where its tail starts
- 19 Ada leaves the fleet
- 21 Search in the bazaar
- 22 The original pawnbroker?
- 24 A commuter—on the L. I. route
- 25 A 36-inch limb?
- 26 Not come of age yet
- 27 They look one way and go another
- 30 Is it the way to end inflammatory diseases?
- 31 The most important thing

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 217

ACROSS:—1 GIBUS; 4 DAD; 6 DENIM; 10 TOSLED; 10 CARAVAN; 11 ANSWER; 13 POINJAY; 15 NATURAL; 16 INSETS; 17 ISLE; 19 SPINNER; 21 ASTI; 23 AIRING; 25 CRATING; 27 SUPPOSES; 28 TOSSES; 31 ONE-TIME; 32 LOOSELY; 33 DOSED; 34 NAP; 35 SEDGE.

DOWN:—1 GOTH; 2 BRUISES; 3 SOLVENTS; 4 DODO; 5 DOCTOR; 6 DERAIL; 7 NAVAJOES; 8 MONEY; 12 RASPS; 13 PUNNETS; 14 PAGEANT; 16 IDA; 18 EGG; 20 RIGOROUS; 21 TOPLESS; 24 IN-STRAD; 25 COPIED; 26 AEGEAN; 27 SNOOD; 29 STYLE; 30 CLIP.

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The Shape of Things

UNRRA ENDS ITS LIFE, ALAS, AT A TIME when the barest needs of human beings—food, clothing, medical supplies—are not being met in those countries where the war's devastation has been chiefly felt. Major General Lowell W. Rooks, UNRRA's retiring director general, was right in calling attention to the necessity of a global approach to "the global problem of world recovery." But he also pointed out that a special United Nations technical committee had estimated that \$583,000,000 was required "just to meet the minimum subsistence imports for 1947 necessary to prevent collapse in the European countries hardest hit by the war." So far these funds do not appear to be forthcoming. The International Refugee Organization is ill-furnished even to discharge its task of caring for the 800,000 displaced persons still in Europe's camps. The International Children's Fund has to date only \$560,000 in its treasury. The special relief appropriations for American aid to Europe are still stalled between House and Senate. Meanwhile, Greek school children have their lunches cut off—a life-saving 700 to 800 calories a day; seven out of eight Hungarian children have no shoes; in other countries the tuberculosis rate in children between 3 and 6 is rising ominously. The purpose of the Marshall plan was to get Europe off the relief list, to assist it in providing a base for the secure life of its people. But hungry people can't live off plans. Some of them should be brought to this country, as the Stratton bill proposes. For the rest, this wealthy nation must be prepared to hasten the work of the U. N. agencies already established and to carry the major share of the additional emergency relief activities needed to complete UNRRA's unfinished task.

✱

A NEW ACCOUNT OF AMERICA'S PHYSICAL contribution to a hungry world has just been rendered in the report of the Cabinet Committee on World Food Programs. In the past twelve months 18,433,000 long tons of grain and other foodstuffs were shipped abroad—the largest volume of food ever exported by one country in one year. This is truly a tremendous achievement, and a great tribute to the productivity of the American farmer. But as the report says: "There is no room for complacency in the general picture." The slow recovery of the war-devastated areas has been still further retarded

by the terrible weather that struck Northern Europe last winter. For at least another year abnormally large shipments of food will be required, together with supplies of fertilizer and other aids to the restoration of European and Asiatic fields. With a record wheat crop now being harvested, the committee expresses hope that grain exports in the next twelve months may equal those of the past year. However, it points out that the total picture is clouded by uncertainties about the size of the corn crop, which has suffered serious damage in the Missouri and Mississippi floods. The probability of a short crop has sent corn prices soaring so that they are now nearly on a par with those of wheat. There is thus a danger that wheat needed for human sustenance abroad will be diverted to stock-feeding. The high price of meat encourages such diversion, and there are now no controls which the government can exercise to check it.

✱

FRANCO SHOWED ADMIRABLE RESTRAINT IN putting only at 80 per cent the majority obtained for his Law of Succession in last Sunday's plebiscite. Everybody had expected that the official figure would run at least to 90 per cent. The plebiscite proved itself the farce that we had anticipated and denounced. With proverbial good humor, the Spaniards caricatured the plebiscite. One man says, "What does it mean if we vote 'yes' or 'no'?" The other answers, "If we vote 'yes,' it means we want Franco to stay on as dictator. If we vote 'no,' it means we do not want him to stop being dictator." The correspondents of the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune* were in Bilbao on the day of the voting. They reported a heavy abstention in spite of the official threats of reprisals. If they had been able to observe the polling in other cities, their conclusion would have been more or less the same. The fascist regime will nevertheless exploit its "80 per cent majority" to try to convince the world that Spain has now fulfilled all the requisites that are needed to apply for membership in the United Nations. Señor Lequerita, the friend of Marshal Pétain and of Herr Ribbentrop and former Franco ambassador to Paris, is going to be dispatched to Washington on a special mission. We need hardly warn the delegates who come together in September for the General Assembly of the United Nations to be on the alert.

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THE RANCOROUS DEBATE IN THE SECURITY Council over the report of the Balkan Commission reached a climax last week when Sir Alexander Cadogan asserted that if the Council could not apply the proposal to create a frontier commission to patrol both sides of the Greek border and try to ease friction between Greece and its northern neighbors, then "we had better tear up the Charter and pack up." It was a sharp and exasperated retort to Mr. Gromyko's contention that such a border patrol would be an invasion of the sovereign rights of the nations concerned. On the general findings of the Balkan Commission one would expect a clear-cut divergence of views between the eastern and the western nations. But it seems to us that Russia did not need to give up its contention that the Greek war is primarily a civil war in order to accept the commission's one constructive recommendation. It could have insisted on a border commission of such outstanding impartiality that it would listen as attentively and act as energetically when Albania accuses Greece as when Greece accused Bulgaria. Unless Russia really intends to encourage border warfare, it would cost it nothing to support the commission's proposal. And the effect here would be astonishing.

✱

THE CONCERT OF NATIONS IS FULL OF SOUR notes these days, and even attempts at international duets are not very successful if one of the participants is a Russian. British husbands of Russian wives whom they married and left, pro tem, in the Soviet Union, sent a delegation to interview Molotov during his recent brief visit to Paris, the object being to persuade the Kremlin to let the ladies out. The results of this petition have not been divulged, but meanwhile a Canadian, one George Okulitch, formerly military attaché at the Canadian embassy in Moscow, has revealed the answer he received from Andrei Y. Vishinsky when he asked for an explanation of the refusal to let his Russian wife accompany him home to Canada. It runs as follows:

We have no racial prejudice as to whom our women may marry. But it is up to us whether or not they leave the country. . . . The duty of a Russian woman is to produce Soviet children—not children for the Canadian government. . . . Most women who marry foreigners are of the wrong type to be examples of Russian womanhood. They try to exchange the hardship of building Russia for the ease of other countries. Women talk too much and thus they give the wrong impression of the Soviet Union.

We doubt whether any woman, if she talked for a week, could give a less favorable impression of the Soviet attitude toward children, women, capitalism, and international cooperation than Mr. Vishinsky has done in half a dozen sentences. He assuredly talked too much.

Rent and Politics

EGGED on by the real estate lobbies, blandly ignoring warnings that the terrible housing shortage rendered continued firm control of rents imperative, Congress sent HR 3203—the Housing and Rent Act of 1947—to the President on June 19. It was assumed that he would sign it, for Congress had in fact left him no alternative but to let rent control lapse completely on July 1. The Republican authors of the bill naively calculated that the President would thereby share full responsibility for a measure which they realized contained plenty of political dynamite. Consequently, when Mr. Truman added to his signature a message bitterly attacking the act, they were both shocked and hurt. Senator Buck of Delaware went so far as to deny the chief executive the right to criticize legislation he had signed—a strange new constitutional conception. He accused the President of “undermining” the law from motives of “pure politics.”

We need not take this outburst of indignation too seriously; to the politician the other fellow's politics are always suspect. However, the anger of the G. O. P. Senators does seem to us revealing. Clearly, when they passed this bill, they were hoping to have their cake and eat it; they wanted to appease their real estate friends without stirring up the public too much and they hoped to gain both objectives by a measure which combined the shadow of control with the reality of decontrol. No wonder they were disturbed when Mr. Truman gave a lead to the voters.

Actually, no words from any authority were needed to spark public indignation. The act speaks for itself and the avidity with which landlords have seized upon it as a way to boost rents has been more than enough to create an uproar boding no good to a number of Congressmen. At best, the act offers tenants protection only to the end of 1948, when the housing shortage is likely to be hardly less acute than today, and then only to those willing and able to pay an immediate 15 per cent increase in rent. Hundreds of thousands of families living in hotels, tourist camps, and recently completed houses, are left entirely defenseless in the face of demands for rent increases of up to 100 per cent. The reaction could easily have been foreseen—spontaneous organization of tenants associations and loud demands for local remedial legislation.

While acting to make shelter dearer, Congress has also acted to make it scarcer. As Mr. Truman properly pointed out in his message, the act repeals almost all the emergency aids to housing provided by the Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946. It eliminates virtually all the controls designed to prevent diversion of labor and materials to non-essential building. Conse-

quently, we can now expect more hot-dog stands, filling stations, and movie theaters, but few houses at prices veterans can afford. No doubt it will be argued that the act gives new incentives to speculative builders. What if they do concentrate on luxury homes and apartments? Won't those who move into them leave their present homes to people a rung lower on the economic ladder? And won't a succession of vacancies all down the line eventually make room for those at the bottom? It's a pretty theory but, according to a report by the New York Citizens Housing Council issued last weekend, only one of three families buying new homes leaves a dwelling unit which might become available to another family. Ergo, the theory, insofar as it works at all, works mighty slowly. The housing crisis is too desperate to be met by leisurely *laissez faire*. We need action immediately. The least Congress can do to atone for HR 3203 is to defy the real estate lobby and pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill before adjourning. It is a grossly inadequate measure but it takes a first step toward the only solution for the problem—public housing.

Lewis—Still Champ

EVERY aspect of the coal situation is loaded with mockery, with John L. Lewis as the principal mocker. As this is written, a settlement appears to be shaping up which, while probably averting a major strike or one of long duration, will provide the miners' leader with many a reminiscent laugh in the year to come.

Among the targets of his humor is, first, the general public, whose coal will cost from 70 to 75 cents more per ton under the reported terms of the contract now emerging from discussions with Northern operators.

Second, there are the Southern operators, who last week-end were in the pitiful and ludicrous state of being completely ignored. For the past three months they had been valiantly marching up the hill, with their banners of independence streaming and battle cries of unyielding sternness on their lips. When last heard from, they had marched down the hill again, having abandoned all weapons but a willing fountain pen. They were begging soulfully only for a chance to meet with the great man.

Third, there are the professional government-baiters, mostly in Congress, who have been complaining ever since 1941 of Administration sell-outs to Lewis, through War Labor Board awards or direct contracts. It turns out, however, that Lewis has won infinitely more concessions from those hard bargainers, the operators, than he ever did from the weak-kneed bureaucrats.

Fourth, there is the C. I. O., whose 1947 wage-increase formula, the 15 cents package, Lewis has more than doubled.

Finally, there are the framers and supporters of the

Taft-Hartley Act. The contract now being worked over removes the U. M. W., for a year at least, from a large number of the law's requirements. The contract terms may be expected to serve as pattern language for many other strong unions.

If a coal settlement across the boards takes place in the next few days, as now seems likely, it will be a blow in particular to Representative Hartley, the tuppenny Taft. That frenetic little man had devised a veritable arsenal of weapons against Lewis, sometimes as many as two, mutually contradictory, in twelve hours. Labor peace on the basis of a contract arrived at through collective bargaining, without government interference, is enough to make him wonder whether anything is sacred any more.

Molotov Splits Europe

IT IS the irony—and the tragedy—of Molotov's Paris refusal that he has made inevitable the situation Russia most fears, the division of Europe into two parts. Moreover, he has made it inevitable that with American assistance Western Europe will now be organized into an economic whole. Worst of all, he has made it extremely likely that the recovery of Eastern Europe will be indefinitely retarded, that region now being cut off from the industrial resources of Western Europe and the additional help that will come from America.

We need not go too deeply into the grounds for the Soviet decision. American post-war policy up to and including the Truman Doctrine could be interpreted as fumbling efforts to mobilize the resources of the western democracies against Russia's western expansion. Soviet ideology makes the conflict between American capitalism and Soviet communism appear inevitable. Moreover, the rigidly controlled economic system of the Soviet Union—which has been projected into the neighboring territories to the east—may have suggested to Russia a similar plan of Western European organization which would hold only menace for a competing scheme of society. What was not taken into account is the fact that both England and France had already refused to accept the Marshall plan as an extension of the Truman Doctrine and that in the plans for a "Committee of Cooperation" which Bidault formulated there was no suggestion of a tight economic union that would menace the sovereign integrity of any nation. The sacrifice of national sovereignty demanded was far less than that called for by adherence to the Charter of the United Nations.

The course of European recovery which will now be followed will be subject to severe limitations. For Eastern Europe is rich in those resources needed by the west—agricultural products, coal, oil, electric power, lumber, fertilizers. Western Europe, heavily industrialized, is

capable of supplying the manufactured articles, industrial equipment, and farm machinery that Eastern Europe desperately wants. The recovery of both sections is so interdependent that it is little short of a major catastrophe that the line drawn at Yalta has been now transformed into what appears to be an unsurmountable barrier.

The political consequences of this division—itsself springing from political causes—are hard to estimate. The recovery of Western Europe will proceed, for it appears that the majority of Western European nations are prepared to come together this Saturday to work out a common plan. But there is no doubt that the non-Russian character of the cooperation is quite capable of being given an anti-Russian emphasis. The American Congress, for example, already indoctrinated with anti-Russian venom, will find it easier to grant substantial credits for Western Europe organized *against* the east. And if the Communists in the western nations attempt to sabotage the new program they will undoubtedly strengthen the hand of the right.

What may balance this tendency is the first set of European democracy against any revival of right-wing capitalism. This is true of England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, and Italy. In all these countries the remarkable recovery since the war—in some the industrial-production index is beyond that of 1939—has been carried out along the lines of semi-Socialist planning. In each of these countries the Socialist forces are a major political factor. In each of them the right is on the defensive.

The major consideration in Western Europe's acceptance of the Marshall plan has been an economic one. The post-war comeback, remarkable though it has been, has been seriously limited by deficits which can only be met by outside help. The slowness of the Ruhr's rehabilitation, added to England's coal crisis, has deprived Western Europe's industry of its major source of power. This has had to be augmented by American coal—which since the end of the war has been flowing in at the rate of 20,000,000 tons a year. The reequipment of Europe's industries must depend upon American imports. American food must feed Europe's mouths. But during the past few months the lack of American dollars has become acute, and in the words of a recent United Nations report, Europe is nearing "the brink of economic breakdown."

This threat of collapse was probably the major factor in bringing the Marshall plan into being. For American industry, dependent as it is upon foreign exports, would be shaken to its foundations by economic disaster in Europe. The drain upon American resources when the plan goes into effect will not be light. The two American government committees and the third one recently named by the President under the chairmanship of Secretary of

Commerce W. Averell Harriman, will have no easy task mapping out the American end of the program and selling it to the American people.

The best that can be hoped from the Marshall plan is that Europe, put back on its feet economically, will cease to be torn between the polar attractions of two great world powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and will develop stability of its own. It will, in fact, become a third bloc, providing a balance between the two giants. Its mixed economy and its political liberalism will be a compromise between the capitalism of North America and the totalitarian socialism of Russia. But what is important is that, even at this stage, the door of Western Europe be left open toward the east. After

the heat of the present crisis passes, it may well be that a number of the eastern countries will want to resume the economic relations with the west that have already been begun. The suggestion in Bidault's statement last week that "the plan be submitted to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe" and that "The 'Committee of Cooperation' and subcommittees shall keep in close contact with the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe" should be included in the final decisions reached after the present Paris meeting. For our hope is that the political considerations which last week blocked an all-Europe scheme of cooperation may in due course be superseded by the economic logic that operates against the permanent division of Europe into two airtight parts.

A New Weapon for Witch-Hunters

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 3

THERE were moments during the trial of Carl Aldo Marzani when one imagined oneself back in pre-revolutionary Russia. In the prisoner's dock was a young man of poor family. He had made a brilliant scholastic career, won a scholarship abroad, settled on his return in a working-class neighborhood, and been drawn into the radical movement. The testimony of a police spy and agent provocateur was now sending him to jail. The old czarist files must contain many such cases. The files of the American government will contain many more if Marzani's conviction is upheld on appeal. For this trial, which the prosecution frankly labeled a test case, threatens to establish a precedent by which many past and present government employees may be sent to jail. Ostensibly they will be punished for having made misstatements in qualifying for government employment, as Al Capone was sent to prison for making a mistake in his income tax. Actually they will have come up against a new device to prosecute for opinion.

The Marzani case must be seen against the background of the anti-red hysteria which is driving intellectuals of all sorts out of the government, and beginning to give social life in Washington the jitters. Much of the Congressional snarling about reds has focused, oddly enough, on a department—State—which has always had fewer radicals and liberals than any other branch of the government except War and Navy. The atmosphere developed has made life in the State Department exasperatingly difficult, not only for a scattered few New Deal-

ers, but even for enlightened conservatives like Dean Acheson and Will Clayton. "I guess," one State Department official out of Wall Street said despondently when I spoke with him the other day, "they"—meaning Congress—"just suspect anybody who's been abroad." A dishonorable factor is the undercover alliance between Congressional witch-hunters and certain men in the old branches of the department hostile to new blood brought in when State absorbed various formerly independent agencies dealing with economics, information, and intelligence.

An additional factor in the demoralization and panic spreading in the department's rank and file is a campaign from sources outside Congress to equate resistance to reactionary foreign policies with disloyalty to the United States. This was already apparent in some of the attacks on Spruille Braden's opposition to Perón. It is strikingly evident in John Chamberlain's letter to the new Under Secretary, Robert Lovett, in the June 30 issue of *Life*. Chamberlain spins a web of doubt around those in the department who are opposed to the Kuomintang. If allegiance to the United States is to be identified with allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek, it is easier to understand the panicky manner in which the department last week dismissed ten employees on what might be described not too unfairly as suspicion of suspicious association with suspect characters. They were not only dismissed without a hearing but without a statement of charges against them and without notice to their superiors. Under the McCarran rider to its war-time appropriations act the department may dismiss employees in just such an arbitrary manner when it believes there are security reasons. But those who remember the department's readiness to make

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similar sinister but later disproved charges in the "Case of the Six" two years ago will not have too much confidence in Secretary Marshall's vague allegations of "indirectly keeping company" with foreign powers. At least in this case the names have been withheld from the press. The ten dismissed, like Marzani, were from the newer branches of the department. If Congressional uproar forces publication of their names, some may meet Marzani's fate.

Marzani is Italian born, the son of a minor anti-Fascist official who came to this country in the early '20's and settled near Scranton, Pennsylvania. Marzani worked his way through school and went to Williams, where he was editor of the college literary paper and won a Rhodes scholarship. He had a year at Oxford, visited Loyalist Spain—a damning fact in Washington today—and returned in 1939. He and his wife settled on the East Side, and he taught economics for a while at New York University. He did not come to public attention until last fall.

Marzani, to put it mildly, hardly fitted into the State Department. His own opinions—opinions he did not hide—were pretty much those of a fellow-traveler. He was uncomfortable in the department, to which he had been transferred with the remains of the Office of Strategic Services. Efforts were made to get him fired immediately on his transfer there in the spring of 1946. Marzani wanted to resign but was urged by his superiors to stay on. He began to organize a business to make films for labor unions and took a leave of absence last summer to do a film, "Deadline for Action," for the United Electrical Workers. General Electric and other firms bought prints to show at private meetings as a horrid example of red propaganda. The film was attacked in the New York *World-Telegram* as "communistic." The heat was on. Marzani resigned from the State Department in November after being assured that he was not resigning under fire. But a month later the department informed him that he had been discharged, and in January he was indicted. He has been sentenced to from one to three years in jail and denied bond pending appeal.

The indictment was framed in terms calculated to make the hair bristle on the heads of Southern Congressmen, and reflect credit on the sleuths of the State Department. Marzani was accused of falsely denying that in 1940 and 1941 he did "counsel and instruct Communist Party members to sow resentment and discontent among Negroes by agitating the question of racial discrimination. . . ." It was charged that he did "instruct divers Party members concerning a plan, policy, and program . . . for . . . disintegration of the morale of the Military Forces of the United States . . . to the end that the Communist Party might gain control thereof and thus bring about a revolt against the Capitalist System. . . ." It was charged that he did "urge Communist Party mem-

bers to protest to their Congressmen against the passage of an anti-strike bill." The nature of the indictment—not for Communist activities but for false statement to government investigators—made possible rulings which fatally handicapped the defense when Marzani came to trial. The prosecution could lug in an inflammatory matter of this kind to show how Marzani served the Communists, but the defense was limited to character witnesses and Marzani's denials.

Marzani's defense never really got into the record. The jury was told that in 1940 and the first half of 1941 Marzani operated on the East Side of New York as a branch organizer and section educational director for the Communist Party under the name of Tony Whales. During the last half of 1941 and the early part of 1942 Marzani, under his own name, was active in the same area as executive secretary of the East Side Conference to Defend America. Thus many people must have seen and heard him in both capacities, and one wonders how he could have been cleared for government employment in 1942 if he had been openly active as a Communist official under such circumstances. The transcripts of Marzani's questioning in 1942 and 1943 by the FBI and the Civil Service Commission show that the government knew of the Tony Whales charge. Marzani admitted then that he had once circulated a Browder petition but denied having been a member of the Communist Party under the name of Whales or any other. The upshot of the rather extended investigations and hearings at that time was his clearance for government employment. He went into the OSS, first as a civilian, then with military status as deputy chief of the branch which prepared complex data for quick presentation to the General Staff. He went to the State Department when it absorbed the OSS. Marzani's war record, highly commended by his superiors, was not challenged.

The key witness against Marzani and the only one who testified to the highly improbable speeches which formed the basis for the more horrendous sections of the indictment was a New York City policeman, Archer S. Drew, who was assigned to spy on radical activities on the East Side. Drew's testimony showed that he also acted as an agent provocateur. He is a Negro, and one of the organizations he was to watch was the National Negro Congress. When he found no branch in existence on the East Side he proceeded to form one and to recruit Negroes for it. Drew's reports were the source of the Whales story, and these were available to other government investigating agencies at the time. One is forced to assume that the FBI and the Civil Service Commission did not put much stock in those reports or Marzani would never have been cleared in 1943. But Marzani was unable to subpoena the records of these agencies, and the judge, Raymond B. Keech, kept the question of the past inquiries out of the trial.

Judge Keech also barred evidence which seems to indicate that even the New York City police in September, 1941, did not credit Drew's identification of Marzani with Whales. At that time Drew's reports were available in the Police Department. Marzani had just been made executive secretary of the East Side Conference to Defend America. The organization was investigated by Inspector O'Brien, and he told the chairman, Meyer Goldberg, then a Republican member of the City Council, that he had information showing Marzani was a Communist. Goldberg, now a member of Dewey's state Labor Mediation Board, came to Washington prepared to testify that he went with Marzani to O'Brien's office. The Inspector withdrew his accusation and apologized after talking with Marzani. In February, 1942, O'Brien voted to elect Marzani executive secretary of the Office of Civilian Defense on the East Side. Judge Keech refused to let Goldberg testify, and shut Marzani off with a rebuke when he tried to get the O'Brien incident into the record.

Drew could not have been produced as a witness at the Civil Service Commission hearing given Marzani in April, 1943, because that would have ended his usefulness as a spy. But later that year Drew was exposed and expelled from the Communist Party as a police spy, and

if the government believed his Whales story it should then have tried Marzani for perjury. That it did not do so but on the contrary retained him in a confidential post leads one to believe that checks by other investigating agencies had failed to support the identification with Whales.

Here we come to the crucial point in the Marzani case. Under the statute of limitations the government last winter was no longer able to prosecute Marzani for perjury. It got around this by using an act passed by Congress in 1944 to extend the statute of limitations until three years after the termination of hostilities in the case of fraudulent war-contract claims. If the Marzani conviction is upheld on appeal, the government can use this same statute to send other liberals or radicals among its present or past employees to jail. As in the Marzani case, it need not prove attempt to defraud or misconduct in government employment. It need only show misstatement in the original interrogations under oath to which all government employees are subject. And if, as in the Marzani case, a jury can be persuaded to believe what the Civil Service Commission disbelieved, the unlucky government employee faces penalties of up to ten years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for each misstatement. That's what hysteria is for.

Faces of Spain

BY KAY BOYLE

Madrid, June 2

THIS spring the foodstuffs in the markets of Spain, even in the poorest quarters of the cities, are as lavish in color, quantity, and quality as they were six years ago. And, just as six years ago, the brilliance and affluence of the Spanish markets shock the traveler who crosses the frontier from France. The ancient, unappetizing carrots, the yellow, undersized cauliflower, and the molding potatoes of the Paris markets would be looked upon as refuse in the markets of Madrid. Tomatoes, oranges, bananas, lemons—all scarce to the point of non-existence in Paris—are piled high on stall after loaded stall. Parisian housewives, accustomed to standing in line to procure one or two "steaks" of fish once or twice in the week, would reel before the fish counters of Spain gleaming with sea-food of every variety, including the standard fare of shrimp and octopus. Stalls hung with chickens and richly stocked with hams, goat-

milk cheese, and cream cheeses alternate with the endless, profligate display of bananas and oranges, bananas and oranges, for a mere handful of which French mothers would stampede. But there is a nightmarish quality of illusory plenty about these great popular markets, for it is a phantom population which moves between the counters. Few middle-class families, and even fewer working-class families, can afford the prices they are asked to pay.

There are two distinct and separate faces to the country, and the instant one sets foot on Spanish soil one makes the choice deliberately as to which face one selects to see. There are, for instance, two San Sebastians, both on the same site, just beyond Irun, across the frontier. One is a bright little casino town, a flourishing little sea-coast town, complete with resort beaches and a fishing fleet. The other San Sebastian is a Spanish border town where the police are particularly active, and whose prison holds many men of the surrounding countryside accused of serving as guides to shepherd fugitive Republicans across the frontier. Miranda, on the railway line to Madrid, is not only the station where the Irun-Madrid

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express stops for thirty-five minutes so that the passengers may stretch their legs and dine on ink fish in the buffet. It is also the town in which one of the worst prison camps in Spain is situated, a place of such foul repute that this story is currently told of it. Six months ago a group of foreign newspaper correspondents asked the Spanish authorities for permission to visit the Miranda prison camp. The permission was granted but only after a fortnight's delay, about which the reporters drew their own conclusions. They had been informed through underground sources that the sanitary conditions of the camp were indescribable and that owing to overcrowding and malnutrition the death rate was as high as three to five a day. The suspicion that the Spanish authorities had utilized that two-week period to remove some of the prisoners and to clean up the camp was strengthened when an official committee made its appearance in a fleet of cars, drove the newspapermen to Miranda, wined and dined them in the best Spanish style, and then proceeded with them to the tour of the camp. The conditions which the correspondents found there, however, were far worse than anything they had anticipated, and one of them said as much to the official interpreter. "Tell the gentlemen," the smiling spokesman of the committee replied, "that he should be grateful we did not permit him to come here two weeks ago."

Those who do not care for the face of misery will point with pride to a building under construction on the Calle de Serrano in Madrid. It is cool and streamlined, being fashioned of pure white and pearl gray stone. It occupies better than two city blocks, and it will house the Air, Army, and other Ministries when it is done. But just behind it is an open lot, and anyone may call upon the people who have fashioned tunnels and caves of habitation in the hard-baked soil. Twenty to thirty families, neither gypsies nor outcasts but working people who could not find living quarters, have dug themselves homes in the white sun-baked earth and settled permanently there.

I was taken to visit one of these families by a friend who had served in the Republican army with the father. The father is a carpenter's helper, a man in his early forties, who shook hands with us when we met on the beaten-down path which winds between the arched, dark human-rabbit holes. He wore a ragged, striped shirt, blue cotton trousers, and a threadbare tweed cap on the side of his head. He had a soft, quick smile, and he accepted a cigarette with pleasure. As he talked to us, the curious heads of neighbors appeared in the openings of the other caves. He said that after finishing a four-year prison term at the political prison of Alcalá de Henares he had been unable to find living quarters for his family, so he had dug the two-room cave for them. He and his wife, with their children, and his

mother-in-law, had been living for three years there.

The descent into the cave is not easy, as one must enter in a crouching position, at the same time keeping one's balance on the two blocks of wood, one atop the other, which serve as steps. Inside, the sunlight vanished as if a curtain had been drawn, and it took a moment for the sight to grow accustomed to the dark. Then you saw the shelf chiseled smoothly in the earthen wall on which stood the eating and cooking implements, the small charcoal stove, the broken crockery. There was no furniture, no sign of fuel or food, merely a pile of rags folded over on the floor. "That's my bed," said the mother-in-law from where she sat in the sunlight at the entrance. The room that had been hollowed off from this was even smaller, and the darkness in it even more profound, so that with the first step you took you nearly trod upon the human being who lay sleeping under the man's ancient and tattered jacket. It was a child of two or three, and after a little, you could see its sparse, light hair and the side of its face, the cheek as white as wax.

The father said he had been doing well as a carpenter before the war, and when he spoke of the war he was not referring to what took place between 1939 and 1943, but to that other war—the prelude to the final conflict—which had split Spain wide apart. But since the war and since his prison term he had been able to get work only intermittently as a carpenter's helper, at the rate of ten pesetas a day. His wife was off, as usual, washing clothes in the residential quarter of Colonia del Viso, where her daily pay averaged around seven pesetas. (At the legal tourist exchange, this means the family could count on an income of about a dollar a day.)

We were standing in the sunlight before the opening of the cave again, and the father smiled politely as he refused a second cigarette. "It is better not to get used to smoking," he said. Three times a month, when he receives his two packages of cigarettes, for which he pays four pesetas, he sells them on the black market for eight. He had also sold the family's ration cards, he told us, as a family with their income could not afford to buy such luxury items as bread, soap, oil, sugar, and meat. But even with this extra money to buy a pound of Spanish beans twice a week on the black market, the children do not get enough to eat. The two who sat playing in the dust had the bloated bellies and the thin, warped legs of the famished. "During the March floods," he said as if in apology, "the cave was three inches deep with water, and the little one you saw asleep inside has had cold in the lungs since then. If I could get some bricks, I could lay a floor. . . ." He said there were perhaps 40,000 families living as they were, in caves, some with less money than they had, and he—carrying the child still—and the mother-in-law walked with us down to the street.

"My daughter wasn't used to living like this before

she got married," she said. We stood across from the uncompleted government buildings which would eventually house the various ministries. "Before the war we had a nice house in the country. My husband was alive then—and I'm glad he didn't live long enough to see this reign of terror in Spain! We had sheep," she said. "Things were comfortable, the way they are in other countries. I used to spin the wool into cloth, and my husband worked in his vineyard. We had furniture, pans to cook with, beds, chairs," she said. "My daughter was used to everything." Standing beside her with the child in his arms, her son-in-law gave his quick, pained smile. "We had a country!" she cried out. "We used to have a country then!" She threw her head back, and the knot of gray hair trembled on it as she spit toward the unfinished buildings that would house the ministries of Franco's Spain.

There are others who speak to you of construction, and who will show you the evidences of what is being done: a large, unfinished apartment building off the road called General Ricardos is pointed out as a Franco housing project. I was driven past it in a taxi with Madrid acquaintances, one a Spanish lady who represents the Quaker relief work there. It did not seem that much work were being done on the place, and the Spanish lady explained that "Spanish workingmen never like to work much between the hours of two and five." But as I ate the standard lunch of white beans one day with a carpenter and his family in the Cuatro Caminos quarter (his lunch hour being from one to two), I asked him about the Franco housing project. "Oh, that, down off General Ricardos? They abandoned it four years ago," he said. It was true that it had been a part of the Franco rehabilitation program, only other things had come in between. "First," said my friend, "they were short of building materials, so they had to make a choice. The choice lay between finishing the working-class families' flats, which they had already begun, or building new apartment houses in the residential districts, or a new bull ring or two. Obviously, there wasn't enough material to do all three. So a public statement was made by the Minister of Public Welfare. He explained that if they built fancy apartment houses on the big avenues first, high rents would start rolling in and that this would be excellent for the general economy. Or if they made at least one more bull ring, which would be packed with spectators every Sunday and Thursday afternoon, this too would put more money in circulation, and the country would be in a better position to continue work on the working-class families' flats."

Everybody at the table laughed. "And there is another explanation as to why the workers' houses were finally abandoned," my friend said. "You might like this one better, so I'll tell it to you too. To qualify for accommo-

dations in a Franco project, you have to be very well recommended," he said. "First of all, you have to furnish proof that you never carried arms against Franco, and, secondly, that you never participated actively or passively in any political movement which opposes the present regime. And, lastly, you must present a written document from your priest attesting to the fact that you attend mass every morning—or that at least your wife does." My friend paused for a moment while the family laughed again, and then he went on saying: "So once the apartment building off General Ricardos was well under way, Franco woke up in a good humor one morning, and he asked to see the list of names of the families who had applied for living quarters there. 'But no one has put in an application yet, Your Excellency,' said his aide-de-camp. 'We have been informed that the requirements are too rigid.' 'But surely workingmen still go to mass?' Franco cried out, and the aide-de-camp answered, 'I am told their wives do, Your Excellency.' 'And surely the priests will attest to that fact?' Franco cried out again. 'Indeed, the priests have expressed themselves as willing to assist in any way they can,' replied the aide-de-camp. 'But, Your Excellency, what is needed in Spain is not places to house the lower class, but an entirely new lower class. It's the first requirement they can't meet. There isn't a workingman to be found who hasn't borne arms against Your Excellency's regime.'"

I discovered ten days ago that the finest Grecos are no longer to be seen at Toledo or in the Prado. On that same road named General Ricardos, in the ruins of the Fabrica de Resilla, which was totally destroyed during the Spanish war in the bombardment of Madrid, there is a Greco which can just be distinguished in the nearly impenetrable dark of one crypt of the blasted cellars. This Greco is not artificially illuminated as is the "Entierro del Conde de Orgaz" at Toledo, and when you first step in out of the Spanish sunlight, you smell the damp, and the odor of human excrement, but for a moment you cannot make out the figures in the obscurity. And then, as the darkness ebbs, you perceive the pallid, attenuated face, and the anguished eyes, like the eyes of the Apostles, are turned in eloquence upon you no matter in what part of the room you stand. This is the principal figure. He is stretched on a pallet with a grayish cover flung across his body, and the elongated thigh bones, the points of the sharp, slightly elevated knees, and the fleshless feet are clearly discernible beneath its folds, as if the artist had sketched in the framework of the skeleton, bone by bone, before flinging the cover across the emaciated form. Above the high, pale forehead the hair falls black and silky, and the cheekbones are high; the throat is corrugated like a windpipe, and the yellowish hands are folded on the wood-like slats of the breast.

At the foot of the pallet, her hair parted in the middle,

stands the figure of a woman, the angular folds of her dress done in that thin, faded red which El Greco alone, either through faulty preparation of his canvas or through choice, seems to have made use of. Only after searching the shadows can you distinguish the four small children, dark-eyed, and with pointed chins, who stand partially hidden in the woman's skirts. That is the complete picture, conceived in cold and terrible compassion, and framed with a broad band of dark. But an added attraction of this Greco is that the figures in it are endowed with speech.

"I am not asking for anything," the reclining figure said, the voice hardly louder than a whisper. "I am not asking help of anyone. I am not complaining." As he spoke, the shape of his upper teeth could be seen outlined through his fleshless, shrunken lip. "I am forty years old. I have lived my life," he said. "I am here with my wife and children. I have nothing to complain of." His eyes were filled with fear of what menace strangers might bring. "I cannot talk because it may start me bleeding again," he said, and then his breath was gone, and he did not say any more.

"For a little while he was in a sanitarium," the woman said, speaking in the darkness. "But they have no room to keep them. For five years he's been lying here like this, since four years no doctor has come near him! You've come for the death!" she cried out, and the eyes

of the ill man were turned to her in grievous accusation. Her arms and hands had gone around the children's shoulders, and she held them hard against her skirts as she began to cry. "I don't cry all the time, I haven't cried for a long time," she said. "It's just when people like you come here that I think there's maybe something somebody can do—"

There were cakes at tea that day, and the talk across the handsome table, on which the ancestral silver shone, was of Spanish painting. The women's delicately tinted faces and their gentle voices lingered above the cups in which the slices of lemon floated in the fragrant tea. "It is El Greco's love for Veronica which moves me more than any other story," said the lady beside me; for they have not yet perceived that in Spain the shrines of faith and beauty have lost their profound significance and are refuge and equivocation. The diplomat's wife, with a mauve veil masking her eyes, leaned across the lace-spread, burdened table and spoke softly to me.

"When you return to Paris," she said, "do tell people how foolish it is to keep the Spanish-French frontier closed, the way the French are doing. It is so cruel that little French children should want for things when here our little Spanish children have all the oranges and bananas and fresh produce they can eat. You've seen our markets, haven't you?"

Troubled Times in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, June 29

BOTH the Congress Party and the Moslem League having accepted the principle of the division of the country, votes have been taken to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bengal, Punjab, and Sind through their respective provincial legislatures. The results have been entirely in accordance with expectations. Western Bengal, including Calcutta, with its decisive Hindu majority chose to remain with Hindustan, while eastern Bengal with its Moslem majority wanted to join Pakistan. Similarly, eastern Punjab voted for Hindustan and western Punjab for Pakistan. Sind, because of its Moslem majority, was bound to choose Pakistan—in fact, its capital, Karachi, will develop into Pakistan's federal capital.

As the president of the Congress Party observed, the

partition of Bengal and the Punjab was an inevitable consequence of the decision to divide the country. Hindus and Sikhs can console themselves with the thought that they have saved substantial portions of these provinces from absorption into Pakistan. Referendums to be held this week and next will decide the allegiance of British Baluchistan, the Northwest Frontier Province, and the Sylhet district in Assam.

The virile Pathan race, which forms the overwhelming majority in the Frontier Province, is faced with an embarrassing situation. The question to be voted on—which one of India's two constituent assemblies to join—could conceivably be decided by the electorate in favor of either side. Unfortunately, adherents of the Moslem League have for months past been carrying on a campaign of murder and violence which the Congress Party has been powerless to check with the inadequate resources at its disposal and the divided loyalties of many of its officials. Congress leaders have therefore decided to boycott the referendum, partly because of its unduly

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limited scope, but mainly through fear of large-scale clashes between rival groups of Pathans.

What would the Pathans do if given an absolutely free vote? It must be remembered that the Northwest Frontier Province, Waziristan beyond the border (the home of several virile tribes), and Afghanistan form really a single region; the people are held together by strong ties of language, religion, and culture. Neither the British annexation of the Frontier Province nor the difficulties of communication due to the mountainous terrain has ever severed these racial links. Thus, the Pathans, had they an unfettered choice, would probably vote for an independent state of Pathanistan.

The Sylhet district's decision may mean a substantial addition to the territory of eastern Bengal. But it is difficult to forecast the result of this referendum, since it is probable that many people, even among the Moslems, realize the advantage of remaining within Assam instead of being transferred to eastern Bengal.

Bit by bit, one sees a truncated Pakistan emerging from these processes. How far will the dismemberment of India go, and where will it end? Today the Congress Party and Moslem League leaders, with large staffs of assistants, are busy with divisions of all sorts, division of assets and liabilities, of equipment, of personnel, of departmental files and records. A special committee presided over by Sir Claude Auchinleck—who for reasons of defense has been a firm opponent of the division of India—will deal with the division of the armed forces. The decision to accept partition was not lightly taken by the Congress leaders. Gandhi even now speaks of it as though it were a dark tragedy. The terrible riots that went on throughout northern India for months compelled the adoption of the view that there was no alternative to division but continuing bloodshed. "Into precisely how many fragments?" is the question now being asked by devotees of the unity of India, appalled by the prospects of the country splitting up.

The Pathans want a Pathanistan independent of both India and Pakistan. They are magnificent fighters who in the past have not found the Hindus too formidable opponents. Eastern Bengal has nothing in common with the western Punjab and Sind. Fifteen hundred miles of Indian territory lie between this region and Karachi. Can a single administration manage such far-flung provinces, separated by vast physical distances and held together by nothing but an artificially worked-up sentiment of common nationality which does not exist?

"No Balkanization" is the cry even of those Congress leaders who have reconciled themselves to the idea of India becoming two dominions—some, like Nehru, in the hope that the division may prove temporary and ultimately give way to stronger unity. A few princes are toying with the idea of declaring their independence and are watching the struggle that is developing between

Travancore—a Hindu state with a population of six million in the extreme south of India—and the government of India as a test case. The acknowledgment of Travancore's independence will encourage many other states to demand it: Hyderabad and Kashmir are still undecided about their future course.

With the withdrawal of British authority by mid-August and the establishment of two dominions, considerations which have served so far to cement the unity of the Congress Party on the one hand and the Moslem League on the other are likely to lose their force. Already one can see that Moslems from provinces where they form a minority of the population, like Madras, Bombay, Behar, and the United Provinces, are feeling uneasy about the future. They have enjoyed privileges in the past which they seem doomed to lose.

There will be thirty million Moslems in the Dominion of India and fifty million in Pakistan (these figures do not include Moslems in the territories of the princes). Nehru and other Congress leaders have declared that in the Indian Dominion all will have common rights of citizenship, with no privileges for any section of the population—which implies that such devices as separate electorates and the reservation of seats for Moslems in the legislatures and government service far in excess of their proportional number will be dropped. This will mean a big sacrifice for Moslems in the Indian Dominion. They subscribed cheerfully to the theory of Pakistan without realizing that its achievement would result in the withdrawal of these privileges. "What do we get out of Pakistan?" said a Madras Moslem to me despairingly last week. Henceforth, Moslems in the Indian Dominion must rise to positions of responsibility by merit like everyone else and not by belonging to a special class. The enthusiasm for Pakistan is already showing signs of diminution among those thoughtful Moslems who perceive that its establishment can bring them little practical advantage.

The Moslem League grew rapidly in influence during the past six years because Jinnah's propaganda was concentrated on placing the Moslems in a position of antagonism to Congress. What kept eighty million Moslems together was this spirit of antagonism. Similarly, groups of widely differing political views have remained within Congress all these years because of their opposition to the British.

In the main, therefore, it has been a negative force which has given life to both the Congress Party and the Moslem League—the fear of domination by the British in one case and by the Hindus in the other. After the middle of August both these forces will tend to disappear, and social and economic considerations will become the dominant factors. Socialists who are now working within the Congress Party are preparing for such developments and drawing up a program of practical

socialism. Communists, whose past role has been to snipe at all other parties, see an opportunity for themselves under the conditions now opening up for India.

The territorial division of India and freedom from British control may thus pave the way for ideological divisions within the existing political parties. The left-wing forces, however, are not the only ones which see opportunities ahead of them. Princes, capitalists, and

landlords, with their far greater resources, are bound to make common cause. The conflict between Hindus and Moslems may then become a class conflict between the right and the left, between haves and have-nots. The path toward social democracy for India will not be either smooth or easy. Vested interests and privileged reactionaries will make a formidable bid for power and influence.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

VII. Kentucky's 1947 New Deal

Louisville, Kentucky

PRACTICALLY everybody in America thinks of the Kentucky Derby when Louisville is mentioned. Thousands of visitors pour into the city for the big event, though most of them have no hope of seeing the race. They come for the special holiday excitement, to take part in a Mardi Gras centering in a horse race. Those who can afford tickets for the race feel that they have stellar parts in the pageant. Lots of movie actors come to see and be seen; those old sportsmen the Southern colonels are very much in evidence; and the variety of Broadway characters is terrific. Hotel beds sell for \$30 a night, but people take little time out to sleep. Automobile horns toot through the downtown streets all night, and the atmosphere becomes that of a frenetic carnival, with ingredients of New York's Fifty-second Street, an American Legion convention, and a circus where mint juleps at \$1.50 per frosted glass substitute for pink lemonade.

All this is the prelude to that electric minute at Churchill Downs when the band strikes up "My Old Kentucky Home" and the horses parade on to the track. Then comes the crowd's spine-tingling shout, "They're off!" Two minutes later the show is over, except for the important detail of collecting the bets: on that two minutes more than one and a quarter million dollars have been gambled. The next day the city cleans up and takes stock, noting particularly the amount of money that changed hands in the betting and the huge profits made by the Jockey Club, which not only operates Churchill Downs but controls the gambling at every other Kentucky track.

Louisville's interest in the "take" at Churchill Downs is more than idle curiosity, for the world-famous race track pays no taxes and many citizens think that ought to be changed. Louisville could use the revenue. It pays its teachers, for example, such small salaries that they are on the verge of malnutrition and are discussing strike action. The owners of the track, however, keep a tight hold on the reins of local and state government and so far have not been bothered by the tax gatherers. Their political power comes in handy in other ways, too. Recently the precinct in which Churchill Downs is located suddenly undertook to enforce the law there instead of winking at violations. Overnight the track moved into another and more amenable precinct—by the simple device of having the boundary lines changed.

Kentucky, to judge from the assessed valuation of its real wealth, is one of the richest states in the South. It ought therefore to have a large tax income with which to support its services. The reason it doesn't is that the political machinery has always been used by the big property-owners to keep their taxes low. On the basis of its resources Kentucky could be expected to have a standard of living higher than most Southern states, but it actually ranks forty-fifth in the Union in per capita income. While a great deal might be done by Kentuckians to change this condition, one important means is beyond their reach. This would be to curtail the amount of wealth taken out of the state by the hundred largest banking, insurance, and manufacturing corporations in the United States and to build up industrial ownership in the South. The South fervently hoped that this change would be brought about by its industrial growth during the war, but it is now obvious that the miracle has not come to pass. The South has a few more plants than it had before the war; the East has almost doubled its manufacturing capacity. America's largest corporations profited most from the war boom, and the two greatest beneficiaries were General Motors and du Pont. Each of these

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giants, which through interlocking stock ownership are almost Siamese twins, added a billion dollars of facilities to their already swollen holdings. The branches which both have in the South have not appreciably increased Southern incomes or tax revenues, and there has been little local participation in profits.

Monopolies and cartels are causing havoc below the Mason and Dixon Line. I described the fertilizer monopoly in my article on the TVA in *The Nation* for May 31. Though fertilizer is as essential as bread—with-out it the South's exhausted lands would produce neither food nor cotton—farmers have to pay an outrageously high price for it. Reliable calculations show that the difference between a price based on cost of production and the rigged price demanded and got by the monopoly would have provided a college education for every high-school graduate in the South. Monopoly not only pays less than its share of taxes, drains off profits, and lowers per capita income, but also boosts the cost of living in various ways.

The people's inertia and the fantastic shenanigans of the politicians have made it possible for graft and venality to flourish in Kentucky for generations, and it is hard to organize effective resistance to monopoly's tyranny. However, the recent Supreme Court decision reducing freight-rate discrimination has encouraged greater effort here, as all through the South. The realization that the freight-rate victory was due in part to Southern agitation and leadership, like that of Governor Arnall, is incentive to further action. Though slow to bestir themselves, the people of Kentucky have been alerted.

The balance sheet compiled recently by the Committee for Kentucky shows how much needs to be done. Only one of the forty-eight states had, in 1940, a higher percentage of illiteracy than Kentucky. In 1943, in the midst of war-time prosperity, 4,000 Kentucky teachers were earning, on a fifty-two-week basis, less than \$12 a week. Not many Kentuckians did much better: in the same year the per capita income in Kentucky was but 59 per cent of the United States average, and Kentucky's industrial pay rolls were next to the lowest in the South. Bare statistics do not dramatize the effects of poverty, but they do reveal a tragic situation. Only two states have a worse tuberculosis record. In one rural area 11,500 proud Kentuckians depend on a single doctor. One in every three Kentucky farms is valued at \$300 or less. In 1940, 13,000 farmers had to haul water an average of more than four miles. Ninety-seven per cent of all Kentucky farms had no toilets inside the house, and 42,000 farms had neither inside toilet nor outside privy. One of every four persons born in Kentucky has left the state. The figures are doubly depressing to Kentuckians who remember that fifty years ago Louisville was a great center of world trade, the state was first in industrial

pay rolls in the South, and its educational system ranked high among those of the nation.

The Committee for Kentucky, which has brought all this to light, was started in Louisville by a group of business leaders who can hardly be accused of belonging to any even mildly radical school of political thought. Outstanding in the group were Barry Bingham and Mark Ethridge, both of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*; Wendell Willkie's brother, H. Fred Willkie, a leading Kentucky distiller; and Harry W. Schacter, a merchant born in New York who as president of the committee has demonstrated regional patriotism in the larger framework of the national interest. These four men show the same progressive spirit which brought to national attention Wilson Wyatt, Paul Porter, and Edward Prichard, Jr.—Kentucky's contributions to the New Deal.

At first the Committee for Kentucky undertook to present to the people a picture of conditions within the state. As Harry Schacter put it, "Our aims were to get the facts, and to see that the people got those facts. We were intent on stimulating people to organize locally, so that they would do the job of relating the facts to their own locality and so that they would build up a desire to act for change. Not just a desire, however, but a realization that they must take the responsibility and assume a share of the cost of the change. And it was an integral part of our job to show the consequences of lassitude, of apathy, and of failure." The committee issued booklets and pamphlets and aroused interest through lectures, meetings, and newspaper publicity—all coordinated under the slogan of "Wake Up Kentucky." The pace-maker for the entire project was a radio program originating in the Louisville station owned by the *Courier-Journal*. This program was soon picked up by other radio stations in the state and was so good that it received a Peabody award.

The time arrived when most of the facts were on the record. Kentucky, if not yet awakened, was beginning to stir; and the committee, deciding to move from fact-finding into action, changed its slogan to "Kentucky on the March." Its statewide studies were now utilized as yardsticks for an experiment in the city and county of Henderson, a typical Ohio River community. This "grass-roots" work in Henderson has been in operation for over a year and is being copied in other communities.

At present the "Kentucky on the March" program is evolving into "A People's Legislative Program for Kentucky," in which are embodied legislative proposals to effect improvements in fields in which state government plays a part. While many different sections of the population were represented at the meeting at which the legislative program was adopted, some elements were notably absent, not because they were indifferent, but because they were against even the mild reforms proposed by the Committee for Kentucky. Some business men attended,

but no representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Bankers' Association, or Associated Industries, which is the Kentucky version of the N. A. M. These groups felt instinctively that even the calling together of like-minded people to discuss changes threatened their power and the interests of the national monopolies behind them. Railroad unions were represented, but not the managements of the railroads, which long dominated Kentucky politics and have still a hold on the legislature. The mine workers were represented, but not the mine owners, or the largest industrial employers. The farmers sent the heads of their organizations, but the few native Kentuckians who still own some of the state's rich farm land stayed away (Kentucky's noted blue-grass horse farms are now nearly all owned by rich Easterners). Educators, Negroes, and welfare agencies were present, but there was only a tiny contingent from the aristocracy whose holdings are in Louisville's big banks. Also absent was the professional booster, who wants no public mention of facts which would lead anyone to dream that

Kentucky is not perfect. The rich in general neither attended nor wanted to be told the results; they habitually close their ears to unpleasant truths for which they might have to assume some responsibility. Machine politicians not only stayed away but threw cold water and bricks.

Among the supporters of the program are some real forces for progress, such as the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, one of the country's outstanding newspapers. But while it is important to have a good newspaper if you want a good community, even the best newspaper can only spark change, not bring it about. That must be done by the people, and the Committee for Kentucky can be proud of the cooperation it has obtained from the people of the state. All of labor—and nearly every other important mass organization—is becoming increasingly involved in the movement. Its immediate aim, in effect, a 1947 statewide New Deal, is well worth working for. As it continues its march, it may come to grips with the deeper economic and political problems of an industrial society in which the biggest fact is monopoly control.

Canadian Labor and Political Action

BY EUGENE FORSEY

Ottawa, July 1

AMERICAN labor has in general fought shy of independent political action through a third party. The results of the last elections, however, suggest that the alternative policy of working through one or both of the old parties may be played out. In these circumstances Canadian experience may be of interest.

Fifteen years ago an article on Canadian labor in politics would have been like the famous chapter on the snakes in Ireland. For all practical purposes, taking the country as a whole, there was no labor in politics. There was a persistent tradition of independent political action by labor, a tradition which defied innumerable defeats and innumerable treacheries. But Canadian trade unionism was as non-political as American trade unionism.

The present situation is very different. Canada, like the United States, has two major labor organizations. The Trades and Labor Congress is, for the most part, made up of Canadian branches of A. F. of L. unions. The Canadian Congress of Labor consists mainly of C. I. O. unions and the Canadian districts of the United Mine Workers. In both organizations are some purely Canadian unions. The Trades and Labor Congress has

usually followed the orthodox American policy and stayed clear of political action. The Canadian Congress of Labor, on the other hand, in 1943 officially indorsed Canada's third party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, as "the political arm of labor in Canada." It has twice voted down, by large majorities, attempts to reverse the decision.

Individual unions have been particularly active in supporting the C. C. F. The United Mine Workers District 26, which takes in about half the coal miners in the country, has been affiliated with the C. C. F. for eight years and has elected one of its members to the Canadian Parliament. Steelworkers' locals in two of Canada's three basic steel plants are also affiliated: their national director is on the C. C. F. national council. Altogether some hundred local unions belonging to both labor congresses have affiliated with or indorsed the C. C. F., and many union leaders, national and local, are active supporters.

The C. C. F. also enjoys the support of a large and important section of the farmers. It was brought into being in 1932 by a group of farmer and labor members of Parliament in which the farmers were much the more numerous. Most of its twenty-eight members in the Dominion Parliament come from rural constituencies, and it has the overwhelming support of the largest wheat-growing province, Saskatchewan. It is a genuine farmer-labor party, and in spite of continuous reaction-

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ary prophecies that the two elements are bound to split, they have held together; the predominantly farmer C. C. F. government of Saskatchewan has passed what is by common consent the most advanced labor legislation on the American continent.

In its fifteen years of existence the C. C. F. has developed impressive strength. Today it constitutes the government of Saskatchewan. It is the official opposition in three other provinces—British Columbia, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia. In the last election it polled a larger vote than either of the two old parties in the four western provinces. It has twenty-eight members in the Canadian House of Commons. The C. C. F. is decidedly a force to be reckoned with.

WHY THE C. C. F. WILL LAST

But will it last? Canada has had third parties before. Brief life was here their portion, brief sorrow, short-lived care. The Progressive Party, which arose at the end of the First World War, won power in three provinces and became the second largest party in the Dominion house, with more than twice as many seats as the C. C. F. now has. Yet within seven years one of its provincial governments had been disastrously defeated, and most of its federal representatives had been either defeated or swallowed by the Liberals.

The C. C. F. has already lasted twice as long as the Progressive Party; and is still growing. Why? Is it more solidly based? Are there any reasons for believing that it will not, in a few years more, suffer the same fate as its forerunner? The answers to these questions may be instructive for Americans as well as Canadians.

To begin with, the C. C. F. has four things which the Canadian Progressive Party never had, and which any third party hoping to be effective must have. The first is a clear, coherent, comprehensive social philosophy. The second is labor support. The third is a will to power. The fourth is organization.

The Progressive Party was a party of protest and nothing more. It had plenty of good-will but no real understanding of what was happening in the modern world, and so no unifying force to hold its diverse elements together. It was founded in post-war depression; the return of prosperity destroyed it. "Blown about by every wind of doctrine," most of its members fell easy victims to the blandishments of Mr. Mackenzie King and were soon transformed into "Liberal Progressives" and then into ordinary "Liberals."

The C. C. F. has a social philosophy—democratic socialism; this philosophy it shares with most of the progressive parties of the Western world. That is one reason why, though made up of people with every conceivable type of racial, religious, educational, and occupational background, it has held together and grown since its founding in the great depression through pre-war recov-

ery, war-time prosperity, and post-war reconversion. It is also one reason why neither Mr. King nor the Communists have been able to take it into camp.

The Progressive Party never had any labor support worth mentioning. It was almost purely a farmers' movement, with a fringe of middle-class cranks and faddists. The nearest it came to labor support was a loose alliance with small, rather nondescript labor parties many of whose members had as little social philosophy as the Progressives themselves and came to the same sad end. The C. C. F. has always had a strong labor element, and in the last few years it has had direct, official union support.

The Progressives never had any real will to power. To many of them the very word "party" was sinful, the idea of forming a government a horror. They thought in terms of "cooperative" arrangements between representatives of occupational "groups," resulting in a series of pleasant and reasonably stable compromises. It never occurred to them that some of the "groups" were social classes. In the Dominion house they refused to become the official opposition, leaving that powerful role to the much less numerous Conservatives, and from the very beginning they split their vote on almost every important question. Of party discipline there was not even the shadow.

The C. C. F. has a will to power. It has a definite objective which can be reached only by taking power. It has recognized the class structure of modern society and the impossibility of stable compromise between those who will starve if they don't work and those who won't. It has faced the fact that only an organized party ready to govern can hope to solve the problems of modern society. It has seized with enthusiasm its single opportunity, so far, to form a government, and has accepted with equal enthusiasm every chance of becoming the official opposition, the potential alternative government. Its members in provincial and Dominion houses have worked and voted as a disciplined team.

Last, but not least, the Progressives had no national organization, and no provincial organization except in the primarily economic farmers' groups. They clung with fierce individualism to the most exaggerated form of "constituency autonomy." Nationally, their party was hardly more than a collection of members of Parliament who sat in the same part of the House of Commons and occasionally voted the same way. There were no national headquarters, no effective national leadership, no national funds, no provision for educating Progressive supporters in the principles for which the party stood.

The C. C. F. has a national organization with a reasonable degree of control over provincial and local organizations. It has a national headquarters, a very effective national leadership, national funds, national research and educational officers. Indeed, it has probably the most

continuous and coherent—and certainly the most democratic—organization of the three major parties.

LESSONS FOR AMERICAN PROGRESSIVES

These are some of the reasons why the C. C. F. will list. There are three others which also may have their lesson for American progressives. First, the C. C. F. is unshakably democratic. It is run by its members. It has annual provincial and biennial national conventions which decide policy and choose officers and leaders. To each convention the officers and leaders must render an account of their stewardship, and if the account is not satisfactory they must make way for others. Secondly, the C. C. F. conception of social ownership has been broad and flexible, and has always strongly emphasized co-operatives as a valuable means of carrying out social ownership. Thirdly, the C. C. F. has steadfastly refused to have anything to do with the Communists under any of their numerous aliases or disguises. Communists and fellow-travelers have occasionally wormed their way into the organization and behaved as they always do; as soon as they have shown their hand clearly, they have always been thrown out by democratic action of the membership or its elected officers. The result is that the C. C. F. has suffered a minimum of damage from the changes in the C. P. line; the Communists have never been in any position to cripple the organization by suddenly getting out because they were never in, except in negligible numbers in isolated spots for a negligible length of time.

This explains why the Communists have offered the bitterest and most persistent opposition inside the unions to their affiliating with or indorsing the C. C. F. Indeed, within the Canadian Congress of Labor they have offered almost the only opposition. They have been met with absolute frankness and with vigor. At the last convention a Communist attempt to substitute for the existing Political Action Committee, which supports the C. C. F., a "non-partisan" P. A. C.—which would of course mean reversing the decision of the 1943 convention—was defeated without a recorded vote.

It must be admitted that the necessity of a third party has hitherto been more evident, and the task of building it easier, in Canada than in the United States. For one thing, Canadian unions have never embraced "free enterprise" with the enthusiasm of American unions. On the contrary, even the traditionally cautious Trades and Labor Congress has for many years demanded "public ownership and democratic management of all public utilities and nationalization of banking and credit" and "government control and fullest development of all natural resources"; the Canadian Congress of Labor has specifically declared for nationalization of the banks, the coal mines, and all existing privately owned broadcasting stations, a vast public housing program from which private enterprise should be "excluded," and "free hospi-

talization and surgical and medical attention for all workers and their families"; District 26 of the U. M. W. has called for nationalization of the eastern coal mines; and the Canadian districts of the Steelworkers ask for nationalization of the Canadian steel industry. Aims like these cannot be achieved through the old parties.

The influence of the British and Commonwealth Labor parties has been strongly felt in Canada. Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand have all long had Labor parties, and all three have had Labor governments for appreciable periods in the past twenty years. Sometimes that influence expresses itself in British-born Canadian trade-union and C. C. F. leaders who acquired their first taste of politics in a Labor Party local. The Canadian parliamentary system itself makes the emergence of a third party a more natural phenomenon. The old parties—Liberal and Conservative—are closely knit organizations with tight party discipline. Members elected to Parliament must support the official party policy on pain of political death. A phenomenon like George W. Norris would be completely impossible in Canada. The liberal dissenter makes little headway, and new ideas must find a new political party. Big personalities do not play the same role as in American politics. The indispensable leader finds no place in Canadian political folklore. And during the depression of the thirties, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was pulling all liberals to his New Deal banner in the United States, the Canadian parties plodded along their well-trodden ways. It was in those years that a great many workers, farmers, and progressives from the white-collar class decided to make the C. C. F. their own party.

There is one further factor that should be noted. The Canadian economy, at any rate until recently, has been even more monopolistic than the American. Canada has never had any successful trust-busting. Most of the major industries are controlled by one or a very few concerns, and the control of industry is concentrated to an astonishing degree in the hands of the same relatively small group of men. This has made it easier than in the United States for business to control government and harder for government to control business in the interests of the people.

Whether the death of Mr. Roosevelt, the end of the New Deal, and the emergence of new problems have reduced the differences between the American and Canadian situations to a point where American progressivism is ready to strike out on the new path which Canadian progressives are treading is a question on which no outsider's opinion is worth a great deal. But even an outsider may hazard a guess that in the next few months American progressives will be doing some rather fundamental thinking about their position, and that in the process they would do well not to overlook the experience of their neighbors to the north.

Del Vayo—the Vatican and Democracy

A SERIES of articles in the *Osservatore Romano* by its chief editor, Count Dalla Torre, discussing the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, have led several commentators to assume a fundamental change in the policy of the Holy See. Originating in a milieu where anti-communism is the traditional stand, the admonition addressed to both Moscow and Washington to become more "objective," to take things more quietly, and to renounce an ideological struggle which could only end in war, sounded encouraging. The articles were written in a lofty tone, with that air of authority which the Vatican paper, speaking for a Power whose kingdom is not of this earth, knows how to adopt in solemn moments. It was a vote for compromise, setting an example by treating with equal courtesy the new favorite, the United States, and the land of the anti-Christ.

I am sorry to have to inject into this hopeful interpretation a drop of skepticism. I would agree on one point: that the Vatican's statement "reflects the Pope's increasing anxiety." As early as last March I heard in Rome, from a diplomat extremely well-informed on the affairs of the Curia, that the tension between the Big Two was worrying Pius XII more than anything he had gone through during the war.

The main reason for that anxiety is the fact that the Vatican is in Italy, and Italy, no matter what De Gasperi, supported by the Allies, may do to prevent it, remains one of the countries of Europe where the revolution is most deeply anchored. Any aggravation of relations between Moscow and Washington has an immediate effect on Italy's internal politics, and at this moment, should it come to a test of strength, the Communists are the masters of the street. Nineteen forty-seven is not a good year for a showdown. The Vatican hopes that postponement of the elections until next spring will result in a central-rightist coalition so stabilized as to keep the Communists forever out of the government. Then they will begin to lose ground rapidly.

I think it is a false hope. As I have said on this page before, I believe that the Communists and Socialists, not the Christian Democrats, will win the election. But the Vatican thinks differently, and it was in that expectation that it forced De Gasperi to stay even when physical fatigue had made the Premiership an uncomfortable burden. It was a Vatican request. Believers do not ignore the voice of God.

Together with the weakening of the Italian left, the Vatican expects that within one year the process of isolating Russia will be completed. For that it counts especially on the irritation and impatience of the countries that will suffer most next winter. Just at the time when the *Osservatore Romano* was pleading for reconciliation, every word uttered by the Pope was intended to establish the responsibility of Russia for Europe's present distress. The desire to prevent a conflict while the odds are still against the Vatican can be reconciled with other more permanent interests. After the articles in the *Osservatore Romano*, as before, the disappearance of the Soviet regime and the prevention of a

Socialist Europe remain the cherished dream of the Holy See. But the Vatican has had a thousand years of experience in world affairs, and Pacelli's mind is infinitely more subtle than that of other statesmen who, in lieu of other ideas, pin their last hope on the atomic bomb.

It is a question of strategy, not of fundamental attitudes. Through the centuries the papacy has always been on the sides of reaction. Its very hierarchic system contradicts the concept of democracy; it is built from above down. It has never modernized itself; on the contrary it has grown more authoritarian. The waves of freedom that have battered mankind and swept over old privileges of various sorts have broken at the Vatican gardens. With the proclamation in 1870 by the Council of Rome of the infallibility of the Pope in matters of belief and morals, any chance of democratization from within ended. Half a century later, in 1918, the new code of the Catholic church, the *Corpus juris canonici*, was adopted and the totalitarian papacy received its final touch. A careful study of the famous Encyclical "Immortale Dei" (1885), which has been used to prove the liberalism of the church, shows that even the "Socialist" Leo XIII had no faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. There never was a Lincoln in the Vatican.

If fresh evidence should be required that Count Dalla Torre's sensational series does not herald a more progressive attitude on the part of the church, there is the insolent pro-fascist display of the Spanish hierarchy in favor of Franco's plebiscite. Everybody knows that the plebiscite was a farce; and Monarchists as well as Republicans decided to sabotage it. To counteract that move the Dictator called upon the church. The reply was instantaneous and unqualified. The Spanish hierarchy did not even take advantage of the occasion to request that the political executions stop. The excuse for not intervening has always been that the church must not mix in state affairs. But the plebiscite came along, and the church threw itself into the campaign.

It began with an appeal by Enrique Cardinal Pla y Deniel, Archbishop of Toledo, in which in the best Jesuit style he said: "The church does not take sides but feels the necessity of appealing to the faithful in moments which may be as decisive as those of 1936." In 1936 the Spanish archbishops and bishops openly declared their support of the Franco rebellion; thus the reference to 1936 is an order to vote for Franco. The Bishop of Orense followed with a pastoral letter exhorting his diocese to vote, and to vote "the right way." After that came the Bishops of Sigüenza, Granada, and Salamanca, and finally the Bishop Prior of the Military Orders, Dr. Echevarria. The behavior of the church has been scandalous, and I know of very sincere Spanish Catholics who are horrified by the support given to Franco. All this happened only a fortnight after the series of articles appeared in the *Osservatore Romano*. It confirms my belief that those articles merely registered a maneuver, not a conversion of the Vatican to the principles of democracy.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The D-Day for Sterling

JULY 15 is D-Day for the pound sterling. On that date it becomes once more a relatively free currency, and the first stage in the demobilization of the sterling area will be accomplished. Henceforth all sterling arising from current transactions plus all that released from blocked balances will be convertible into other currencies. Thus in spite of its current difficulties the British government is punctually fulfilling one of the major conditions on which the American loan of \$3,750,000,000 was granted last year.

What does sterling convertibility mean in practice? Let us suppose that Mahmoud Abbas of Cairo sold £10,000 worth of cotton to Manchester last month. He could use those pounds to finance purchases anywhere within the sterling area, but he could not change them into dollars with which to pay for American fertilizers. In order to get dollars he had to apply to the Egyptian exchange control, which would decide whether his need was sufficiently urgent to warrant an allotment from the dollar quota assigned to Egypt by the British managers of the sterling area's dollar pool. After July 15, however, when Mr. Abbas sells Egyptian goods to British customers, he will be permitted to exchange his pounds for dollars, pesos, kroner, or any other currency. But this privilege will not apply to sterling arising from capital transactions. Mr. Abbas will not be able, for instance, to realize an investment in Imperial Chemical Industries and use the proceeds to buy du Pont stock.

There is no reason to suppose that July 15 will be followed by any sort of crisis. The total demand for dollars in London is not likely, in fact, to be appreciably increased. For while, in principle, convertibility applies to all sterling paid out for foreign goods and services, in practice it is only the net balances arising from each country's trade with Britain which will be converted. Moreover, as far as the "hard-currency" countries are concerned—the United States, Canada, Argentina, and so on—transferability of current sterling has been effective for some time past, and it is with these countries, as a group, that Britain has an adverse trade balance. British payments to and from the rest of the world broadly cancel each other out. Thus India and Egypt, which since the end of the war have bought from Britain far more than they have sold, will not have any current sterling surplus to turn into dollars.

The future ability of India and Egypt to command dollars beyond the amount they earn by exports to this country depends largely on releases from their accumulated sterling balances. Up to now these balances have been available for use inside the sterling area, but they have not been convertible into "hard currencies" except in connection with the operations of the dollar pool. The Anglo-American financial agreement, however, provides that after July 15 all releases

from such balances must be convertible into any other currency for current transactions.

The total British external unfunded debt represented by foreign accounts in the London banks amounts to upward of three billion pounds, or twelve billion dollars. No such sum could be made available for transfer into other currencies without smashing the pound. The British government, therefore, is seeking agreements with its sterling creditors providing for the release of these balances over a long period of years. Negotiations have proved far from easy, and only with Argentina, which offset a large part of the debt by taking over the British-owned railroads in the country, has a final settlement been achieved.

India and Egypt, two of the largest sterling creditors, have not been disposed to accept the terms offered by the British negotiators. In particular, they object to proposals to scale down substantially the total debts on the ground that they really represent contributions made by Britain to the defense of India and Egypt against the Axis. There is also disagreement about the amounts to be released immediately and the rapidity with which the balance will be repaid. With the July 15 deadline approaching, it seemed possible that the British government might have to take a unilateral decision to block these balances. But a temporary agreement with Egypt has just been announced which will probably provide a pattern for standstill arrangements with India, Iraq, and other sterling creditors. Under the plan Egypt will withdraw from the sterling bloc and its existing sterling assets will be frozen in special London accounts. However, during the next six months it will be permitted releases of fully convertible pounds equivalent to \$40,000,000, or considerably in excess of its recent share of the dollar pool. This should mean a fillip to American trade with Egypt.

The fact that Britain, contrary to earlier predictions in some quarters, has not asked the United States for more time before implementing the convertibility clause of the loan agreement is no indication that its long-term balance-of-payments problem is becoming any less intractable. On the contrary, the first six months of this year have seen a marked deterioration in its position, and there is grave reason to fear that the American and Canadian loans will be exhausted before the end of next year instead of lasting until 1950. In the first five months of 1947 the monthly average of British imports has been some \$20,000,000 more than was planned, while exports have been scarcely more than one-quarter of the total planned for the whole twelve months. The rise in American prices is an important contributory factor in the expansion of imports; the winter crisis in Britain took a heavy toll of exports.

Some improvement in exports should be registered in the remaining months of 1947, but there is little hope that the target—140 per cent of the 1938 volume—can be hit; for the first five months the average was only about 100 per cent. Consequently, the British government has reluctantly decided to cut imports of gasoline, tobacco, and newsprint, and perhaps of other goods. This is a new blow for the long-suffering consumers, and the question arises how much farther austerity can be carried without reducing incentives to production and thus endangering the export drive itself.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

SOME TIME AGO a correspondent in Iowa asked me to name the best novel published in the United States since 1900. She was choosing a subject for her study club next winter. I suggested that she consider "The Wings of the Dove."

"Your suggestion, I blush to admit, is a novel I don't know," she wrote back, "but I shall certainly read it with eagerness. I reread a number of Henry James's novels when the centennial of his birth occurred a few years ago. How do you suppose I missed this one?"

Two weeks later she wrote: "Thanks again for recommending 'The Wings of the Dove.' I reveled in it." She went on to say that the public library in her town had acquired the book in 1923. "I was the first to borrow it! But I won't be the last. It is already circulating."

It is pleasant to know that "The Dove" is circling in an Iowa town this summer after perching for twenty-four years on a library shelf. But this small episode, of a great American novel forgotten and recovered only by chance, sets one thinking about the cultural life in America—it isn't, after all, as if there were any great American novels to spare. Unquestionably there are thousands of people who would revel in "The Wings of the Dove" but who are not even aware of its existence. And one scandalous reason why they are not aware of its existence is that no inexpensive complete edition of the works of our most accomplished novelist is available. As a result his books cannot be come upon casually and easily by the exploring but not all-knowing reader, particularly the young reader whose taste is very much affected, for better or worse, by what he reads in his first passion for books. Instead, to read James requires an initial effort—that of actually getting hold of the books—which presumes a prior knowledge and a taste already acquired. And James is only an example.

Sets of books, as a friend of mine often complains, have gone out of fashion. The fashion should be revived. Publishers might refrain, for instance, from spending vast sums getting out de luxe editions of the most widely known and most frequently published "classics"—usually with elaborate illustrations which are almost always inappropriate and often downright inaccurate. They could put the savings into sets of American authors in small legible volumes that are even more convenient to carry than the ubiquitous magazine.

Snob appeal could be exploited in distributing the best old books just as it is in distributing the "best" new books. And if the American consumer could be led to believe that it is quite as disgraceful not to have a set of standard American authors in the house as it is to be without a car, publishers would get rich, and the child who always has his nose in a book—there's likely to be one in every family—might have his nose in a good book at least part of the time.

A WEEK OR SO AGO a woman named Anna who lives by herself was lying in bed with a cold. She heard someone knocking at the door of the next apartment, which was occupied by another woman whose name also happens to be Anna. Then there was a knock at her own door. When she answered she saw a man and a woman standing outside. The woman asked her if her name was Anna. She said yes, whereupon her visitor said, "Come with us, we're going to take you to a doctor." That made sense somehow in the immediate situation, yet Anna was puzzled. "I had a cold but it wasn't that bad. . . . They didn't give me a chance to argue much, they just kept telling me to hurry up. I put on a dress and coat and went with them, which was a mistake."

All the way in the cab Anna kept thinking, and by the time she got to the hospital she knew that something was wrong. At the hospital she told them

that they had the wrong woman, "but they wouldn't believe me." As a doctor at the hospital explained later, people who are committed—it's a mental institution—generally declare that a mistake has been made, and little attention is paid to them.

Anna was rescued four days later by a relative who had called on her, heard from neighbors that she had gone to a hospital, and after checking all the regular hospitals in the vicinity, went to the police and reported Anna missing.

To the inhabitants of a mad world complete with "flying saucers"—the cups come separately—to which we were all committed, surely by mistake, not days but years ago, Anna's story offers a gleam of hope. It's at least possible that someone has missed us by this time and is riding to the rescue.

Brod on Kafka

FRANZ KAFKA. A Biography by Max Brod. Schocken Books. \$3.

MAX BROD is in an impossible position. A lifelong friend of Kafka, he is himself a writer and is therefore expected to write a biography. But in the eyes of the world he has become a mere figure in the Kafka myth; he has lost independent existence. He is *evidence*. An ordinary citizen could perhaps tolerate such a relationship, but for a writer it is self-obliteration. No wonder then that, despite its value as a document, Brod's book is so painfully self-conscious and unsatisfactory as a biography.

What we expect from Brod is recollection, portraits, conversation, detail, minutiae; a memoir of personal experience which may illuminate his friend's genius. We expect more from him than from Kafka's other intimates because as a novelist Brod was at least in a position to grasp Kafka's problems. But even as a memoir this book is uneven.

There are some very good things in it. A partial portrait of Kafka as human being does emerge—a very stirring and lovely portrait. Kafka was one of those

rare souls incapable of the ordinary dishonesties which we all practice as a matter of course; he had a compulsive urge toward the center, the inner core, of a human structure or relationship. Even when he indulged in private ironies or little games of secrecy, he meant them as oblique, yet somehow more direct, versions of the truths which burned in him and eventually helped destroy him. He was not delicate or shy or precious; nor did he have any bent toward the weird or bizarre. Like his books, he can only be understood in the most central and typical terms of modern existence; as Brod points out, he was in *this* world. Perhaps the greatest tribute which Brod pays to him and which his narrative independently suggests is his remark that Kafka deeply and unequivocally respected people, so much as to provoke the periodic crises which paralyzed his life. In turn he expected others to respect him. Taken seriously, as it was by Kafka, this was an impossible program.

All this Brod suggests with genuine feeling. The last part of the book, describing Kafka's illness and his love affair with Dora Dymant, reaches a high emotional level: a threnody of genius destroyed after its first surge of productivity.

But there are parts of the book which, even as memoir, are simply annoying. Brod tries to deny the relevance of Freudian concepts to Kafka's relationship to his father, as if they were somehow sordid or disrespectful to Kafka's genius. As it happens, Kafka's relationship to his father was the major fact of his personal life, and it is most clarified by psychoanalytical concepts—the extracts from Kafka's remarkable Letter to My Father quoted by Brod make that clear enough. (Which is not the same at all as the crude error of viewing Kafka's novels as mere projections of that relationship.) Brod, however, attempts a rather prissy refutation of the Freudian analysis of Kafka's father-complex. But he need not fear; it will not soil Kafka's memory—on the contrary, it will only bring him closer to all of us.

Similarly Brod becomes a bit queasy when he describes Kafka's love affairs; he takes too seriously his own remark that Kafka was on the way to becoming a saint. (Were that true, Kafka would be a bore; who can get excited about a

mere saint?) And here we reach a major weakness of Brod's book: too much Brod and not enough Kafka. We are simply not interested in Brod's reflections on life; they are a nuisance when they interrupt his recollections of Kafka. The same difficulty extends even to Brod's writing: how can his prose interest us when it is interspersed with long quotations, ablaze with genius, from Kafka's diaries and letters?

For all its faults, the memoir is unique and therefore indispensable. The difficulty, however, is that a satisfactory biography of Kafka cannot be written as a mere memoir. His external life is of least importance; it is more true of him than of most writers that his life is in his works. A biography of Kafka must therefore be primarily a criticism of his work, a comprehensive theory of Kafka's meaning. This Brod does not achieve, and I doubt that it is possible for him. He was too close to Kafka to view him in perspective. He offers several interpretations: the novels as versions of man's striving toward God and as comments on the situation of the Jews, in whom Kafka became increasingly interested in his later years. I do not question the validity of these theories, only their sufficiency.

For the younger generations Kafka is now assuming a special meaning, one which it is rather difficult for Brod's generation to include. In a sense Kafka no longer belongs to Brod's generation; he belongs to the generation which has experienced the full results of the contemporary débâcle and must now live most of its life in the aftermath. Perhaps he will belong even more fully to the next few generations.

Kafka's great contribution now—it may not be fifty years hence—is an incomparable vision of the modes, the moods, the patterns of contemporary existence stripped of all its contingency. That is why he provokes in us such powerful emotional reactions, why we feel that he speaks *especially of and for us*. He is not merely our exposed nerve, as has so often been said; he is that nerve at the extremity of its quiver—only in that sense is his Jewishness relevant. This is of course not an interpretation of Kafka, but I think it points the direction to a satisfactory one.

Kafka as viewed by the theologian, the sociologist, the psychoanalyst, the

existentialist, the Jewish nationalist—each has validity, but only if subsumed under a more general and immediate vision. We cannot speak for the future, we feel only what he means now.

What, then, of the "universal relevance" claimed for him? Surely, it may be said, his work is not merely of transient significance. I agree, but I should want only to add that most of the current theories of universal relevance in terms of which Kafka is interpreted are themselves largely indices of our time. For us the present is enough, more than enough, and Kafka belongs uniquely to it. For us the present seems almost "universal" too—perhaps that is what Kafka meant when he wrote in his diary, "Everything that happened to me was forever."

IRVING HOWE

Growing Up in Brazil

WHERE THE SABIÁ SINGS. By Henriqueta Chamberlain. Sketches by Ken Chamberlain. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

BRASIL is where the Sabiá sings, and this "partial autobiography" tells perhaps more about Brazil than it does about Mrs. Chamberlain. The author, daughter of an American missionary and his missionary wife, was born in a small town in northern Brazil between Natal and Recife, moved to Bahia when she was still a little girl, then to Rio after a few years, and finally to Sao Paulo, during her adolescence. Her father died there. After that she and her mother went on a long journey into the interior state of Goiás, and the narrative ends when her mother took her to the United States for college—and to escape the ardor of a Brazilian suitor, Jaime.

"Never once did my parents take us to live in an American or English colony," says Mrs. Chamberlain. "We did not join country clubs nor did we attend English-speaking schools. We were brought up as Brazilians, with Brazilians, and our loyalty and passionate love of country were for Brazil."

So, through the eyes and ears and feelings of a sensitive girl, the reader gets to know a good deal about everyday life in Bahia, Rio, Sao Paulo, and the back country. There are a richness of emotion and a simple charm about

the book that give one a friendly feeling both for the country and the girl.

But it is the contrast between life in Brazil and in the United States that makes the most vivid impression on the American reader: for example, carnival in Bahia. "In those days Carnival was terrific. . . . Everyone, high and low, black and white, plunged with abandon into the gaiety of a wide-open city. . . . Everyone got drunk; not with liquor, but with the monotonous, barbaric music."

And then there are the Brazilian feelings toward sex and marriage which run through the whole pattern of the book—a combination of rigidities and easy, matter-of-fact tolerances. Mrs. Chamberlain says that to her "the ideal wife was Dona Carola, who always submitted to her husband—as a woman should. She guarded her daughters fanatically from all contact with men . . . and groomed them to be good wives and mothers. But the boys! . . . They were allowed every liberty and complete freedom. . . ." (Men, too, as witness the wedding of his bastard son openly attended by Dona Carola's worthy husband, and Dona Carola's friend Evelina making "baby clothes for her husband's mistress, who was expecting a child soon.") Unlike the mothers of the Brazilians she knew, the American women Henriqueta met "were all fools for work. They were always doing something. One woman even went to an office every day, just like a man. . . . They were always hustling, as if they had never learned the art of keeping still to feel deeply the beauty and joy of each living moment."

Another contrast is in color. As one of Henriqueta's friends said, "Brazil is the one country in the world where the white man doesn't consider himself better than the red or black." Henriqueta's schoolmates in Rio couldn't believe she didn't have some Negro blood and made her undress to prove there wasn't "a brown line on the skin over the spinal column." As her father said of his children, "All their lives they've chosen their friends because they liked them as people and these friends range in every shade from white to black."

The last few pages of the book recall how shocked Henriqueta was when she came to the United States and stumbled over the color line in a Kansas City

street car. The behavior of North Americans she thought "belied their speeches and glamorous movie propaganda. I preferred our Brazilian system—with all its mistakes—because at least we were decent to human beings." But eventually she "learned to know many fine North Americans"—including the man she married—and "became adjusted to their way of life." Her husband's sketches, which illustrate the book, are full of the warmth and gaiety of the Brazil Mrs. Chamberlain loves so well.

EVANS CLARK

"Monty"

MONTGOMERY: A BIOGRAPHY.

By Alan Moorehead. Coward-McCann. \$4.

ALAN MOOREHEAD, ace British war correspondent, followed Field Marshal Montgomery in action from Alamein to the Rhine and has described his campaigns in several previous books. Now he presents us with a fascinating study of Montgomery the man.

Seeking a clue to the strange, even eccentric, character of the Marshal, the author rightly pays much attention to a childhood spent in pitting his will against that of his mother, a straight-laced Victorian matron who had very decided ideas about bending the twig. Montgomery escaped to school, where his natural ability in sports gave him the leadership for which he craved and helped him overcome the social handicap of ultra-aggressiveness. Entering the army, he rose slowly through the hierarchy, recognized as a keen officer but distrusted by many of his superiors because he was addicted to ideas and tactless enough to expound them in season and out. Assertive, experimental, intolerant, and unsocial, it was almost a miracle that he was never cashiered but instead rose to the top in a crisis.

Mr. Moorehead, combining judgment with careful research, has painted a living, not an official, portrait. The personality that emerges is not, perhaps, endearing, but it is thoroughly believable. Reading this book we can understand why "Monty" has aroused so much antagonism: we can also appreciate the devotion he inspired in the men of the Eighth Army.

KEITH HUTCHISON

New Life of Wilson

WILSON: THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE. By Arthur S. Link. Princeton University Press. \$5.

THE first volume of Professor Link's new life of Woodrow Wilson is a model of political biography. Thorough, accurate, objective, and readable, it gives the first full account of Wilson's life in politics up to his election to the Presidency in 1912. Professor Link has supplemented the Wilson and other manuscript collections with an uncommonly extensive and discriminating use of contemporary newspapers and magazines. His book traces in detail the first stirrings of Wilson's political ambition, his transformation from the Cleveland conservative of 1906 to the Bryan liberal of 1912, the long haul for the nomination, the fantastic Baltimore convention, and the exciting campaign against Roosevelt and Taft in 1912.

In particular, the book throws valuable light on Wilson's Princeton troubles and on the remarkable degree to which he was identified at the beginning with the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party. Dr. Link is a critical biographer,



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They Almost Killed Hitler

not basically unsympathetic with his subject, but no cultist or rhapsodist; and his dry recognition that his leading figure indulged in ambiguities and contradictions is refreshing in a day when a synthetic conception of "folk hero" has made it impossible to see some past political leaders for their halos. Historians and the general public alike will await the remaining volumes of Dr. Link's biography with enthusiasm.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Hares and Trappists

A MAN IN THE DIVIDED SEA.

By Thomas Merton. New Directions. \$2.50.

YOUNG CHERRY TREES SECURED AGAINST HARES. By André Breton. View Editions. \$3.75.

THE best thing Mr. Merton does is to communicate the complete satisfaction of the very simple but, for the believer, wonderfully significant life of the Trappist monk; a special, almost allegorical, feeling for nature seems to be a part of this life. For instance, The Trappist Abbey: Matins:

When the full fields begin to smell of sunrise

And the valleys sing in their sleep,

The pilgrim moon pours over the solemn darkness

Her waterfalls of silence,

And then departs, up the long avenue of trees.

But Mr. Merton realizes such feelings only occasionally, for there is a clash between them and his characteristic style.

This style seems to be based on a delight in the decorative elaboration of comparisons, a delight which frequently leads to the abuse of the simile, as in Holy Communion:

For Grace moves, like the wind,

The armies of the wheat our secret hero!
And Faith sits in our hearts like fire,
And makes them smile like suns.

These capitalized abstractions grow no more precise for being qualified by a succession of similes which, taken separately, are clichés and, taken together, chaotic. Frequently, too, Mr. Merton allows himself to detail the obvious aspects of the vehicle of a metaphor which has, in the first instance, only the slightest support of meaning. This is from a poem on the Annunciation:

Speech of an angel shines in the waters of her thought like diamonds.

Rides like a sunburst on the hillsides of her heart,

And is brought home like harvests,

Hid in her house, and stored

Like the sweet summer's riches in our peaceful barns.

The effect of such obvious and, for the most part, merely verbal ingenuity is to raise the question of the quality of the poet's feelings for the Communion or the Annunciation; yet it is clear from some other poems where Mr. Merton has subdued these stylish tricks that his religious feelings are finer and deeper than such obvious and muddled figures suggest. At its best this style lends itself to songs and highly fanciful and sensuous description—for example, "Ariadne"—not, except on very special occasions, to what appears to be Mr. Merton's very real faith.

The claim of his publishers is that "le témoignage d'André Breton s'impose comme gage de la tradition classique des Surréalistes, d'une imagination qui ne transige pas et d'une constance morale qui ne fait jamais défaut." This may well be true; the juror on whom only a fragment here and there, and one poem, have imposed themselves can hardly say. There is a kind of brilliance of phrase in these poems which is often impressive, but

Je prends mon bien dans les failles du roc
là où la mer

Précipite ses globes des chevaux montés
des chiens qui hurlent. . .

There are places into which it is not always easy to follow Mr. Breton's understanding. ARTHUR MIZENER

Fiction in Review

I DON'T suppose that even as many as three instances in six months of a new impulse to maturity on the part of our young writers can be taken as proof that we are in the midst of a significant cultural change. But they do warm our hopes that fiction may at last be trying to free itself from the preciousness and infantilism that for so long now have been considered virtually synonymous with the highest literary talent. Last winter, while I was on vacation from reviewing, I read two

novels—Peggy Bennett's "The Varminths" and Elizabeth Fenwick's "The Long Wing"—by very gifted new writers. Despite their youth, both authors had unusually adult views of life—unusual, that is, in writers of obvious sensibility. Now there is Daphne Athas's "The Weather of the Heart" (Appleton-Century, \$2.75), another instance of the same kind of effort to create a world larger than the immediate world of the writer's own feelings. "The Weather of the Heart," written when Miss Athas was only twenty-two and her first published work, is strikingly talented. It is also a very remarkable attempt to put sensibility at the service of growth instead of at the service of a self-pitying retreat.

In fiction as in life one of the marks of growth is, of course, activity. In the novel activity shows itself as drama; drama is the novelist's means of translating inner conflict into open conflict and of advancing its resolution, and it seems to me that the static quality of so much present-day fiction must be understood as a refusal of growth, as a willingness to rest in the conditions given at the start of the story. Especially in novels about childhood we see how little desire for maturity our authors cherish for their small protagonists; the books end with their little heroes and heroines retaining almost exactly the same status they had at the beginning: they are still troubled children. Nor does the fact that this passivity so often presents the face of revolt indicate more than lip-service to the idea of revolt; however much these children may employ the idiom of rebellion, they never rebel in the direction of growing up. If there was a time when the first novel of an ambitious writer was almost sure to be the novel of development, in our present period it is almost sure to be a novel of non-development.

This is not the case with Miss Athas's "The Weather of the Heart," any more than it was the case with Miss Bennett's novel or Miss Fenwick's. All these are novels of drama and attempt to effect resolutions. Although the main characters of Miss Athas's book are children when we first meet them, by the time we leave them not so many years later their personalities have been deeply grooved by their experience of the world. They have acted and been

acted upon, and we know just what direction their adult lives must take. It is not a happy projection: Eliza Wall will be a dry, masochistic spinster; Hetty Wall will be a wan, semi-delinquent weakling (and how full of gracious possibility the two little sisters were on first appearance); yet the evolution is entirely logical! Claw Moreau, the young precipitating agent of the girls' miseries, will always be edging criminality; Monty, the "nice" boy of the early years, will be a mild horror of concealed meanness. It is decidedly not a happy picture, and Miss Athas is not made happy by it. But it is the inevitable development from the conditions given at the start of the story. However much Miss Athas may deplore the fate that awaits her characters in maturity, she at least allows them to achieve it. She is willing, as author, to accept this maturity and the responsibility for it.

And the fierce freedom of Miss Athas's imagination is, I think, the reward of this maturity. There is a great deal of fantasy in all our literature of sensibility; but it is narcissistic fantasy, very undaring because it never dares to move beyond the range of the writer's self-love. The quality of Miss Athas's fantasy is almost frighteningly unhampered. On the one hand, Miss Athas can generate her largest dramatic conflicts out of something so apparently trivial as the murder of a pet canary. On the other hand, she can match Faulkner in the imagination of aberrant human behavior. Her story is set in Maine, and even her descriptions of the landscape and weather communicate a new bold experience. There is only a single motive or perception in "The Weather of the Heart" that seems to me to have been formed unfreely—the statement of the source of Eliza Wall's sexual fears: here alone Miss Athas works by rote, looking to the textbook rather than to the image in her own mind.

The circumstances surrounding the publication of "The Weather of the Heart" are unfortunate. The book has a singularly ugly jacket. More important, it is promoted by a blurb from Betty Smith of "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" fame, which can only mean that its publishers fail to make the necessary discriminations. A writer with no literary reputation or connections, a writer,

moreover, who fails to give the reassuring signs of literacy in her text—references to Joyce and Kafka, preferably—has a hard enough time being taken seriously by the literary critics without being given so limp a send-off.

DIANA TRILLING

Films

JAMES
AGEE

OF THE two films by Jean Vigo at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, "Zero de Conduite," which I commented on last week, seems to me all but unblemished inspiration, moving freely and surely in its own unprecedented world from start to finish, one of the few great movie poems. I admire "L'Atalante" less; it is only the best French movie since the best of René Clair. "Zero" seems to have been made, as all the best work has to be, from the inside out; "L'Atalante," on the whole, is put together from the outside inward. It is very good, spasmodically great poetry applied to pretty good prose; a great talent trying, I judge, to apply itself so far as it can stand to, conventionally and commercially.

The story, which Vigo adapted rather than invented, could almost be one of those pseudo-simple, sophisticated-earthly things which several French movie-makers handle gracefully, to the delight of cultivated Americans who will despise Vigo's work; the sex life of a jealous barge captain and his restive peasant bride; the crawling of the claustrophobic, ironically christened barge along the Seine; a couple of weird flirtations; estrangement; reunion. But Vigo's treatment shows up the French movie "classics" of this sort for the genteel literary exercises they really are. The old familiar "civilized," "Gallic" smirk is strictly outlawed: these are horribly serious, instinctual, brainless people, presented with a naked directness that is beyond patronage or gentle laughter up the sleeve, beyond even any particular show of sympathy. The "atmospheres" which in later films of this sort are sketched in so prettily are not pretty here but gravely monumental, and all-pervasive. The ordinary clever use of props in French films is here no tender exhibition of naive trinkets before the comfortable but a solid drench of inanimate objects, passionately, all but mystically, respected for

what they are, and mean to their owners.

At its best "L'Atalante" is sensuously much richer and more beautiful than "Zero"—in spite of the somewhat damaged prints it is clear that Boris Kaufman's camera work in both films should have an article to itself—and once in a while the picture breaks free into Vigo's half mad, strangely majestic kind of poetry. The bridal procession from church to barge, which opens the film, is a great passage, forlorn, pitiful, cruelly funny, and freezingly sinister; Dita Parlo (the bride) is the fullest embodiment of sub-articulate sex that I

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have seen; the trinket salesman with whom she flirts is an astonishing cross-breed of slapstick with a kind of jail-bird Ariel; and Michel Simon, as a premental old man, is even more wonderfully realized as a poetic figure, a twentieth-century Caliban. Vigo was a more experienced director by the time he made "L'Atalante," and the picture shows gifts fully as great as those shown in "Zero de Conduite." But for all its quality "L'Atalante" suggests the strugglings of a maniac in a strait-jacket; whereas in "Zero" he moves freely, and it turns out that he is dangerous only to all in the world that most needs destroying.

It is clear that Vigo picked up a good deal from German films of the early twenties, from Clair and Chaplin, and from the whole creative brew of the Paris of his time. On a foggy day, indeed, or with a prejudiced eye, it would be possible to confuse his work with the general sad run of avant-garde movie work, as several reviewers, including some whom I ordinarily respect, have done. But Vigo was no more a conventional avant-gardist than he was a Hollywood pimp; he was one of the very few real originals who have ever worked on film. Nobody has approached hisadroitness in handling reality, consciousness, and time on film (in "Zero"); or has excelled his vivid communication of the animal emotions, the senses, the inanimate world, and their interplay (in "L'Atalante"); nor have I found, except in the best work of the few masters, a flexibility, richness, and purity of creative passion to equal his in both these films.

Here is the little I know about him. He was the son of a Basque revolutionist, and learned to walk in the prison in which, as Vigo put it, his father was suicided. Perhaps that helps explain why he never so much as tried to learn to put his best foot forward. He began his career as an artist in a photographer's studio in Nice. He became an assistant movie camera man, helped organize a film society, and made "A propos de Nice," which was, I gather, a short and extremely sardonic film, nominally in the "documentary" manner. In Paris he made "Zero de Conduite" in 1933 and "L'Atalante" in 1934. He planned several other films, including one about tennis (with Cochet) and one about the French penal colonies; but all arrangements for financing these schemes fell through. When Paris censors saw "Zero" they forbade its release; even at a press screening it caused a near-riot. He was luckier with the more conven-

tional "L'Atalante." The miseries of dying, of tuberculosis, at the age of twenty-nine, with most of his abilities still unused, were exacerbated in Vigo by his knowledge that now that he was helpless to interfere, movie tradesmen were making little improvements on the picture.

Today, according to the Hollywood *Quarterly*, from which I got most of this information, both films are playing the French neighborhood theaters. It is not said whether they are popular.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN HIS *Symphony in Three Movements* (1945) Stravinsky uses ideas and methods reminiscent of those of "Le Sacre du printemps"—particularly the obsessive ostinato of rhythmic and melodic figures—in the creation of self-contained musical structures. It is the first movement that has the most attractive ideas, the greatest coherence in what a commentator calls Stravinsky's "additive construction," and a cumulative impact that adds up to tremendous power. But there are effective passages at the beginning and end of the second movement and in the finale, which ends with a frenetic crescendo like the conclusion of "Le Sacre." Impressive and even fascinating is the assured expertness with which the sounds are put together. And constantly I am aware of how those ostinatos invite the Balanchine choreography that I have seen complete Stravinsky's music like an additional line of counterpoint. Stravinsky's performance with the New York Philharmonic, issued by Columbia (Set 680; \$4), has a characteristic and appropriate hard clarity which is carried into the recorded sound.

Ormandy's selection and arrangement and scoring of the material of Handel's *Water Music* that he has recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra for Columbia (Set X-279; \$3) is different from Harty's in the old Columbia set. But more important is the fact that his performance is inferior to Harty's with the London Philharmonic, and is less well recorded. It is in fact amazing to find the sound of the old performance so clear and bright where the new one is so dull, muddy, and harsh.

The Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, which began its season in New York last September insufficiently rehearsed, returned

to the City Center for its spring season in a state of exhaustion which made the opening performance of "Dances Concertantes" as agonizing for the spectator as it appeared to be for the dancers. One learned that a wreck on the New Haven had kept them in the Bridgeport station until four o'clock that morning; but this didn't account for the fatigue that continued evident the rest of the first week. The third week Danilova was out several days with a blister; the last week Tallchief left, Danilova was out again with a sinus attack, and Boris with an injured ankle. Even with the company intact there aren't enough first-rank dancers for all the parts that require them, or for alternation in those parts—so that one gets "Swan Lake," "The Nutcracker," and "Ballet Imperial" with Magallanes in parts in which he is embarrassingly incapable of the brilliance they are intended to exhibit; "Ballet Imperial" with Krassovska in a part which requires dazzling speed and sharpness that she lacks; Krassovska also as Danilova's alternate in "Night Shadow," in which she is incapable of Danilova's sustained intensity; Krassovska and Danielian as the inadequate alternates—without the wit and grandeur—of Danilova and Franklin in "Mozartiana"; Bliss in the Franklin part in "Rodeo," for which he hasn't the brilliance and personal force. And when things go wrong the company has no replacements: there was, last spring, more of Krassovska in place of Danilova; there were Tyven, coquettish but unimpassioned, in Tallchief's role in "Night Shadow," and Vida Brown, without Tallchief's sinister force, as the Fairy in "Le Baiser de la fée."

With luck—which I didn't always have—one got the occasional great performances of some of the greatest works in the present-day ballet repertory—"Le Baiser," "Dances Concertantes," "Mozartiana," "Night Shadow," "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme," "Coppelia," "The Nutcracker," "Rodeo." Without luck one got the less effective performances of these works and of other great works—"Ballet Imperial," "Concerto Barocco," "Serenade." If one was lucky one got, with these, at least a Danilova performance in "Swan Lake" or "Gaité parisienne" or "Raymonda"; if not, one got an evening without Danilova in anything at all. And with no luck one got, in addition, "The Bells" or "Snow Maiden" or "Comedia Balletica" or "Scheherazade" or "Le Spectre de la rose" with Danielian.

As for the new ballets, with good luck one saw Antonia Cobos's little dance-suite, "Madroños," not all of it as good as the very funny opening scene and some of Miss Cobos's own amusingly light and sharp Spanish-style dancing at the premiere (what Krassovska did with it at later performances I didn't see). With poor luck one saw Valerie Bettis's "Virginia Sampler," a long and dull piece by a modern dancer unable, in working with more richly

equipped ballet dancers, to transcend the limitations of her own vocabulary and of the ideas based on it. And one had to listen to a long piece of bad music by Leo Smit.

With all these possibilities for bad luck it wasn't surprising to see many seats empty that used to be filled. The way to fill them again is to give the public assurance that it can count on seeing the great works of the Monte Carlo repertory in well-rehearsed per-

formances by dancers of the caliber these works require. And I might add my opinion that to achieve such performances the management will have to engage a conductor with at least the ability to start with the dancers (sometimes they had to make second starts), to set a tempo they can dance in (some of the tempos were brutal), and to maintain a tempo he has set—to say nothing of the ability to get an orchestra to play correctly.

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Letters to the Editors

Faith vs. Platitudes

Dear Sirs: I am both disappointed and alarmed by the signs of decadence and senility shown by *The Nation*. For what other interpretation can be given to the publication of the article *A Faith to Live By*, by Jacques Maritain? The publication of such an article in a liberal magazine could be justified only if it were the basis for a vigorous rebuttal. But to publish it unchallenged is like allowing oneself to be stabbed in the back. It is also a very grave symptom of a serious disease, which unless checked will destroy liberalism.

What has happened to the liberals? Are they so lethargic that they cannot smell the opiate that Maritain offers them? No wonder that the editor of the *Register*, a reactionary Catholic publication, sneers at *The Nation*, calling it a "self-styled leading liberal weekly." The *Register*, echoing Mr. Maritain, thinks that we liberals are tired, defeated, without faith in anything, and ready to fall into the arms of the Catholic church, which loves liberals so much that it has always strangled them. And is plotting to do more strangling.

"Faith in man is saved by faith in God," says Mr. Maritain. Anyone who takes this meaningless platitude for a gem of sober thinking should be sent to school again. Faith in what kind of God? In the God of the Catholic church, of course. What has faith in God brought to man? History has the answer, and it certainly is not flattering to God. Murder, hatred, poverty, exploitation, hunger, and injustice—that is what millions and millions of people who had plenty of faith in God have obtained for thousands of years. Yet Mr. Maritain has the unmitigated gall to ask us to have faith in God and thus solve all our problems. . . .

The Catholic church has condemned liberals and liberalism in clear and vigorous terms, and repeatedly demanded their extermination. Mr. Maritain himself stands indicted and condemned, for his church has officially stated that "a Catholic liberal is not a Catholic or a liberal." Psychology has a name for people who like to be humiliated.

Let Mr. Maritain peddle his quack cure for an ailing world to his own confused people. A real liberal has a faith he lives by. That faith is faith in him-

self and faith in man. Faith that science—when applied for the benefit of mankind—will give us security, peace, abundance, and happiness, something that "faith in God" has never given man.

J. M. MARTINEZ

Miami, June 27

The Virtues of Price-Fixing

Dear Sirs: Mr. Hutchison's discussion of "Fair Trade" for Whom? in his *Everybody's Business* of May 3 inclines me to give you some further facts about trade practices in the book field.

The old price-cutting methods played havoc with the distribution of books, and only with the stabilization of prices did the now widely accepted lines of cheap books appear. Readers seldom stop to think that they get most of their reading at a standardized price. Price cutting of newspapers is not permitted by the newspapers. The prices of magazines are held firmly, even for subscriptions. Only in books has there been indiscriminate price cutting.

If a 25-cent book, for example, could be sold at the next store for 19 cents, thus giving the price-cutting store a sort of cultural credit mark as well as a stream of new customers, other stores would promptly drop the line and concentrate on such things as magazines, which have their prices fixed. Only since we have had price standards has the big 25-cent market, now over 100,000,000 books a year, developed. The same standardization has made possible the success of 49-cent and dollar lines. The Modern Library was battered around at one time with prices down way below the production costs. Today it is a cultural asset in thousands of communities, because it is displayed and sold at a uniform price across the country.

The cost of new books will always depend on the cost of production, but publishers are prohibited undue increases by the nature of their business. In the first place, they are in competition, as no other industry is, with endowed institutions producing similar books—and producing them, it will be noted, at no lower prices than the commercial publishers. They produce merchandise, too, with full awareness that if the price is higher than the public wishes to pay, the public can get this same material without payment at a public library. This is highly desirable,

but obviously it is a restraint on any undue price increases.

It is so easy to stir up the feeling that the price cutter is a great benefactor that it is worth noting that low-priced books have been made possible by price standardization and fair-trade laws. It is also worth noting that in every other book-producing country the natural expectation of the trade and the regular practice is that prices will be maintained. Only in this country has the opposite expectation been created.

At one time, some fifteen years ago, the English government investigated the question of whether the fair-trade price of books was to the detriment of the public. It came to the conclusion that maintained merchandise was less likely to have a wide margin of mark-up than lines not maintained.

FREDERIC C. MELCHER,
President, *Publishers' Weekly*

New York, June 17

Good Man Gone Wrong

Dear Sirs: As a former officer of the St. Louis Chapter of France Forever, which supported De Gaulle in the years following the fall of France, I should like to register my protest against De Gaulle's present high-handed attempt to override French democracy.

It was absolutely correct, I believe, for democratic forces in and out of France to press for recognition of De Gaulle when the American State Department and the British Foreign Office were snubbing him, just as it was sound patriotic policy for the French underground to give official adherence to his provisional government in opposition to the Pétain-Laval regime of ignominy and betrayal. This attitude was of course based also on the assumption that recognition of De Gaulle's official leadership would strengthen and unify French resistance, and thus hasten liberation. Events have proved that this assumption was correct.

Today, however, it is clear that De Gaulle has repudiated democracy, owing to his innate political and economic conservatism, his strongly reactionary background, and the pressure of big business, aggressive clericalism, and the Truman Doctrine. This possibility was in fact clearly foreseen by many supporters of De Gaulle in this country with whom I had the privilege of work-

ing, as well as by underground leaders whose first allegiance was to the French people themselves and to the inherent democracy of France.

This in no way alters the reality of democracy's historic homage to De Gaulle at a time when he had the intelligence and courage to stand up for the French Republic against fascist aggression and its far-flung army of quislings, stool-pigeons, and highly-placed apologists in America and elsewhere.

J. KNOWLES ROBBINS

St. Louis, June 19

The Closed Frontiers

Dear Sirs: Your supplement on the Palestine problem seems to me on the whole well reasoned and fair. One section, however, seems wide open to challenge, that entitled Are There Other Countries to Which the Jews Can Migrate?

It seems to me an error in thinking to consider the immigration laws of the countries listed, including our own, any more final than the protests of the Arabs. Australia, Canada, the United States, and the rest have no more *moral* right than the Arabs to keep the Jews of Europe from their shores. True, they have the legal right, defined by the size of their armed forces. Australia has great areas in the interior which might profitably be developed. Canada has only a slightly larger population per square mile. And though the United States has a considerably denser population, we have Alaska, much of it virtually unsettled, whose development is vital to our national defense.

Unless we open such areas as these to immigration and development, it seems to me we cannot with clean hands demand of the Arabs that they move over and make room. Aesop's dog in the manger had nothing on us.

HELEN BUGBE

Los Angeles, June 13

A Socialist Historian

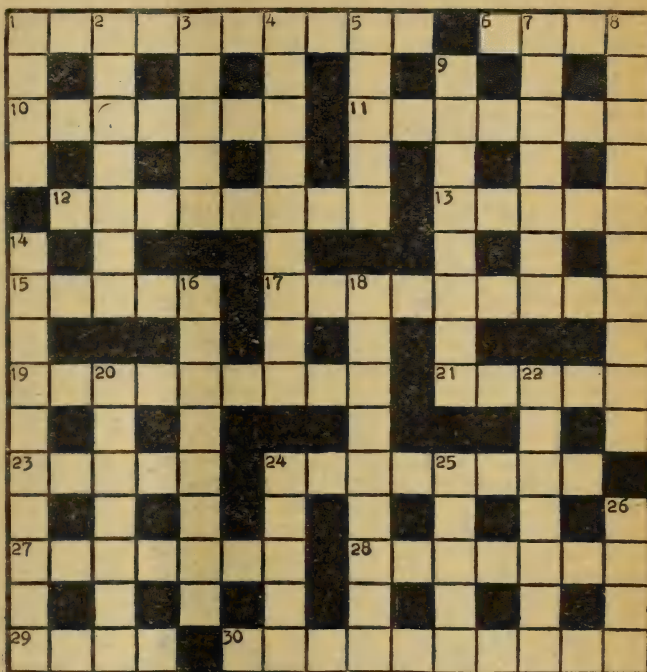
Dear Sirs: I am collecting material for a history of the Socialist Party and I hope that some of your readers may be of aid. I am especially interested in back files of old Socialist papers, convention proceedings, factional documents, party committee minutes, correspondence, and so on. I will return in the same condition any material lent. Readers who have such material can communicate with me at the University of Chicago, Faculty Exchange.

DANIEL BELL

Chicago, June 20

Crossword Puzzle No. 219

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 CL—the rest is on the other side of the page
- 6 Jug never found on the dining table
- 10 One of London's four tabloids
- 11 Fever latent in Crete
- 12 Richardson's heroine
- 13 Mr. Root
- 15 I leave Russia in a state of great confusion
- 17 Micawber-like
- 19 This guide to mariners is always at sea
- 21 "And ----- trembles when he sees The weakest saint upon his knees"
- 23 Love game! That's the end
- 24 High-speed water installation where there's a lack?
- 27 One of our seaboards
- 28 Prickly pear? No, the pulpy kind
- 29 Firm relations
- 30 The one cent class?

DOWN

- 1 Used by descendants of mine
- 2 So clear should be the voices of the prophets
- 3 Cause of "blacking-out" in the stratosphere?
- 4 A key man may be needed in his industry

- 5 A center of attraction at the circus
- 7 I. Walker turns out to be hostile
- 8 That's telling
- 9 They give point to views of the countryside
- 14 Machines soporific to cattle
- 16 Had enough
- 18 I come in to displace a petitioner
- 20 Name of two Hollywood film actors
- 22 "-----," chorus the children, in *Hansel and Gretel* (3, 2, 2)
- 24 Does winceyette shrink? To a certain extent
- 25 Am mounted—with others
- 26 Committed, not to paper, but to memory

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 218

ACROSS:—1 CLOTHES; 5 SKYBLUE; 6 BOILING; 10 CULTURE; 11 ART; 13 LIN NET; 15 PONDER; 16 DEWCLAW; 17 RODE; 19 AROW; 20 EASY CHAIR; 21 ROLL; 23 MOBY; 26 NOT EVER; 28 MAMMON; 29 ROSTER; 30 ISM; 32 ADAMANT; 33 AMERICA; 34 ENDLESS; 35 NOSTRUM.
DOWN:—1 COBBLER; 2 ORIONID; 3 HAIRIED; 4 SAGA; 5 SECT; 6 YELLOW; 7 LAUNDER; 8 EYEBROW; 12 RICHARDS; 14 TENSION; 15 PALAVER; 16 EEL; 19 ARM; 21 RUMMAGE; 22 LON BARD; 24 OUTLIER; 25 YARDARM; 26 NONAGE; 27 ROWERS; 30 ITIS; 31 MAINE.

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The Shape of Things

THE SIXTEEN-NATION CONFERENCE OF PARIS has begun auspiciously. The empty chairs were noted with regret, but not too much time was taken up in answering the rather preposterous charges that the West was attempting to "isolate" Russia or that Paris was simply a big-power conspiracy against the independence and sovereign rights of lesser nations. The disappointment over the absence of the eastern nations was quite sincere. For the recovery of Europe, even with the help of the enormous resources of the United States, is but a half-recovery without the cooperation of the East. The first concern of the committees that have got down to work with businesslike dispatch will be to survey Europe's needs in the specific terms of the most urgent shortages: food and agricultural products, coal and power, transportation, and certain classes of machinery. The problem of Germany has already emerged as a pressing one. For without a plan for Germany, Western European recovery cannot be envisioned. It is here that the conference, which has emphasized its exclusively economic nature, is bound to run into political difficulties. M. Bidault said in his opening speech: "It has been alleged that the unavowed aim of our meeting is to rebuild Germany first. The resources of Germany ought to be utilized for Europe, Germany included. I want to emphasize in the name of the French delegation that any other interpretation is improper." But any positive plan for Germany that goes beyond the Potsdam agreement at once raises political questions and chiefly the very large question whether the Western nations are prepared to go ahead with a plan for western Germany without a unanimous four-power agreement. This decision seems now to be on the books, with long-term political consequences at present unforeseeable. One of the most hopeful aspects of the conference is the constant reiteration that the door to the east is left unlatched and the welcome sign is on the mat.

✱

MEANWHILE ANOTHER SORT OF DIPLOMATIC activity has been evident in Eastern Europe. The humiliation suffered by the Czechs in having to cancel their acceptance in response to a telephone call from the Kremlin may have been assuaged to some extent by the new trade agreement Prime Minister Gottwald brought

back with him from Moscow. Since then, a trade agreement has been announced between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and others will doubtless follow. As Constantine Poulos notes on page 64, the Eastern European countries will certainly carry out their plans for an integrated economic order to the best of their ability. But what is also evident, as one studies the reports of the agreements the Soviet Union has drafted, is that the desires of the eastern countries for the means of industrialization will not be met. The surpluses which Russia can offer are for the most part agricultural surpluses and raw materials in which its satellites are rich. Czechoslovakia and Russia most nearly approximate complementary economies, but Russia will not be able to supply the Czechs with the high-grade machinery they now urgently need. Bulgaria may be glad to dispose of its tobacco crop for Russian wheat, but given decent crop conditions Bulgaria will soon show a food surplus and will be looking for machines. So also in the case of Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Hungary. Without trade with the West, they will maintain, as Poulos describes it, "the slow dreary tempo of recovery." It is hard to believe, however, that the present political considerations that have dictated Russia's fiat against the eastern nations' participation in the Paris meeting, will, in the long run, survive the economic pull between East and West. Even Russia will surely be brought to the conclusion that economically dissatisfied neighbors are not good neighbors.

✱

FROM NO MATTER WHERE YOU SIT, THE Greek drama looks bad these days. In Greece the government arrests 2,800 "reds" to forestall a "Communist coup." In Washington Norman Armour, the new State Department top policy man, announces that the United States is naturally interested in the arrests but regards them as a matter of internal administration. The United States, he adds, is interested, also, in seeing peaceful conditions restored in Greece; the matter of what steps the Greek government may find necessary to take to preserve law and order is for Athens itself to decide. In New York Dwight P. Griswold, on the eve of leaving to head the American aid program, declares in a broadcast that the object of that program on the military side is "to assist in providing the Greek national army with the equip-

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ment and supplies necessary for the restoration of internal order." And now from government sources in Athens comes the news that an "army" of 1,000 men has crossed the border from Albania in an attempt to relieve a beleaguered guerrilla garrison. From all these excursions and alarms, one fact emerges clear—so clear that everybody seems to know it except the State Department: our Greek policy is off on the wrong foot. The present corrupt and reactionary Greek government is incapable of bringing about the peaceful conditions which the United States "is interested" in seeing restored; the non-intervention which Mr. Armour and Mr. Griswold so valiantly profess constitutes in fact the worst form of interference in the affairs of the Greek people. The official American view, apparently, is that the only alternative to the present government is a Communist regime controlled by Moscow. This is a stupid and defeatist view. Persisted in, it is guaranteed to encourage bigger and better "red plots," more and more mass arrests—in short, an extension of the civil war. The end result will be the very one the American policy is designed to prevent. As to the situation on the Greek northern frontier, it is high time for this to be brought under international surveillance. The sooner an international border commission, such as has been proposed in the United Nations Security Council, gets into active operation, the better for the Greek people and the world's peace of mind.

✱

GOOD HOUSING WILL NOT CURE EVERYTHING that's wrong with us, but bad housing lies close to the root of many sicknesses of the body politic. Certainly the most unpalatable and most devastating phase of the whole shoddy housing situation is that of discrimination—the maintenance of ghettos, in twentieth-century America, for one or another minority group. As Charles Abrams makes clear in his acute analysis, *Race Bias in Housing*, starting in this issue on page 67, the ghetto ripens into a political and social institution once it has been sanctified by the courts. And it has, for many years, either received such sanction or received the equally substantial benediction of judicial approval by default. Today, as Mr. Abrams' series appears, we may be on the verge of a change for the better. Three weeks ago the Supreme Court of the United States decided, *for the first time in history*, to review two state court decisions upholding the restrictive covenant. The restrictive covenant has long been a prime tool of the real-estate fraternity that has learned how to merchandise prejudice. The cases, involving covenants in Michigan and Missouri, will probably come up in October; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Civil Liberties Union, and the American Jewish Congress are throwing their considerable legal talents into the fight; this magazine will observe developments

closely. Almost as exciting as the Supreme Court cases is the suit now being brought by three Negro war veterans (for whom Mr. Abrams is counsel) against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, builders and owners of the racially restrictive Stuyvesant Town. The N. A. A. C. P. and the A. J. C. are backing this fight too. The Stuyvesant Town formula would establish a pattern for government subsidization of discrimination. To forestall the creation of such a pattern, the several plaintiffs have submitted briefs asking that Metropolitan be prevented by injunction from barring Negro tenants in Stuyvesant Town. The Supreme Court of New York is at this moment weighing those briefs.

★

WE ARE INDEBTED FOR THIS EDITORIAL TO Eva Madden of New York City, who last week called to the attention of the editors of the New York *Herald Tribune* the following "Prayer for Landlords":

We heartily pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds and pastures of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack or stretch out the rents of their houses or lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines or moneys after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so to let them out that the inhabitants thereof may be able to pay their rents and to live and nourish their families and remember the poor. Give them grace also to remember that they are but pilgrims and strangers in this world, having no dwelling place, but seeking one to come, that they, remembering the short continuance of this life, may be content with that which is sufficient . . . that after this life they may be received into everlasting habitations.

This passage, Miss Madden notes, is taken from the Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. Edward VI was the son of Henry VIII; he was studious, somewhat retiring, and devout, and died at the age of fifteen in 1553 A.D.

★

THE APPOINTMENT OF DR. RUSTEM VAMBERY to represent Hungary in Washington is an indication that the Budapest regime, despite its supposed total subservience to Moscow, is making a genuine effort to improve relations with the United States. No one can accuse Dr. Vambery of being either Communist or fellow-traveler. Courageous liberal, scholar, and jurist of international reputation, he will bring to his office a wisdom and experience equal to its responsibilities. Member of a distinguished Budapest family, he took an active part before the First World War in resisting both the dominance of German culture and the strident chauvinism of the Magyar nationalists. In 1918 he was a member of the group of liberals who supported Count Michael Karolyi in his shortlived regime. During the dark night

of the Horthy dictatorship, Dr. Vambery courageously fought for the liberties of the Hungarian people, using his talents as a lawyer to defend those unjustly arrested for their political beliefs. He came to the United States in 1939 and until 1944 lectured on criminology and penology in New York's New School of Social Research. During the war he was active in organizing the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians and became chairman of the Committee for a New Democratic Hungary. In the first Hungarian national elections, he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Hungarian National Assembly. Dr. Vambery is an old friend of *The Nation* and a frequent contributor. We wish him well in his new post. His wit, his charm, and his wisdom will serve him well as an ambassador between East and West.

The Economic Outlook

IN HIS forthcoming report to Congress on the economic outlook, the President, it is believed, will minimize the threat of an early recession. At the same time, it seems likely that he will call attention to the imminent danger of a new twist to the inflationary spiral, which will in the end lead inevitably to a more certain and deeper recession.

Currently the economic outlook has many favorable aspects. We have reached a new high in employment, topping Henry Wallace's mark of 60,000,000 jobs, and average weekly take-home pay has risen above its war-time peak. However, the hope that rising production would make possible the equation of supply and demand at a high level, thus checking any further rise in the cost of living, is fading. After their very sharp jump in the first quarter of the year, prices receded a little and then gave signs of settling on a plateau. But in the last few weeks a new upward thrust has become apparent. There are signs that consumer resistance to high prices is weakening, and merchants are once again showing eagerness to buy forward in anticipation of higher quotations. Meanwhile, output of many of the most basic commodities—cotton, steel, oil, meat, and lumber among others—continues to lag behind demand.

The President would be failing in his duty if he did not call the attention of Congress to these facts, particularly as many measures under consideration on Capitol Hill seem calculated to encourage rather than counteract inflationary trends. For instance, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has just approved a bill relaxing instalment-purchase controls; the corresponding House Committee wants to abolish them altogether. Again, while action may be postponed until the next session, there is strong sentiment in Congress for permitting immediate cash conversion of some two

billion dollars of G. I. terminal-leave bonds—clearly an inflationary move. Above all, we have the attempt to put through the tax-cut bill unchanged except for the alteration in its effective date from July 1, 1947, to January 1, 1948.

Commenting on the President's veto of the previous bill, we agreed with him it was "the wrong kind of bill" but expressed some doubts about his point that it was the wrong time for cuts. Since then, indications of growing inflationary pressure have convinced us that the government cannot safely add to the volume of purchasing power by tax reduction. That is a weapon which, as Senator Wayne Morse has very sensibly proposed, should be held in reserve for the time when production and employment show clear evidence of a decline. Unfortunately, the Republican majority is intent on making fiscal changes dependent on its political time-table, whereas they ought to be determined solely by the national economic time-table.

Since most of the press favors the tax bill, its inflationary implications have not received much publicity. Moreover, the newspapers have already decided that if prices take another upward spin the responsibility will lie with labor in general and the miners in particular. Consequently, the effect of the coal settlement on costs is being grossly exaggerated. The new wage level will raise average costs of coal-getting by 61 cents a ton, if production declines proportionately to the decrease in working hours. According to *Business Week*, however, coal experts believe that output per man day will be little affected, in which case the increase in labor costs will be much less than 61 cents a ton. Nevertheless, coal operators are raising prices more than 70 cents a ton, and Pittsburgh retailers have added \$1 a ton.

There is also a great deal of talk about the "inevitability" of a sharp rise in steel prices, with one "steel man" quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* saying, "Our prices must be increased if the industry is to survive." Suggestions of as much as \$5 a ton have been freely canvassed, although it takes no more than two tons of coal to make one ton of steel. It is claimed, however, that the advance in coal costs is merely the last straw breaking the steel masters' backs; the rise in steel wages, higher railroad rates, and inflated raw-material costs are combining to reduce steel profits to zero. Actually, there is reason to believe that these factors are being offset by increased labor productivity and the economies of capacity operation. We feel safe in predicting that second-quarter reports from the steel companies, due in a few weeks, will show that the industry is far from bankrupt. In fact, industry in general is generating profits at such a prodigious rate that it is easily able to absorb recent wage increases. If, nevertheless, prices are boosted again, the blame should be assigned not to labor but to the business instinct to grab all that the traffic will bear.

Atomic Witch-Hunt

FOR some months the United States Atomic Energy Commission has been voicing a lugubrious complaint: barriers have been placed in the way of its hiring scientists, engineers, and administrators which make it extremely difficult if not impossible to assemble a first-class staff.

There were difficulties enough in the first place, the commission points out. The work which top-flight scientists are asked to do—in large part, to perfect ever more devastating atomic bombs—is utterly antipathetic to the scientific spirit. Moreover, the stringent security and secrecy rules under which government scientists must work are contrary to the honored methods of science. And, finally, government scientists are denied the psychic wage of prestige, since they are forbidden to publish their findings.

On top of all this, Congress recently forced a drastic reduction of salary schedules—below the point which permits the government to compete with offers from outside employment. And now, for political, reactionary economic, isolationist, and the Lord knows what other reasons, Congress has chosen the Atomic Energy Commission as principal field in a fanatical witch-hunt. The mouthings of J. Parnell Thomas, John E. Rankin, and other legislators have made a man's acceptance of a job with the commission in effect an invitation to have his character assassinated and a declaration that he is an agent of red Roosia.

Last week's phony revelations about "unknown agents" stealing A-bomb secrets illustrate the situation. The New York *Sun* and the Patterson papers devoted yards of type to reviling the AEC and to proving that it differed from the Politbureau only in geographic location. Crowning with glee, Thomas said, "I told you so." The story backfired, as effectively as any in journalistic history: it turned out that the theft was the act of two army sergeants and took place at Los Alamos—not Oak Ridge, as reported—when Los Alamos was under military control, indeed under the direction of the super-safe and hallowed General Groves. And it was the stumblebum civilians, those subversive fellows, who detected the theft. Their story shot from under them, Thomas and his press pretended not to notice and repeated the calumny, muttering new *Gruelemärchen*, the more terrifying for being the less specific.

Thus, the commission's complaints are only too well founded. But recently, by its own action, the AEC added the capstone to the barrier against its employment of high-caliber personnel. It joined with the State, War, and Navy departments in requesting permanent legislation to permit these "sensitive" agencies summarily to fire any employee, without even telling him the reason for his dismissal, without granting hearing or review.

It is alleged that such procedure may be necessary, in rare cases and where subversive action is clearly established, in order to achieve "maximum security." But no explanation of why it may be necessary has been furnished by any of the four agencies; no hypothetical case has been cited. And one can scarcely be imagined.

Suppose the worst situation: an employee with access to secret and vital information is discovered to be an enemy agent. Without any power of summary dismissal, the AEC or one of the departments can suspend him, sequester him, stop the flow of information to him, transfer him elsewhere—in fact, stop him cold, instantly—all under its normal powers. The subsequent hearings necessary to kick him out of the government entirely need not be too onerous or time-consuming—and they protect the employee's civil, indeed, his constitutional rights.

Suppose the commission or the department or the FBI wants to avoid tipping off the spy ring with which the employee is working. In that case, surely, the suspect would not be discharged without explanation. No clearer tip-off could be imagined.

The rationale for the request for legislation, if there is one, seems to be that sometimes a "sensitive" agency may want to fire a man without any red tape. But red tape is a small price to pay for civil rights. And preservation of his civil rights is the minimum guaranty which the AEC ought to be able to offer to a man it wants to hire.

Ring Around a Law

THE language in the new coal contract provides the first examples of the devices which strong unions will use, not to evade the Taft-Hartley act, but rather to operate as far as possible outside its scope. The trick clauses which Lewis wrote into the settlement do not save his union from being charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the commission of the various unfair labor practices specified in the new law. Those are matters of public interest, not to be set aside by a contract between two parties. But the clauses do have the effect of depriving employers of almost all the weapons which the law sought to put into their hands. They have a legal right to waive them, and waive them they did because Lewis was in a position to force them to do so. Thus the employers promised not to use any of the unfair labor practices mentioned in the law as the basis for damage suits. At the same time, Lewis made no other promises of performance; accordingly there is nothing in the contract for him or the miners to breach.

Both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. have indicated that they will use similar tactics and devices. The "no-strike pledge," a useful and stabilizing instrument in the hands

of a responsible union leader dedicated to preventing wildcat strikes, will drop out of future contracts wherever unions are strong enough to force its omission. Such promises have now become too risky. Under the Wagner act, they could not be used as pegs on which to hang damage suits when wildcat strikes occurred; under the Taft-Hartley act they very probably can be so used.

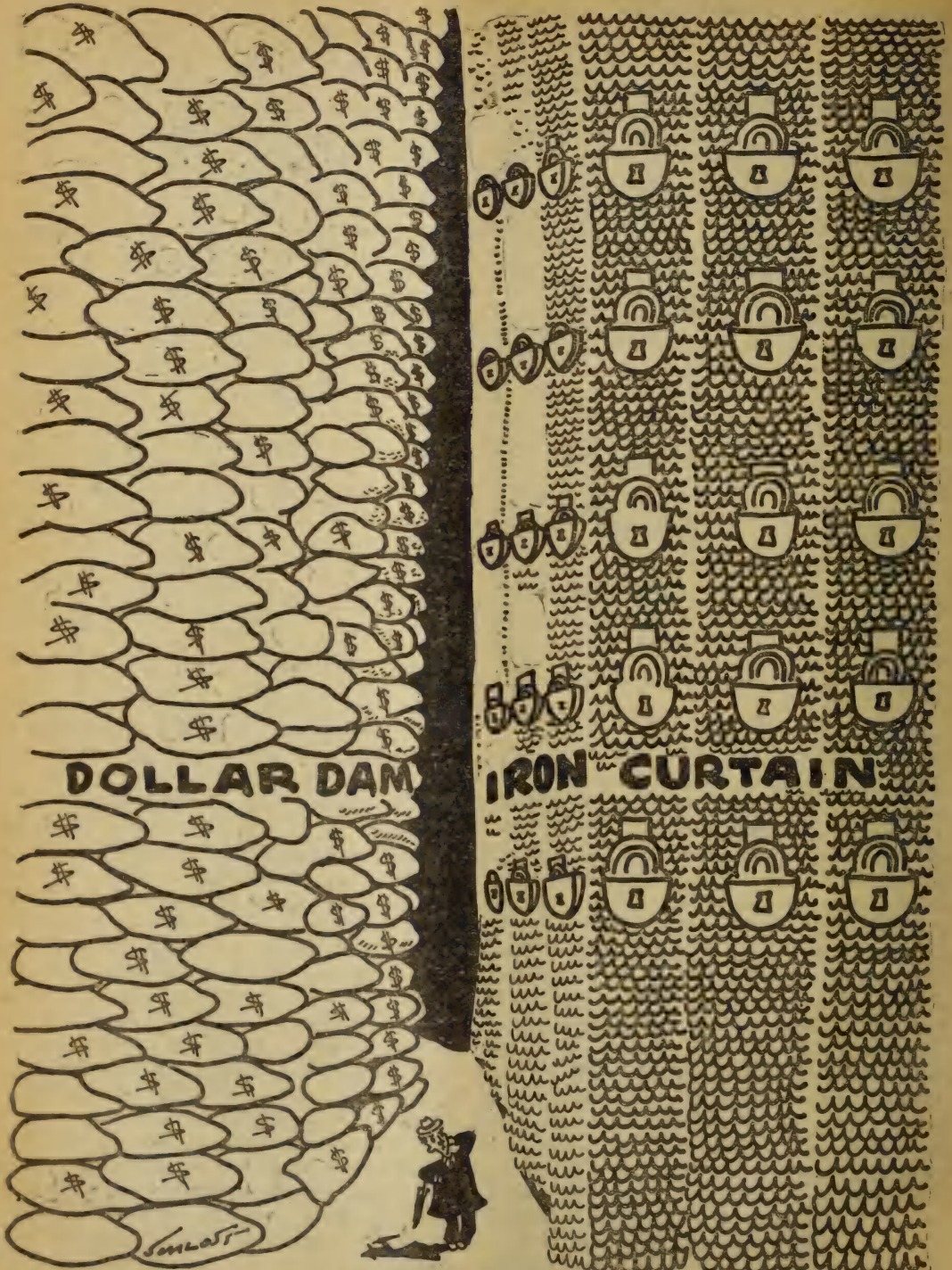
Strong, well-organized unions, particularly those in the skilled-crafts field, may well do without any contracts whatever. A group of compositors or bricklayers, for example, will simply meet in their union hall and determine what the wages and working conditions will be. Employers will comply, or do without workers.

Similarly, strong unions, craft or industrial, will not use NLRB procedure to obtain recognition as bargaining agents. They will wait until they are well organized in a plant and then demand a contract. If the employer refuses to recognize them, they may strike, and quite legally, for the law does not prohibit or penalize organization strikes in the absence of prior NLRB certification.

The use of these methods—and there are several others equally effective—means that the future will see less, not more, collective bargaining and less, not more, resort to the peaceful procedures of the law. The A. F. of L.'s directions to its component organizations, and statements and instructions already issued by the C. I. O. steel and electrical workers, demonstrate that the law is operating to defeat the exact aims which it was explicitly designed to achieve.

It will constrain the strong unions to become stronger. They know that there is no hope or comfort for them in the infinitely cumbersome and delaying procedures of the NLRB as these have now been revamped, and therefore they will be obliged to gain their ends by their own strength. This means strikes. It means also that there will really come to pass that "collective bludgeoning" against which Taft and Ball were so fond of inveighing.

What has been said above applies to strong unions. To repeat, the law forces them to grow stronger. But it will make weak unions weaker and will effectively prevent organization in areas where the going was already tough. Against skilful and determined employer opposition, no weak union has a chance. Using the provisions of the new law and the new NLRB procedures, and dealing with a union unable to pull an effective strike, an employer can delay certification for at least a couple of years. Then he can harass the union, challenge it, fire its leaders, and commit every unfair practice in the book for many more months before the NLRB can worry the case through the courts, catch up with him—and slap his wrist. Against such activities, no union that is only a "little fellow" can survive. Every union knows it. It can scarcely be that Taft, Hartley, Ball, and the N. A. M. don't know it too.



NO EXIT

The Soviets Say No

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, July 5

THE Paris conference did not open in a very favorable atmosphere. Only a few maniacal optimists like myself were inclined, or rather forced themselves, to envisage its success. The memory of Moscow was still too fresh and vivid. Most people dreaded the delays, the chicaneries, the long and bitter discussions, and then the final deferment of any decision. But nobody foresaw such a sudden and complete break. That was the reason the cruel blow caused general consternation.

Yes, cruel—I cannot take back the word. Even if no cruelty of method on the part of the U. S. S. R. marked the break—sweet smiles and tender handshakes were exchanged between Molotov and Georges Bidault according to the press photographs—the Soviet Union withdrew from the conference with brutal abruptness, without trying to understand its purpose, without looking for a possible basis of agreement, without formulating any positive counter-proposal.

It is even harder to understand what happened if one recalls the sequence of events between the announcement of the Truman Doctrine and the Paris conference. The President's severe and almost menacing speech dealing with the Greek and Turkish question made an American loan look like an anti-Soviet defense measure and even like a para-military operation. A few weeks later, after the alarmed reaction of international public opinion, an almost equally resounding speech by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson corrected this view. An American loan was to be granted only as a contribution to Europe's economic recovery. However, political affinity between the governments of the credit-demanding nations and the American system was still a condition of the loan; the Parisian papers of every political shade, the *Monde* as well as the *Populaire*, pointed out this difficulty. It was then that General Marshall spoke at Cambridge, after the failure of the Moscow conference, in an effort to dissipate the existing confusion and apprehension.

According to General Marshall's plan the United States would no longer carry on isolated transactions with France or any other European nation. American aid would be furnished to Europe collectively. Europe would be invited to set up a comprehensive plan to aid itself, which it would submit to the American government.

Everybody was struck by the economic and non-political character of the plan. Its only political influence would be indirect—through its very benefits, inasmuch as the misery or well-being of a people is a political factor of prime importance. Moreover, the American government could no longer be suspected of political

discrimination, for all Europe was called upon to draw up a statement of its needs upon which American action would be based.

The Foreign Ministers of Russia, Great Britain, and France met in Paris to decide the wording of a joint answer to General Marshall's proposal. The conference had no other object. How is it possible that not even a common pledge of adherence to the fundamental principles of the plan could be agreed upon? How is one to understand the Soviet Union's resistance to these principles, which had been evolved precisely in order to overcome its distrust and opposition?

I continue to insist on this point because it is of capital importance. If the American government had offered to negotiate separately with the various European states, these negotiations might have been expected to have very uneven results, according to the favor with which the government in question was viewed by American public opinion and the American Congress. There would certainly have been suspicion of political pressure and fear of a "Western trap."

But the Marshall plan dissipated, even excluded, such suspicion and fear. As I said above, the Marshall plan seemed made to order for the Soviet Union and its satellites. Why, then, did the Soviet Union oppose it?

Did the Kremlin fear that elements of political pressure, inequality of distribution, partiality, however categorically denied by the United States, might still be introduced into the preparatory work by some European power, especially by Great Britain or France? This would seem to be a strange charge to bring against a government headed by an Attlee or a Ramadier. But even if it were justified, against any semblance of probability, it was up to the Soviet government to suggest methods of organization and action which would have insured the good faith, impartiality, and justice necessary to place all European nations on an equal footing. I am certain such suggestions by the Soviet Union would have met with no objection. If they had been introduced into the discussion, all the democratic forces in Great Britain and France would have rallied to their support. Nothing would have been easier for the Soviet Union than to take steps in this direction. But it did not do so.

It is therefore not difficult to place the responsibility for the failure of the conference. No doubt about it exists. But this sort of certainty is no consolation. On its arduous path toward order, amity, prosperity, and peace the world has just experienced a harsh setback. We must now recover from the shock and continue our task despite the hardships ahead.

The Eastern Bloc

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

New York, July 12

SOME five weeks ago, shortly after the Communists had strengthened their position in Hungary, one of the Americans serving at the legation in Budapest told me that the inclusion of Hungary in the American post-UNRRA relief bill passed by Congress in late May had had a great deal to do with the Soviet Union's decision to tighten its hold on that country.

Two days ago, on July 10, the Soviet High Commissioner on the Allied Council for Austria demanded the withdrawal of the conditions placed on the American aid program for Austria, which were the same that Hungary would have had to meet. They require, among other things:

[that the recipient country] has taken or is taking, in so far as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction.

Upon request of the President, it [the recipient country] will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country.

Fulfillment of these two conditions, not to list the several others—including one providing that "full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein"—would automatically force a deviation in the pro-Russian orientation of the countries of Eastern Europe. Russia feels that it cannot permit this to happen. At all costs it will try to prevent American influence from "infiltrating" into Eastern Europe.

This was apparently in Molotov's mind at Paris. But Molotov is not only opposed to American aid for Europe with a dollar label and to any strengthening of American interests in Europe, he is also afraid of a stable, economically integrated Europe which might get to be comparatively independent of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Although the division between East and West is deeper today than ever before, the United States can still prevent the elimination or reduction of its influence

if it will reevaluate the forces of Eastern Europe and revise its past policies and approaches. American policy in Eastern Europe up to now has concerned itself with two matters: first, American interests, and second, establishment of a formal Western democracy which would theoretically protect and enlarge those interests.

The war had hardly ended when Washington started sending notes to the Eastern European countries protesting against various anti-democratic activities. The notes were naturally suspect and therefore usually ignored. They were suspect because men and women in power today have long memories. They remember that when they were tortured and imprisoned and their comrades were killed by the pre-war dictatorial regimes, the United States did not utter one word of protest. And they know that there is less freedom of expression in Spain and Portugal than in Poland and Bulgaria; yet the American government does not protest.

The notes were apparently based on the fallacious theory that democracy could be "created" in this part of Europe. This fallacy was in line with the conception that a good, possibly misguided, but orderly society existed in Eastern Europe on which an armed minority was imposing a new political and economic pattern. Actually, the old order was destroyed and new patterns are being worked out with the elements at hand.

Our getting angry with the governments of Eastern Europe only strengthened the Communists there and weakened the moderate elements. More than anything else these governments need understanding. As has been said many times, the new regimes are victims of circumstances more than forces of evil. They have shown courage and exceptional energy and have put many long-overdue reforms into effect.

Instead of attempting to understand the new social and political forces that have found expression in the Eastern European governments, the United States has based its policy so far on support of "the opposition." But "the opposition" is cankered, bankrupt, and negative. Lamely it blames its failure to present any social or economic program on the presence of Russian troops. It uses the old formula of covering up its social and economic impotence with nationalist slogans. Although it is based on peasant support, it has no plan to oppose to the sincere determination of the governments to improve agricultural methods and production and to alleviate the poverty of the peasants by increased industrialization.

The peasant parties of Poland, Austria, and Rumania do not represent the peasants any more than the Small

CONSTANTINE POULOS has just returned to this country after a long stay in Eastern Europe. This is the last of a series of three articles.

Holders' Party of Hungary does. The real peasants lost the leadership of their parties twenty years ago to middle-class merchants and urban professional people; they are not likely to regain it now that the parties have been inundated with ex-fascist collaborators and upper-class business men.

Poland's Stanislaw Mikolajczyk is a particularly fair-headed boy of the West if one is to judge by the support ostentatiously given him. That support, coupled with the pressure from the violently right-wing forces he has had to accept into his following, has led him far astray. Seeking only to demonstrate his opposition to the left bloc, he departed from the traditional position of his party last year and called on the peasants to vote for the retention of the "gentry" senate which had always fought against land reform.

In Rumania it is even more obvious that the existing opposition is not a peasant movement but a reactionary nationalist movement, exploiting the discontent and misery of the people in an attempt to restore the old order—all in the name of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In the preelection campaign last November the National Peasant Party leader, Iuliu Maniu, said, "The National Peasant state will be a labor state," and mumbled something about his platform "guaranteeing the rights of the working class." But when Maniu was in power in 1933, the police shot down 480 striking railway workers.

The nepotic Liberal Party of the Bratianu family also appealed to the peasants in the November campaign, but everybody in Rumania knows that the Bratianu family has been sucking the peasants dry for a century and a half and leading them to the polls at the bayonet point.

In Bulgaria the story is much the same. One of the leaders of the Bulgarian "peasant" opposition is listed in British records as having received funds from Mussolini for the propagation of the fascist faith.

A Small Holder deputy said recently, "Hungary does not need a three-year plan: it needs rain."

The vacuum in which the peasant-party leaders are functioning forces them to rely on extremist, chauvinist support. Last summer Mikolajczyk's men in the Cracow area offered to take me to the terrorist forest bands and boasted that a membership card in the Peasant Party was a *laissez-passer* through the territory they dominated. A Rumanian professor in Cluj, who is also a leading member of Maniu's party, earnestly assured me that Rumania would have no peace until all Hungarians and Jews had been cleaned out of the country. The Small Holders implicated in the childish plot against the Hungarian left last January were conspiring with the left-overs of the Horthy, irredentist, anti-Semitic army caste.

The hierarchy of the Catholic church offers the strongest and most serious opposition to the present regimes in every country of Eastern Europe except Rumania and

Bulgaria, where the number of Catholics is small. The Catholic church is fighting Russian influence and consequently the new regimes on every level of social and political life.

Totaling up the opposition and studying its performance to date, one reaches the conclusion that the available alternative to the present governments is nationalist, anti-Semitic, clerical, counter-revolutionary oppression. Does anyone believe this would be a step toward "Western democracy"?

Among the peoples of Eastern Europe the announcement of the Marshall plan raised the hope that American policy had changed. That is why they must have been sorely distressed when Molotov walked out of the Paris session. They had had their misgivings, of course. They remembered the Truman Doctrine. They recalled the recent statement by former Under Secretary of State Acheson, which was much publicized in Eastern Europe at the time, to the effect that "free peoples who are seeking to preserve their independence and democratic institutions against totalitarian pressures, either external or internal, will receive top priority for American reconstruction aid." They were familiar with the conditions that Congress placed on the post-UNRRA relief programs.

Nevertheless, the economic problems of the governments of Eastern Europe made the Marshall plan extremely tempting. These governments hoped that the simple fact of economic necessity would cut across ideological lines. They envisioned an end to the present slow, dreary tempo of recovery and the possibility of raising living standards much earlier than they had planned.

Only a few days before Molotov met with Bevin and Bidault, Polish officials in London told me they believed their government would take part regardless of what Russia did. But unfortunately Russia wasn't having any.

The Marshall plan will revitalize the shaky economic structure of Western Europe, whatever obstacles the Communist parties of France and Italy may devise. Recovery in Eastern Europe will also go on—in its own way. The economic interdependence and cooperation within the area which I discussed in my last article is a serious effort, and its development, which Russia may be inclined to encourage and aid, has tremendous possibilities. Moreover, the recovery of Western Europe will inevitably help the recovery of Eastern Europe. Trade relations between the two areas are an economic necessity to which any tendency toward trade restrictions imposed for ideological reasons is bound to give way.

Washington has as yet given no hint as to whether or not the countries of Eastern Europe can get any aid outside the Marshall plan. It would be a mistake to assume that channels of direct influence created by industrial and trade relations are completely closed to the United States.

Tribal Town

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Metlakatla, Alaska, July 1

WHERE salt water washes the edge of the great green mountains, canneries convert the life of sea and river into food which is sold across the face of a hungry world. Practically all these canneries are owned outside Alaska, by people who have never seen them. The owners live in Seattle and Miami and Santa Barbara; they are the stockholders of the Atlantic and Pacific, the New England Fish Company, and Libby, McNeill, and Libby.

But there is a cannery at Metlakatla which is owned by the 750 residents of Metlakatla. And because the cannery is owned by the people, so are the light plant and the water works and even the little movie theater, though elsewhere in Alaska the picture houses belong to the chains. No one in Metlakatla pays an electric bill. You use all the current you need for your light fixtures and appliances as your share of the plant's output. You get your water in the same way. During the winter when the Chinooks and Cohos are not running, the fishermen of Metlakatla are paid from the cannery fund to repair the Town Hall, build roads, and drive new piles for the long timbered docks. Since the sawmill at Metlakatla is also owned by the people of the village, there is no shortage of lumber, and the price is not too high.

All of Metlakatla's inhabitants are Tsimpshean Indians. No white man stays in Metlakatla overnight without permission of the council. Around North Country campfires many tales are told—of the *cheechakoes* who sought gold, of the fur poachers, and of the scarlet-coated police at Aklavik and Arctic Red River. But no story is more astonishing than that of the Tsimpshean tribe, which was saved from extermination by filth and disease and exploitation because it was taken in hand by a zealous commercial traveler who crossed the sea from England nearly half a century ago.

William Duncan, youthful salesman for George Cousins and Son, dealers in hides and leather, was shocked by the conditions he found among the Tsimpsheans. White traders were inducing them to part with valuable pelts and fish for a few worthless trinkets. Naked Indian girls were delivered to the factors at the trading posts. All trade was floated on liquor. Duncan

decided that the Tsimpsheans needed a missionary. Although not an ordained minister, he would be that missionary.

It took him a year to learn enough of the Tsimpshean tongue to preach a halting sermon. He warned the Indians that they were being debauched and exploited at the British Columbia tidewater outpost of Fort Simpson. A chief tried to kill him, but he was saved by a faithful retainer. He built his own store at Metlakatla, which was then in British Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson determined to drive him to the wall by underselling him. He could get no cargo off the Bay steamers; so he bought his own steamer on credit and navigated it to Victoria without a chart.

The Tsimpsheans quit cannibalism and the drinking and debauchery which were killing them off. But Bishop William Ridley of the Church of England did not approve of the success of the unordained minister in Metlakatla. Jealousy may have influenced him when he questioned the right of the Tsimpsheans to the ground on which their village stood. The Canadian government, counting votes, backed up the Bishop. Duncan traveled overland to Washington and managed to see President Grover Cleveland. If the Tsimpsheans were not wanted in Canada, would the United States welcome them?

On August 8, 1887, Duncan went ashore on the timbered ramparts of Annette Island, off the Alaskan coast, followed by the Tsimpsheans. The American flag went up on a newly cut hemlock pole. Duncan organized a brass band and taught the Indians to play the martial airs of their new country. He himself helped to build the sawmill and the cannery. Never would white men put a cash register in the new Metlakatla if he had his way. Duncan was now a hero. An American writer produced a laudatory biography. But when Duncan discovered that in one sentence the author referred to the Tsimpsheans as "savages," he reacted ferociously and bought up all the unsold copies. Under his architectural direction the "savages" built the largest church in Alaska, modeled after what he remembered of Westminster Abbey. In 1918 a gray and bearded Duncan, eighty-six years old, was buried on a green hillside beside the church.

Today the churches of Metlakatla can seat more people than those of any other Alaskan community. The Episcopalian and the Presbyterian church work together in harmony, although Duncan, a benevolent autocrat, at first opposed the coming of the second denomination. The new Metlakatla has more than seven times the population of the old, which is now deserted and over-

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, an Oregon journalist who served in Alaska during the war, has returned there this summer and will send *The Nation* a number of articles.

grown, a memorial to the timidity of a government which ruled in Ottawa long ago.

In the Metlakatla village fund, accumulated out of profits from the cannery, more than \$800,000 is earmarked for local improvements. A new power plant will be built in the granite mountains above the town. Metlakatla will sell surplus current to Pan-American Airways and the Civil Aeronautics Board, which operate the huge airfield on the other side of the island. By the word of Grover Cleveland himself all of Annette Island belongs to the Tsimpshans, but during the war, when the invader crouched in the Aleutians not far away, the tribe allowed the air forces of both the United States and Canada to use the coastal lowlands for an airport. Indeed, lumber from the Tsimpshane sawmill went into the barracks, hangars, and control towers. In both

churches at Metlakatla hang placards bearing the names of the men who answered America's call to arms.

Metlakatla's cannery and freezing plant are valued at a half a million dollars. Officials of the Food and Drug Administration say it is one of the cleanest establishments on the North Pacific coast. Its salmon and halibut are never remanded for impurities. A fishing-boat tender, the Annette, is worth another \$100,000. The utilities of the town are valued at \$750,000. Residents of Metlakatla pay 40 cents to go to the movies, while fourteen miles across Tongass Narrows in Ketchikan people pay 75 cents to see the same shows. Indian children often trudge up the hill to put wild flowers on the grave of the Englishman who long ago said to their ancestors, "We are not Indians or whites. We are simply Christians."

Race Bias in Housing

I. THE GREAT HYPOCRISY

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE housing shortage poses one of the most crucial questions on the racial issue since emancipation.

With twelve million houses ripe for the wrecking crew and an additional seven million needed for new families, national housing requirements for the next ten years will equal about half the existing number of dwellings. This pent-up demand can be held down for a time but sooner or later must be met. Eventually, thousands of new projects and subdivisions will spring up from coast to coast. In the process the racial patterns of our neighborhoods will inevitably be redrawn.

On the eve of this largest building program in our history we face the choice of recasting our communities in a democratic mold or isolating minority groups in segregated areas and thereby losing the opportunity to level out social differences. The decision will depend on whether the pressures to perpetuate segregation have already become too strong to be resisted.

SEGREGATION A FIXED PATTERN

Four score years after Gettysburg the proposition that all men are created equal is again an issue. Segregation has won social sanction, political respectability, and judi-

cial benediction. The Negro may once have won equality in law but never in fact. Today he is well on the way to losing it in law—worse still, the way has been paved for the segregation of other minorities as well. This setback may be ascribed to developments after the Civil War when the Supreme Court approved the doctrine that facilities for the Negro could be *separate* if they were *equal*. It was a mischievous conception from the start. It substituted equivalence for equality, for men who must be separate will no longer be equal. Separation accentuated differences and prevented the development of a better understanding between the races through educational processes.

The segregation of Negroes in schools and transportation was bad enough, but their segregation in housing had even more vicious implications. The relegation of children to separate neighborhood schools and playgrounds overemphasized differences in race and color; the establishment of Negro ghettos converted the distinctions into priorities. Segregation in housing received great momentum from the northern migration of Negroes after World War I, when sections in which Negroes had lived side by side with whites were transformed into almost wholly Negro districts. Landlords responsive to tenants' attitudes became reluctant to rent to the racial minority; landowners were unwilling to sell them land for houses; mortgage lenders rated property occupied by them as risky. The private restrictive covenant under which owners agreed to bar Negroes from occupying homes in white sections fixed the segregation

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pattern in thousands of areas. Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, Jews, and other groups are now often included in the ban.

The twentieth century thus brought a change in the underlying reason for the ghetto. Segregation of minorities, once more or less voluntary or the result of social or economic disadvantages, is now forcibly imposed for reasons of race or color. Even improvement in economic status gives the proscribed no freedom to move elsewhere. American slums are no longer exclusively the product of a discrepancy between rent and wages; they are also caused by social pressure against the unwanted minorities—in the North as well as in the South. Exclusion practices are common in the flop house and roadside camp as well as in the great hosteleries. Discrimination is an epidemic contagion affecting rich and poor. Even persons free of any racial bias feel compelled to abide by a rule which has now become part of the code of social propriety.

When segregation of one race receives social approval, the practice is soon extended against other races; when it receives judicial blessing, it tends to ripen into a political institution. This is precisely what is happening in America today. Segregation in housing is no longer exclusively a Negro problem, though Negroes are still the most affected race.

It is enforced by tacit understandings and by legalized agreements. It flourishes in states without civil-rights laws and in those with them. It is embodied in "codes of ethics" of respectable realtors and is countenanced even by enlightened public officials. Newspapers jealous of any encroachment upon their freedom to write as they choose carry advertising limiting the freedom of minorities to live where they choose. There is today hardly a private community in the United States where the atmosphere for a rapprochement between the races exists.

DISCRIMINATION IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENTS

Prejudice is a malady for which law is no specific. It afflicts not only the individual but the body politic, where its most virulent aspects may be noted.

When it appeared that the housing problem could not be solved by private enterprise alone, that the homeownership structure must be bolstered, the mortgage system reformed, and slum areas rebuilt, public aid was extended to private building companies. The aid took the form of condemnation by public agencies of property needed for the private projects, tax exemption, and conveyance of public streets. The federal government also helped private mortgage lenders by purchasing or insuring their mortgage loans.

As public intervention in housing increased after 1937, the question of segregation in publicly aided private housing came into clearer focus. The first important post-war test on segregation is presented by the Metro-

politan Life Insurance Company's Stuyvesant Town, a vast redevelopment undertaking in the heart of New York City, which will house about a quarter as many people as live in one of our smaller states.* The stock of urban redevelopment corporations like Stuyvesant Town is privately owned, but the projects are usually subsidized by tax exemption and street grants, and the power of eminent domain may be used in their favor.

The basic philosophy of the Metropolitan's chairman of the board, Frederick H. Ecker, is, in his own words, "Negroes and whites don't mix . . . perhaps they will in a hundred years." On the eve of renting Metropolitan has again reaffirmed its intention to exclude Negroes from its housing projects.

The Stuyvesant Town formula, carried to its logical conclusion, would establish subsidized discrimination as the future policy for our housing undertakings. It would authorize the use of public moneys and public powers to establish ghetto patterns in our cities. Worse still, with their establishment, freedom of passage would be more restrained than under passport regulations, for all the streets in an urban redevelopment area may be owned by the company and the public has no right to walk upon them without permission. Here under the name of slum clearance was a device for the evasion of the troublesome Bill of Rights with its insistence on equality and due process. If the formula for using public powers and moneys for private purposes could be carried over to other enterprises, the way would be cleared for a remarkable innovation in government.

After vigorous protests were registered against Stuyvesant Town, a local law was passed, applicable only to New York City, barring tax exemption for any urban redevelopment company practicing discrimination. Stuyvesant Town, however, since it had already been contracted for, was not affected. The issue is now again being tested in the courts. To check any further attacks upon Stuyvesant Town, Metropolitan has undertaken to build Riverton, a nine-million-dollar project for Negroes in Harlem. This move was intended not only to allay public resentment but also, as disclosed in Metropolitan's papers in the litigation over its discriminatory policy, to forestall any attack on its selective practices in renting Stuyvesant Town apartments. Metropolitan argued that it could now discriminate because it was offering "separate but equal" accommodations in the two projects. For the first time an effort was being made to set up the ghetto pattern for subsidized housing for the middle and upper income groups.

New York's urban redevelopment law has stimulated similar legislation in eleven states. In only one, Pennsylvania, is discrimination barred. Upon Stuyvesant Town, therefore, hangs an issue of crucial consequence to the future of minorities in the United States.

* See *The Walls of Stuyvesant Town*, by Charles Abrams, in *The Nation* of March 24, 1945.

NO EQUALITY EVEN IN FEDERAL HOUSING

Racial equality should have been incontestable in the policy of the *federally owned* housing projects. However much federal officials may be tempted by expedience to ignore this broad ideal, it is more than idle folklore. The principle of equal rights for all citizens was laid down by the Constitution and has been reaffirmed by the United Nations Charter. For eighty years a federal statute has declared that all citizens "shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property." The government charged with enforcing this statute should at least observe it. Moreover, if the principle of equality is permitted to degenerate at the very seat of government, the whole structure of rights based on it will crumble, bringing down with it public respect for law.

Such practices, therefore, as those of the Public Works Administration, which followed the old segregated patterns in housing, and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which respects local prejudices in the sale of repossessed houses, are inexcusable. Some of the concessions to local racial patterns made by the war-housing projects were no more pardonable. A statutory directive barring discrimination or segregation in federally owned or aided projects is necessary to uphold the principle of equality where it is most essential—in the federal government itself.

It will be argued that there will be no federal housing projects if the government abides by the rule of no discrimination. The experience of local housing authorities shows that this need not be so. But even if it were, we should only be paying a high price for a high principle. In the resolution of great issues the advantage of gaining one objective must often be measured against the cost of losing another. If the federal government uses its funds and powers to support segregation or discrimination in its own projects and the practice receives public approval or even acquiescence, hope of ever restoring the lost equality between races may be irretrievably shattered.

THE FHA AND RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

The Federal Housing Administration was set up as a nationally owned insurance agency which for a premium paid by the owner would insure to a lending institution the full repayment of mortgage principal. It has become the most important factor in home building. The conditions which professedly justified such an intrusion into the private-mortgage field were the dearth of mortgage lending during the depression, the demand for more and better homes at reasonable prices, and the need for sounder mortgage-lending practices and improved planning. The agency is in every sense public. Its administrator is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Its losses on war housing are met by Congress-

sional appropriation. The credit of the United States stands behind its guaranties.

Yet this government agency has indulged in the most flagrantly discriminatory practices. Its official underwriting manual long said, "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes." It has told its agents that one of their responsibilities is the "prevention of infiltration." It has warned against "adverse influences," among which it includes "inharmionious racial groups." The "stability" of housing communities, it says, depends on occupancy by "the same social and racial classes to which they are accustomed." It has even offered a model covenant stipulating that "no person of any race other than (race to be inserted) shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant."

These are no slips of the pen or the irresponsible utterances of a P-I clerk. They have been part and parcel of FHA policy for years.

While discrimination in the South can be superficially defended on the ground of local autonomy, having been legally sanctioned by the local citizenry, the principle of equality still governs federal action. For open encouragement of discrimination responsible officials deserve to be promptly removed. Yet protests which should have made the rafters ring have been tempered and smothered. Thousands of real-estate subdivisions throughout the country are today forever entailed against use by proscribed minorities.

The present FHA Administrator has modified the manual somewhat, but it is clear from the new wording that the discrimination policy is unchanged, and that the agency will still respect restrictive covenants and insure mortgages on property subject to them. The FHA, as one former high official put it, is a "sales tool" for realtors. Its administrators are likely to subordinate the welfare of the people to that of the balance sheet. The FHA must respect the prejudices of the lending institutions which are its exclusive customers for federally guaranteed liens and of the subdividers, by whom exclusion of unwelcome races is taken for granted. Like private enterprise, it must handle a certain volume of business if its actuarial formula is to function, and it will not get that volume unless its practices and its ethics conform to those of the market place.

Revision of the FHA manual is no longer enough. There must be an amendment to the National Housing Act and to the federal civil-rights law barring discrimination by the FHA. A further provision forbidding insurance of mortgages on houses subject to a restrictive covenant would help reestablish an ethical responsibility for government agencies.

The French Crisis

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, July 10

THE crisis in France, as the Western nations assemble for the conference on the Marshall plan, is at once economic, political, and moral. Much of the trouble is the legacy of two ruinous wars. A notion of the country's financial condition can be obtained from the statement that its total national wealth expressed in *francs germinals*, after reaching a maximum of 285 billion in 1912, sank to between 75 and 80 billion in 1945. The shrinking of its economy, in addition to the amputations and devastations of war, has forced France to nibble away at its capital for the last thirty-five years. Living on one's capital is a workable system only as long as one's reserves are great, and France's reserves are practically exhausted. The last devaluation brought the franc to one-thirty-ninth of its 1913 value; the income from savings, which was 13 per cent of the national income in 1938, has dropped to only 4 per cent in 1947. Gold reserves have dwindled to barely \$700,000,000. The trade deficit has reached \$75,000,000 a month.

A substantial increase in production combined with intelligent and stringent economic planning might still, perhaps, save France from wild inflation and financial collapse. But the hard work and austerity implicit in such a solution would require a degree of social discipline, governmental stability, and administrative skill that is unfortunately lacking in post-war France. Indeed, the breakdown of authority has induced more and more Frenchmen "to get along as best they can." Individuals as well as group interests, obeying a natural instinct of self-preservation, are developing a kind of autonomy of their own, each trying, independently of the community at large, to carve out a private area in which to survive. That explains the incredible extension of so-called "lateral" or "parallel" operations of all kinds and also, in part, the present epidemic of social conflicts.

This social and economic semi-anarchy is gradually overwhelming the government. Lacking a solid working majority in Parliament and constantly harried on the left, the Ramadier Cabinet has none the less made a brave effort to bungle through. Its economic policy, based on the Blum experiment, was designed to increase the buying power of the franc by lowering prices, to check inflation by holding the line on wages. Unfortunately, a governmental decree is not enough to hold prices down for long; there must concurrently be a real improvement

in production. By its decree—which was in the nature of an act of faith—the government invited the population to have confidence in the country's recovery. At the same time it sought to create a climate of social peace, a respite conducive to increased output. Production curves were actually slowly tending upward, and the franc did rally on the international market. But confidence was not fully restored; the centrifugal forces remained to be neutralized; the government's economic controls, particularly in the field of agriculture, proved ineffective. The price index, held stationary for a moment, soon resumed its upward course, wholesale prices going from 842 at the end of December to 946 at the end of May and retail prices from 865 to 886 in the same period (1938 = 100).

On the political front the Ramadier Cabinet fared no better. The Communists, obedient to imperatives of their own, for a while managed by a sort of hocus-pocus to preserve Cabinet solidarity without abating their parliamentary and extra-parliamentary agitation against the government's colonial policy. In the matter of wages and prices, too, their tactics were "dialectical" in the extreme: they contrived to let the pot of social discontent simmer but to prevent its coming to a boil. They tentatively supported the Blum experiment, but proclaiming themselves skeptical of its success, agitated for an upward revision of the basic minimum wage. All this reflected the dilemma in which they found themselves as partners in the coalition Cabinet. The dilemma was that of a revolutionary party too weak to seize power but strong enough to demand several choice ministries. As a revolutionary party the Communists could under no circumstances allow themselves to be outflanked on the left by the renascent Trotskyite and Anarcho-Syndicalist movements. As a governmental party they were forced to refrain from knocking the pins out from under the government by promoting social upheaval or imperial collapse. At the same time their reasons for remaining in the government were multiple and compelling: namely, (1) to neutralize any effort by their colleagues to align France in a Western bloc; (2) to get the hang of public administration in anticipation of the Great Day; (3) to avoid losing face in the eyes of their political clientèle by appearing too weak or too cowardly to take a hand in public affairs; (4) to plant their members in strategic spots; (5) to learn exactly what was going on in all branches of the government.

It is not surprising, then, that the Communists, ever since they were expelled from the Cabinet, have had

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but a single thought—to get back in again. They repeatedly asserted—and this was a threat—that no government could long survive without the participation of "France's No. 1 party." To make their threat good they did not hesitate to enlist the help of the Communist-controlled General Federation of Labor (C. G. T.). But their best ally was the growing distress of the workers and of other low-bracket wage-earners. Immediately after their expulsion an epidemic of strikes broke out. (Though visibly embarrassed, the Communists were forced to support the wild-cat strike in the Renault plant, which occurred before their expulsion, and the railway strike, both of which were inspired by dissident Marxist elements.) The railway strike upset the apple-cart; the government, powerless to resist, capitulated, and authorized new contracts in all industries. Theoretically wages were not to be raised; the increases were labeled "production bonuses" of from 5 to 7.5 francs an hour, a disguise whose fragility becomes apparent when one realizes that the bonuses are for past rather than for future production increases. The strike wave, however, continues.

Ramadier and his colleagues are not yet at the end of their troubles; far from it! They have now discovered, a little tardily, that the Treasury is running dry. The Finance Minister, Robert Schuman, has proposed a series of financial measures designed to cover the deficit. The rule-of-thumb nature of these measures, none of which jibe with any comprehensive plan for economic rehabilitation, is such that they can at best bring only temporary

relief. They are vexatious and demoralizing without going to the heart of the problem. They bear heavily on the urban population, while the rural population is virtually untaxed. On the one hand, they increase the cost of living—the prices on bread, milk, coal, and rail transportation are raised; on the other, they seem likely to produce a serious economic contraction—new corporations are taxed, "solidarity-tax" payments accelerated. More capital will be diverted from productive to clandestine operations, savings will be discouraged, and inflation will be stimulated. The government appears to ignore the fact that only economic expansion can provide real sources of increased revenue.

This situation could of course be altered if as a result of the Paris meeting France receives the credits, not only to purchase needed food and supplies, but to rebuild its capital equipment. Meanwhile, the split in Europe, widened drastically by the Molotov refusal, has forced a change in the Communists' line. Now they are compelled to oppose the government policy, and any suggestion of their return to the Cabinet is meeting stiffened resistance. Even the left-wing Socialists, in their recent national council, decided against welcoming the Communists back. The Communists' tactics, therefore, will be to take advantage of any dissension among the Western European nations as they move toward a co-operative economic plan and to exploit with greater fervor the desperate conditions faced by the French people. The French government will need all the help it can get from America if it is to ride out the storm.

Justice in the Army?

BY LEONARD M. WALLSTEIN, JR.

THE movement for reform in military justice, stalled for a while, now shows signs of progress. The House of Representatives is taking a hand, and it may be hoped that corrective legislation is near. Protests against the present system, growing in volume during the war, swelled to an insistent chorus in the post-war period. The movement for reform appeared to get off to a good start early last year when the War Department, with considerable fanfare, sanctioned an Advisory Committee on Military Justice nominated by the American Bar Association and composed of experienced civilian lawyers and judges. This committee, under the

chairmanship of Dean Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New York University Law School, made an extensive study of the subject and in December submitted a careful report to the War Department recommending a large measure of reform. The War Department apparently accepted the report with enthusiasm. Actually it was willing to make only a few minor changes and rejected the committee's central proposals. Army "brass" thus gave notice that it wanted to continue the much-criticized court-martial system pretty much as it was before.

The Vanderbilt committee made findings of fact that cut most of the ground from under the system's apologists in and out of the army. It found that commanding officers, through their direct and indirect power over the members of military courts, often influenced the judgments of the courts; that sentences were "frequently excessively severe and sometimes fantastically so"; that

LEONARD M. WALLSTEIN, Jr., a New York lawyer, was attached to the Judge Advocate General's Department during the war.

defense counsel were often incompetent; and that there was some discrimination in the treatment of officers and enlisted men.

A mass of evidence supported these findings. There was a case in which a regular-army colonel directed a second lieutenant serving as defense counsel to concede facts which the prosecution could not prove and without which the accused soldier could not have been convicted. There were cases in which soldiers were tried on capital and other serious charges without being given any opportunity to consult a lawyer; in which courts handed down sentences of twenty years' imprisonment or more when a few months or years would have sufficed under any reasonable standard; in which officers received reprimands for offenses for which enlisted men would have been punished by dishonorable discharge and years of imprisonment.

To remedy these defects, the committee made one central recommendation with several important corollaries. The central recommendation was that the function of appointing general courts martial and reviewing their sentences should be separated from the function of command. This was to be effected by transferring the power of appointment and review from the lay commander acting on the advice of a legally trained judge advocate to the judge advocate acting in his own right. Thus the commander would no longer be free to reject the advice of his judge advocate on a legal question—any more than he is free to reject the opinion of a medical officer on whether a soldier should undergo surgery.

As one corollary of this central reform the committee recommended an inflexible requirement that trained lawyers should act as defense counsel and that the law member of each general court martial, who performs the functions of a judge in a civilian criminal court, should also be a trained lawyer. Other recommendations on the same level were that commanders be prohibited from influencing courts and that enlisted men be eligible for appointment as members of courts martial in the discretion of the judge advocates, who were to have the appointing power.

Secretary of War Patterson announced that he approved the "principal recommendations" of the committee. In fact, he rejected the substance and approved only the trimmings. He rejected the central recommendation for separation of command and judicial functions. The power to appoint courts and to review their proceedings, he said, must remain in the unit commanders. He approved the recommendation that commanders be prohibited from influencing the deliberations of courts, but this prohibition would add little to existing rules which have proved meaningless in practice. It would be ineffective as long as commanders retained the judicial power of appointment and review as well as the command power to promote and reassign the courts' members. It

would not prevent the indirect control of decisions which has been one of the chief vices of the present system.

The Secretary also rejected the proposal that the defense counsel be a trained lawyer and substituted a provision that the defense counsel must be a lawyer only when the prosecutor is a lawyer. This provision takes no account of the fact that an accused person's right to competent counsel has traditionally been wholly independent of the relative professional training of the prosecutor and that the injustice suffered by soldiers convicted of serious offenses for lack of advice by competent counsel was not in the least mitigated by the prosecutors' lack of training. The Secretary's provision would probably increase the number of cases in which neither prosecutor nor defense counsel is a lawyer and which, consequently, bear no resemblance to judicial proceedings.

The Vanderbilt committee's work was thus largely discarded by the War Department. It deserved a better fate, though the committee displayed a certain lack of realism owing perhaps to the fact that not a single veteran of World War II was a member. An example of this lack of realism was the proposal, concurred in by the War Department, that in the future the law member of a general court martial must be a trained lawyer and must be present throughout the trial—an admirable idea. Congress long ago embodied that requirement in plain English in the Articles of War. The army simply interpreted it out of existence. The army, through the Judge Advocate General's Department, ruled that the law member of a court need never actually sit in the cases which the court decided. In the absence of new methods of supervision, the army would find ways of rendering the proposed new requirement as impotent as the old.

An unrealistic assumption made by the committee and concurred in by the War Department was that an enlarged Judge Advocate General's Department with increased powers of review did not need new leadership and supervision. The committee was content to leave the department in the control of the regular army, though this has caused much of the trouble in the present system. Of course, any increase in the power of the army's legal officers over its judicial system would be an improvement. But it must be remembered that it was the Judge Advocate General's Department, as now constituted, which emasculated the requirement of a trained law member. It was this department which generated much other decadent doctrine—by approving, for example, a soldier's conviction of an offense barred by the statute of limitations on the ground that the defense counsel, through ignorance, had failed to plead the statute as a defense. It was this department which in the case of a soldier convicted and imprisoned on the testimony of an officer refused relief to the soldier when later the officer was driven to suicide by pangs of conscience over his perjury at the trial. The real remedy lies in giving the

Judge Advocate's Department new civilian sources of leadership and supervision—not in simply enlarging its capacity to continue in the same old rut.

Fortunately, there is still a chance of improvement. Congress has under consideration a legislative program drafted by the House Committee on the Armed Services. If it examines the available evidence, it is bound to conclude that court-martial reform requires the maximum freedom of the system from command control, together with continuous civilian supervision and scrutiny.

General courts should be appointed and their sentences reviewed by a legal officer functioning independently in each area. All the Judge Advocate General's duties in the supervision of military justice should be transferred to a *civilian* Assistant Secretary of War, or, under the proposed unification of the services, to a *civilian* Assistant Secretary of National Defense. This official should be required by statute to be a lawyer of broad experience.

When severe sentences have been imposed—for example, imprisonment for more than ten years—appeals to

the Federal Circuit Courts of Appeal should be allowed, whether the trial occurred in the United States or abroad. This would not only prevent injustice in the particular cases appealed but provide a continuing source of fresh, corrective doctrine to counteract some of the more unfortunate rulings of the army boards of review. It would exercise a beneficent influence in all cases, imposing a sense of restraint and discouraging resort to questionable practices. There would be no encouragement of delay, for an accused would begin to serve his sentence, as he does now, as soon as it was approved and ordered executed by the officer who appointed the court.

Finally, whatever other measures are taken, a permanent civilian advisory commission of able lawyers, including some who served in World War II, should be ready to consider and prepare changes in existing practices as they become necessary. Bar associations and lay organizations should be encouraged to become as interested in military courts as they are in other courts and administrative agencies. Military justice should never again be the secret concern of the army.

Letter from Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, July 10

THE first anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Italy calls for a cheer for the magnificent accomplishment of Italians in the reconstruction of their country.

Count Carlo Sforza recently told the foreign press that Italy is a country where nothing new ever happens—everything has happened before. Invasion and destruction have occurred frequently in Italian history, and now as in the past Italy has found the strength and will-power to rebuild itself.

Two years after liberation Italy has almost wrought a miracle. The people went to work by themselves, practically without government directives or coordination, guided by their common sense and their natural industry. Some ministers, of course, tried to plan for reconstruction: these were mostly the young and enthusiastic ones who came from the resistance and for whom public life is not a profession but a mission. Too many of their colleagues of both the right and the left were more concerned with the interests of their respective parties.

The first job tackled was the communications system, which had completely broken down. Until it was restored, no industrial or commercial revival was possible.

One-fourth of all the bridges and 4,500 kilometers of track had been destroyed, together with 59 per cent of the steam locomotives, 78 per cent of the electric locomotives, and 73 per cent of the freight cars. Two years later 50 per cent of the track and 42 per cent of the bridges had been rebuilt. I have seen coaches and locomotives which Allied experts classed as scrap iron beautifully remade. What Italian engineers and workers have done in this field is truly impressive. Practically every town in Italy today can be reached by train, and strangely enough 50 per cent more persons travel today than before the war. A few months after the liberation a trip from Rome to Milan took thirty-three hours; it is now nearly back to the pre-war six-hour schedule.

Italian agriculture suffered heavily from the war. According to figures released to this correspondent for the first time by the Ministry of Agriculture, the damage amounts to more than \$110,000,000,000. Some 600,000 hectares of land have had to be cleared of the debris of heavy fighting; 600,000 cows, 140,000 horses, 1,000,000 sheep and goats, 400,000 pigs, and an equal number of asses were either killed or taken away by the Germans.

I was introduced to the official whose task it has been to record the agricultural losses. "Are you the specialist in war destruction?" I asked him. He looked at me sarcastically and replied, "Not me! You Americans have been the specialists in war destruction!" He told with

pride how farmers had refused to sell foodstuffs to the Germans, just as they had refused to betray Allied war prisoners hiding in their homes. When the Germans retreated, they carried off grain and animals and mined the fields. As soon as the battle moved past them, the farmers returned to their fields. "Thousands died clearing away the mines."

Of the many tables I was shown, the following is interesting for its summary of the decline of production during the war and the progress made since. These figures have not been published until now:

AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER HECTARE IN QUINTALS

	1936-40	1941-42	1943-44	1945	1946
Wheat	14.6	13.4	12.6	9.3	13.2
Corn	20.7	17.6	14.5	10.9	15.0
Rice	53.1	50.3	37.8	31.5	38.5
Potatoes . . .	69.8	67.2	52.3	37.3	57.9
Beetroot					
(for sugar)	257.5	262.5	238.8	139.7	228.7
Vegetable					
gardens . . .	84.1	77.7	76.9	72.0	80.5

The Ministry of Agriculture experts were hopeful for the future but stressed that full recovery was conditioned on American help in obtaining oil, coal, machinery, fertilizers, and insecticides. Italian industry is producing such items but not in sufficient quantities.

The great obstacle to industrial recovery is the lack of coal and raw materials. Italy used to get most of its coal from Poland, Germany, and England. These sources have been almost cut off since the war, and practically all coal has been supplied free of cost by UNRRA. While the rapid conclusion of hostilities in the north and the intervention of the partisans saved the bulk of Italian industrial plants, Italy is in no position to replace the machinery and stocks taken away or destroyed by the Germans. Moreover, the equipment of many factories must be modernized. Immediately after liberation industrial production was reduced to 25 or 30 per cent of capacity. Six months later it was still very low, about 31 per cent of the 1938 figure. After another six months it had risen to 70 per cent. But in January, 1947, it fell to 48 per cent of the pre-war standard because of serious curtailments in electric power, the strike of American coal miners, and, to a degree, unrest among the workers.

Before the war Italy maintained a sufficient dollar reserve through emigrants' remittances, tourists, and the merchant marine. Emigration to America having been at a standstill for so many years, remittances have practically stopped, and the tourist business has not yet started. The merchant marine has been reduced to about one-third its pre-war size. As a result, the commercial balance with America is expected to show a gap of \$600,000,000 to \$800,000,000 in 1948. This lack of foreign exchange with which to buy machinery and raw materials has greatly hampered reconstruction.

But much has been done against incredible odds. Traveling through the war-torn regions of central Italy, one cannot help marveling at the vitality of the Italian people, at how after twenty years of fascism and a disastrous war they have again landed on their feet.

In the Wind

HERE'S THE WIND'S favorite Statement of the Week, uttered by one of the Wind's favorite champions of the people—Herbert U. Nelson, executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards: "Eight million small property-owners of fifteen million tenant units have been waiting for five years to hear one word of fairness and appreciation from the White House for what they have done to build up the country and keep things going."

MEANWHILE, TENANTS across the land were quaking in their boots in appreciation of what Mr. Nelson's outfit had accomplished. But in Sweden there are other terrors for tenants. *The Nation's* Stockholm correspondent recently obtained an apartment, and he informs the staff that "the lease is a panic. In it we have solemnly promised, among other things, not to feed pigeons, not to cut down the trees, not to invite our friends up to take baths, and not to deny access to chimney sweeps. Also can't draw lewd pictures on the staircase walls or beat rugs on the stairs or hold an auction."

MAN CALLED UP this week to tell the Wind that the June 11 Tokyo-Yokohama edition of *Stars and Stripes* ran a front-page two-column reproduction of the Chicago *Tribune's* Hundredth Anniversary Edition's front page. The Wind's informant added that to the best of his knowledge the *Tribune* has been honored in this fashion only once before—in an Anzio beachhead newspaper—published by the Nazis.

A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT NEWSPAPER, the Clarksburg, West Virginia, *News*, has taken to running "Forecasts" on its front page, something like this: "Forecast—World War III unless Hate, Greed, and Poverty are stamped out."

NOW A BIT OF FAST PATTERN from Lew Hahn, president of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, speaking in Los Angeles: "The retailer of today has got to be open-minded, an experimenter. We don't know what price lines the public prefers now. The proper level may be higher or lower."

STILL FASTER PATTERN from Charles E. Murphy, general counsel of the Advertising Federation of America: "While advertising has received its honorable discharge from the war, it has never broken ranks, but today marches as solidly and as resolutely in the cause of peace and prosperity, here and abroad, as it fought and worked during the days of blood, sweat, and tears." Amen, brother.

[We invite our readers to contribute to *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Russia's Vicious Circle

THE Soviet Union's refusal to participate in any integrated planning for European recovery would seem to imply confidence in its ability to restore and expand its own war-shattered economy without substantial outside assistance. It is not, of course, as isolated as it was during most of the inter-war period. Now it is in a position to develop close economic ties with the large group of states in its political orbit. Yet in the short run at any rate, exchanges with its neighbors can hardly compensate Russia for the limitation of trade with the West. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, the nations of the eastern bloc are too backward industrially to supply many of Russia's needs.

Molotov's retreat from Paris means that, more than ever, the Soviets must rely on their own economic resources. Potentially these are enormous, sufficient to provide the Russians with as high a standard of living as that of any people in the world. The vast expanse of the U. S. S. R. with its varied terrain and climate contains almost every essential mineral and can grow most of the world's useful crops. But the gap between potential wealth and realized wealth is a large one, and despite their tremendous progress since the revolution, the Russians, in terms of currently consumable goods, remain desperately poor.

In the long run their poverty can only be fully relieved by the accumulation of capital equipment and acquisition of those skills needed to use it to the best advantage. From the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet government, therefore, has concentrated on the development of basic industries. Steel, mining, railroads, tractor factories, and so forth have enjoyed a high priority compared with housing and factories producing textiles, shoes, and pots and pans. Consumer purchasing power has been held to a minimum so that as large a proportion of available materials and man-power as possible could be used for new investment.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan, promulgated in early 1946, is carrying on the same policy. It looks to a rapid recovery of ground lost during the war and a renewal of the onward march of industrialization that the Nazi invasion interrupted. True, it also promises a large increase in the production of food and consumer goods, but even if the plan is completely fulfilled, living standards will remain extremely low. For instance, boot and shoe output is scheduled to reach 240,000,000 pairs in 1950, or only a little more than one pair per person. In the United States, where people use their feet much less than in Russia, output is about three pairs per person. Plans for housing offer even less hope for consumers. They call for a five-year total of 100,000,000 square meters of dwelling space, which is merely the equivalent of just over five square yards apiece for each of the 20,000,000 persons rendered homeless in the war. They

hold out no hope of progress in relieving the overcrowding that has been acute in Russia for the last thirty years or in meeting the needs of a constantly expanding population.

Facts like these raise the question whether the policy of rapid industrialization at the expense of living standards has not been carried too far, has not reached the stage of diminishing returns. In a newly published report of the Foreign Policy Association dealing with various aspects of Russia's problem of underproduction Vera Micheles Dean points to "the potential danger that persistent disparity between the growing needs of the population and the quantity of available goods may lead to demoralization, resulting by a vicious circle in still lower productivity."

The extent to which production schedules are now being met cannot be gathered from the notoriously deficient Soviet statistics. According to the State Planning Commission, in the first year of the fourth plan industry "basically completed the post-war reconstruction of industrial production." The commission's report stated, however, that civilian production in 1946 increased by 20 per cent over 1945, which seems a very small gain considering that during most of 1945 industry was almost wholly concentrated on military needs and huge numbers of workers were in the armed forces. It is also noteworthy that official pronouncements and press articles both suggest that news from the economic front is unsatisfactory. There are few claims of industrial victories and many tirades against slackness, inefficiency, mismanagement, and corruption. "There are still no few people," fulminated the magazine *Bolshevik* in a recent issue, "who place their individual interests above public interests and endeavor to organize their lives at the expense of other members of the socialist society. This is manifested in violation by individuals of the discipline of socialist labor in state enterprises, in collective farms, in government institutions."

The Soviet government has so far shown no inclination to meet such ills by reducing the tension. On the contrary, it is relying on stronger doses from the old bottle, increasing the severity of its measures against idlers and "saboteurs," and demanding from the workers more output for the same return. Thus "norms" for industrial workers are being raised 20 to 25 per cent in an effort to increase productivity. In other words, in order to maintain his wage, which, incidentally, has declined sharply in purchasing power in the past nine months, a worker must speed up very considerably. The piecework system is also being introduced for the first time on collective farms.

Physical pressures of this sort are reinforced by propaganda appeals to overcome by devoted labor the alleged threats of the imperialist powers. It remains to be seen whether the combination of pressure and ballyhoo will restore Russian élan. Much depends on the coming harvest, which Moscow predicts will be good. Last year's crop failure, which led to a steep rise in food prices and caused near famine in some districts, was a severe blow to morale. Should it prove possible this fall to abolish bread rationing and make food cheaper, the current lethargy may be overcome. But as long as a vast majority of Soviet workers are ill fed, as well as ill housed and ill clad, any considerable increase in their productivity seems a lot to expect.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The German Tragedy

REPORT ON *THE GERMANS*. By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THIS is a report on the "Report on the Germans" by one who was not too enthusiastic about Mr. White's "Report on the Russians," despite some ideological affinities with him absent in most of his critics. This lack of enthusiasm for the previous volume is mentioned merely to give greater force to the praise which must be accorded the present one. It is very good reporting indeed. Its virtue seems to lie in Mr. White's ability to relate very personal accounts of what Germans think and say with an admirable general survey of the total situation.

A good review of Germany during the war is furnished by a long interview with a German newspaperman, married to an American wife, who was known to the author before the war and who brings him up to date on history between 1939 and 1946. One could not find a more illuminating story of the rise and fall of Hitlerism in brief compass. Other interviews reveal the plight of the Jewish remnant in Berlin, the shifting opinions of various anti-Nazis, quasi-Nazis, and non-politicals; their attitude toward American and other occupation troops; the characteristic virtues and weaknesses of American policy; and the problem of the Russians. A concluding chapter dispenses with personal narratives and compares the present peace with that following the First World War, arriving at the conclusion that it contains even less promise for Germany and Europe than the earlier peace.

The value of the personal accounts lies in the fact that with a minimum of generalization we are allowed to see the German tragedy through the different reactions of various types of persons to it. Not only are the personal accounts interesting in themselves, but pieced together they bring out almost every aspect of the bottomless evil, the confusion of good and evil, the confusion which led to evil, and the feckless vir-

tue which were compounded in the Germany tragedy. The report is thus a most valuable antidote to all the illegitimate generalizations with which most people, including most reporters, seek to comprehend complex historical reality.

The general temper of the book is revealed in words with which I would want to agree even if no one else could be found to agree with them, though I dare say there will be others. Mr. White writes: "Fashions in ideological millinery change rapidly. It is curious now to remember that prior to the war European and American liberals felt that Hitler was the result of confused policies toward Germany, and were disposed to pity the German masses who were in his power rather than to blame them. I believed this fervently in 1939 and rather regret that it is now so badly out of fashion, for most of it I still believe."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Arturo Barea

THE FORGING OF A REBEL. By Arturo Barea. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$5.

PREVIOUS to the appearance of "The Forging of a Rebel" only one vital and authentic talent, Ramón Sender, remained active in Spanish prose. The aged Baroja, apparently still living, is a spent force. Even before his death in 1936 nothing comparable to the *Sonatas* and the *Esperpentos* was to be expected from Valle-Inclán. Azorín had made his peace with the angel of indifference and had been overtaken by that literary pietism which always threatened him. The most powerful intellect of the generation of 1898, Pérez de Ayala, had become silent. The conservative Ricardo de León continued to bore one with his tired rhetoric and post-siesta vacuity. Of the next generation, the men of fantasy and aesthetic posture, Gómez de la Serna still liberates his annual glycerine bubble. Bergamín, Giménez Caballero, Benjamín Jarnés, and Antonio Espina—none of them now appear to possess the merit attributed to them in "the days of the liberated

imagination." Sender alone had kept and had concentrated his powers. I have not read Barea's one novel, but the present book, set beside his excellent essay on García Lorca, is sufficient evidence that at last one major talent has been thrown up by the catastrophe that has dispersed and checked so many writers of promise.

It would be too facile to say that neither the liberal criticism of the school of 1898 nor the imaginative athleticism of the '30's was able to survive the great shock of the Spanish civil war, though it is relevant to point out that both Barea and Sender are men of the revolutionary tradition and that neither is by birthright an inhabitant of the literary world. But the profounder truth is that in the turmoil of Spain, the endless and necessary rebellion against corrupt authority, only those who have somehow combined the liberal and the revolutionary spirit have been able to preserve those permanent values upon which a conservative literature is professedly based. It is significant, too, that both Sender and Barea have met the necessity of reevaluation imposed by the Spanish war by returning to a consideration of their own lives. Whatever may be the documentation of Sender's "A Man's Place" and "Chronicle of Dawn," these lovely and precise books are clearly autobiographical novels. In them poetry and realism are at no discord.

Barea's "The Forging of a Rebel" is pure autobiography, also in the great tradition of Spanish realism. To some extent, of course, the realistic method, which is not to say the naturalistic method, is imposed by the very nature of autobiography. But there can be no mistaking the quality of Barea's mind; the realism is integral with the man's imagination and is matched by the special talent. The brilliance, the precision with which the life of popular Madrid is set down in Part I makes it the best account of that city to be written in this century, and it is all done without ostentation and without wearisome device. To find its like one must go back to the great *pícaros* and realists of the six-

teenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is not only the street and the noisy tenement, the baker's shop and the sour atmosphere of the corner church that Barea so startlingly presents. It is the same when he describes the harsh and somber life of Brunete and the villages of the Guadarrama. The outer and the inner phenomena are here; the sunlight that drugs the brain and dulls the eye, the morbid materialism, the suspicion and hatred, the burden of a tradition that has lost all power to enlighten. And the whole procession of imagery is absorbed into a stream of powerful emotion.

Part II is even more successful. *Marruco*s! The name of Morocco, for a Spaniard, itself sums up the bitterness and the frustrations of this century's politics. The Spanish empire gone, the corrupt military hierarchy still imbued with its frivolous and murderous pride, the old political parties splintered into a thousand meaningless groups, the Spanish rulers of the first decade of this century easily fell victim to British high politics and accepted the appointed task of keeping France at a distance from Gibraltar. The result was tragedy. The disastrous defeats of the Riff war brought the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and the last stages of that war brought Franco into eminence and gave that ambitious and skeptical sadist authority over the Foreign Legion and the Moorish contingents. In what sense Morocco led to the civil war and gave victory to the militarists is vividly described by Barea, not by means of historical analysis but by a superb account of life in an infected army. A score of scenes remain in one's memory as if they had been personal experiences. The brothel at Tetuan, the woman Luisa, the catching of the big fish in the Straits (a quite unconscious *tour de force*), the uprooting of a fig tree, and the tapping and waste of a water source.

When a man who took part in the Spanish civil war glances over a bibliography of that conflict he is astonished to find how few are the pages that convey anything of the nature of that experience. The whole of Sender's "Counter-Attack," a few chapters of Malraux, a single chapter of Hemingway, and here and there a paragraph of certain French writers are about all. Over-sharp crystallization, absurd simplification due

THE JADED

They have come from far; they have come from very far,
And they are wearier than they are wise.
Their manliness is spent; their cheek-bones are
Hollow below their old beleaguered eyes
Which seek, once more, the cities of the plain
With dubious nostalgia, and in vain.

Listening, they have seen confusion darken,
And, watching, they have heard disaster sound;
They do not, any longer, care to hearken
To oracles and prophets, having found
Belief a stimulus which made them strong
For a few moments, never very long.

And now their will is tenuous as smoke
Or veils of mist from vales of mist arising;
Their courage, thin as any beggar's cloak,
Shrinks at advice, and shudders at advising;
Sun is no less endurable than rain;
Both laurels and forget-me-nots are vain.

Gray mountains rise before them, whence they hear
No water, only wind across the rock,
And time, their one attraction, draws them near
To space where time is measured by no clock,
To boundaries beyond the power of song
To stir them, by its brevity, for long.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Fundamentals of Naval Warfare

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An outline of the principles and methods of naval warfare, comprehensive and excellently organized, this book will interest the general public as well as naval personnel. The section headings below indicate the scope of the subject matter. Illustrated with diagrams and sketches by William T. Brady.

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to this or that imagined necessity of propaganda too often render the account worthless. Or the writer has not understood Spanish values and thus casts his protagonists after alien images of the hero and the villain. The great proportion of Spaniards are capable of prompt and bold action, but in a sense Ramón Sender, an Aragonese peasant, is too able and confident a man to be able to describe the shock of the war's outbreak upon the less well-equipped humanist.

Barea, a brave man and surely one of the most honest of chroniclers, has given in his final section a wholly credible account of the first year of the war. In a revolution, dramatic as its incidents may be, there is a greater sense of eventfulness than of events. One sees the untested ideas, the worn stock in trade of theory, the whims and fantasies, the personal myths and equivocations of dissident men, subjected to the abrasion of necessity. What was a mood becomes a party, and a mode of feeling becomes a cause. Party and cause almost insensibly become estranged from each other, and the whole dynamism of the revolution drifts into a new course, virtually without the participant's being aware of it. And almost invariably the ideal becomes the equivocal, and the intelligent and honest man finds himself to some degree at odds with the tenor of the enormous process. It is this I find in Barea's account of the Spanish war.

A non-party Socialist brought to effectiveness by the Communist Party, he was eventually distrusted by the Communists and was compelled to leave Spain during the war, largely because of their hostility. Yet he has resisted all temptations to make his account polemical, and while there is penetrating criticism of the Communists there is no bitterness at all. As he portrays it, the party remains the focal point of resistance to Franco.

In part, insight into his own condition has prevented Barea from losing himself in rancor. Sick of a terrible neurosis and made aware of it by the instantaneous and automatic responses of his body to the stimuli of fear, responses which even preceded awareness of the stimuli, he consciously refused to rationalize. His loyalties were to the revolution and to Spain. Their

purity and their force, his own honesty and ability, have produced a superb account of an event which still retains, I dare to say, far greater significance for the understanding of human values than the Second World War itself or anything that has happened since. Barea remains a whole man; his interest in himself is neither clinical nor egotistical; and he has used his great sensitivity to the most dignified of purposes.

RALPH BATES

Smaller Than Life

THERE WAS ONCE A SLAVE. The Heroic Story of Frederick Douglass.

By Shirley Graham. Julian Messner. \$3.

IN HER biography of Frederick Douglass, Shirley Graham has gathered together an absolutely staggering number of details and has approached her subject with an all but breathless reverence and a high purpose—that of revealing the extent of the heroism of this former slave and his significance during the most crucial period of our history. Since she has won the Julian Messner Award for having written the best book combating intolerance in America, the larger implications of her subject are inescapable—the position of the Negro in American society today. Yet I cannot see that Miss Graham has made any contribution to interracial understanding, for she is so obviously determined to Uplift the Race that she makes Douglass a quite unbelievable hero and has robbed him of dignity and humanity alike. As serious biography this performance is very nearly ludicrous; and in the battle against intolerance it seems to me that the book's effect will be negligible.

Part of the trouble lies in the serious limitations of fictionalized biography. At best it usually manages to be simply a readable account of a historical figure: most often the validity of the characterization suffers in the degree that it is fictional. It is just not possible for a contemporary biographer to know what So-and-So said to his wife at the breakfast table in 1866, or how he felt walking through the woods, or his physiological reactions to heartbreak. The attempt, presumably made in order to bring the reader closer to the subject, actually operates to alienate the reader and to inject an element of unreality.

And the false intimacy vulgarizes the subject.

Miss Graham begins her story when Douglass is sixteen and, wild-eyed with adoration, follows him till he drops, some three hundred pages later. From the first sentence to the last his eyes are on a star; the people Sharing his Vision are sometimes allowed to be confused or misguided but are intrinsically noble, and all, with the same monotonous flash of insight, are struck with awe when they see him. The people who are against him are all bilious or drunken or devilishly clever, and it is Miss Graham's peculiar ability to create the impression, no matter what the facts, that these people too tremble at the mere mention of the name of Frederick Douglass. Miss Graham drags in the Forces of History, as many as she can lay her hands on, and as often as the mood strikes her dumps them on the reader and dashes on to the next Douglass triumph. In her account even history bends before the force of this man.

In Miss Graham's history book voices "crack like whips," people fight "like tigers," are "struck all of a heap"; hero and saint alike "shake with rage" or bite "trembling lips," in spite of which time "deals kindly" with them; and every one of them, even Lincoln, realizes that "*few men are like this Douglass!*" (Italics Miss Graham's). Douglass comes to painful, spasmodic life only when she allows him to speak for himself—as she, mercifully, often does, but not often enough.

There is a tradition among emancipated whites and progressive Negroes to the effect that no unpleasant truth concerning Negroes is ever to be told, a tradition as crippling and insidious as that other tradition that Negroes are never to be characterized as anything more than amoral, laughing clowns. Frederick Douglass was first of all a man—honest within the limitations of his character and his time, quite frequently misguided, sometimes pompous, gifted but not always a hero, and no saint at all. Miss Graham, in her frenzied efforts to make him (a) a Symbol of Freedom, and (b) an example of What the Negro Race Can Produce, has reduced a significant, passionate human being to the obscene level of a Hollywood caricature. Relations between Negroes and whites, like any other province of human ex-

perience, demand honesty and insight; they must be based on the assumption that there is one race and that we are all part of it. JAMES BALDWIN

Haunted by Felicity

THE IRON PASTORAL. By John Frederick Nims. William Sloane Associates. \$2.50.

THE WOUND AND THE WEATHER. By Howard Moss. Reynal and Hitchcock, \$.2.

CHILD of green lovebird and the raven death" is the last line of a poem by John Frederick Nims called "Dollar Bill" and concerned entirely with descriptions of that object. I think the emblematic raven could have cropped up like this only in the land of Edgar Allan Poe. Not that there is the least tentativeness or obliqueness about Mr. Nims's Americanism. His fast, flip, high-handed metaphors crowd together much as do subway riders in the rush hour, and his éclat—colloquial as hell—is no less than expected in a literary era licensed by Mr. Eliot's early steely quatrains as much as by the Bill of Rights. It is apparent that Mr. Nims never feels so poetic as when wffelding the whiplash of campus irony or staring down at life—albeit cutely—from the steepness of Mr. Auden's "F-6."

One thing bristles from Mr. Nims's pages as well as from those of Howard Moss, and this is their anxiety—thus deprived, as a term, of its Freudian prestige—to formulate their porousness toward the social environment. Mr. Nims tends to overwhelm us with sardonic accolades to life as a football game, or to poolroom, movie, penny arcade, waitress, magazine stand, while Mr. Moss, a daintier linguist and more metaphysically inclined, tends to contemplate our lakes and shores, a zoo or a symbolized skull, with the intellectual *brio* of Wallace Stevens. Yet impressive is the fact that in certain poems (*vide* "Theater Cliff" and "The Robbery") Mr. Moss is almost indistinguishable in spirit and idiom from Mr. Nims; on this mutual ground, indeed, they stand in full chorus with Karl Shapiro. Although assuredly Mr. Nims is a more formidable leg man among poetic local events than Shapiro, Shapiro has it over the present poets because of superior lucidity and

a grand manner—however critically vulnerable—traceable somehow to what both Eliot and Auden would be constrained to term "faith." Let us not quibble. What Nims and Moss have in place of faith is not other than *awareness*; pert or reverent, pondered or facile, but the essence of what every young poet should know in these atomic days.

The ironic slant of the attitudes of Nims and Moss formally rejects any moral positivism, except perhaps as to love, but here, even though Nims exhibits the stern will of a Krafft-Ebing when tackling the softer sentiment, they both have the gingerly touch of the earlier Auden when it comes to an apostolism of the faith. Mr. Moss affirms, for example, "Death is your lover." And yet he can turn around and call "love," à la Nims, "the number on the family phone." The fetishism of *things* seems to have reached a point for Mr. Nims where the crude statistical experience quite supersedes the criticism, the moral reaction, though the latter is present metaphorically fortissimo.

A sure clue to the compromised situation of both poets is the bathos into which they habitually fall. This for instance is quite in Mr. Nims's stride:

Our fat and mooncalf nation tubs
forever

God in the clotted fishbowls of the
eye.

And Mr. Moss in an otherwise fairly decorous poem can say without mincing metaphors: "Medusa wore her most becoming gown." This may be Moss at his worst rather than his best, but it is a measure of his pervasive slipperiness; again, he will finish off poems of Stevensque equilibration with a flat lifesaver like this:

Saying, Welcome to the Stranger
And to the heart, Out of danger.

The tremendous mobilization of modern modes in poetry—ripe for quick pupils—bestows a willy-nilly grace on the work of these poets. I cannot account in any other way for my apprehension, while reading, of an attractive warmth in Nims, a gesture of metaphysical elegance in Moss; of a fine impasto of words in Nims, a fragile music in Moss. Some felicity, I would not gainsay, but these poems are much less made of it than haunted by it. PARKER TYLER

Films

JAMES
AGEE

GREAT EXPECTATIONS" does for Dickens about what "Henry V" did for Shakespeare. That is, it indicates a sound method for translating him from print to film. The method is not one of the most exciting that could be imagined, nor in its own terms is it used as excitingly as could be imagined; but the film is almost never less than graceful, tasteful, and intelligent, and some of it is better than that. The first few reels, on Pip's childhood, are especially well done, one strangeness and surprise unfolding from the center of another without flurry or overemphasis, with something of the cool enchantment there has always been in sped-up shots of the blooming of a flower. It looks as if the director, David Lean, and his associates have understood Dickens's novel as a work of literature and as a literary but good moving picture and also with the help of Freud and perhaps to some extent of Marx, and have had the wisdom not only to get guidance and leverage from these kinds of knowledge but also never to urge them on to the screen or the audience. Whether or not they went about it in this way, the picture has a good deal of the tone and the extra resonance of dreams, legends, or fairy tales. I thought it very provocative, for instance, as a symbolized intuitive image of nineteenth-century England, with the century (Pip and Estella) moving as if hypnotized by the vengefulness, gratitude, and deviousness of great ancestral forces: Magwitch as the archetype of the nameless swarm; Miss Favisham as the embittered Virgin Queen; the sinister-benign Jaggers as Law and Government.

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Nearly all of the casting and playing is so good that it is useless to clog a lot of space trying to list preferences, but it should be said that Anthony Wager, as young Pip, is so extraordinarily fine that it is a great pity he was not used more often before he outgrew childhood roles; and that good as she is, Jean Simmons, as young Estella, seems affected in a wrong way, on a second seeing. I regret with the English reviewer Dillys Powell that more minor characters were not sketched into the background; as she observes, a great deal more of this could have been dared, for the screen can communicate in a second or two what may require pages in print.

I also wish that the Dickens illustrations had been studied still more faithfully and imaginatively—that the whole tone of the film had had a kind of india-ink darkness, psychologically as well as visually: for it seems to me they had hold of a story much more cruel and mysterious than the one that got told. If this had been felt, the picture would not only be darker; the whole smooth, middle-distance narrative style, which so often merely illustrates the story nicely, would have been contorted into a style much more subjective and more visually expressive. I doubt that

such a film would have been so popular as this one, and I am sure it could not have been so charming. All I can say for it is that it would have been still more faithful to Dickens—or my idea of him, anyhow—and at the same time less subservient; that it would have been a really original movie, a transfiguration rather than a translation; that it would have run the risks that are always run when primary creative intelligence rather than the best that good taste can do is turned loose on the screen. It is depressing to realize how many people feel that "Great Expectations" is about as good a job as the screen can do; how can people who believe that, think they really know or care much of anything about movies? But that is the prevailing taste, and I will admit that in its relatively mild terms this is a very good and enjoyable piece of work.

I enjoyed "Great Expectations" more than Carol Reed's "Odd Man Out," but I was more interested in Reed's film, and liked it more. Essentially, though not on the whole in effect, it is a much more difficult and ambitious film, aimed in a more useful direction. The hero, a murdering and fatally wounded fugitive revolutionist, is an image of much of the best in contemporary mankind. The picture tells the story of his flight

through the night streets of Belfast. This night city is civilization; on that intricate stage a wide variety of people try to help or hinder or capture the fugitive. Many of them are selfless in relation to some idea or passion or conception of duty of their own; not one is capable of the selfless charity it would require to deal with this hounded, doomed soul purely for its own sake. This seems to me a just image and useful diagnosis of the world, and an exceedingly good idea for a film; but quite a bit falls short in the making.

The early reels are exciting and beautiful—purely in movie terms, they are the best—yet they fail all but entirely to communicate the revolutionary edge that is so well got in F. W. Green's novel; in that respect John Ford's "The Informer" was better; and even some of the best purely movie details that Green wrote down are surprisingly omitted from the film. In the later reels the film, like the novel, tries for broader and broader allegory and phantasmagoria, but much as I respect this boldness, I don't think it succeeds. The story seems merely to ramify too much, to go on too long, and at its unluckiest to go arty. Most unfortunately the central character, effectively yet monotonously played by James Mason, is given

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

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"BRIGHT YARN... A DANDY."—N.Y. Times
Hudson O'HARA • John PAYNE
'Miracle on 34th Street'

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—and—
'BRASHER DOUBLOON'
George MONTGOMERY • Nancy GOULD
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MT. VERNON
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W.H. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PACIFIC
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Canoy Island

"HUMAN AND ABSORBING DRAMA."—N.Y. Sun

Susan HAYWARD • Marsha HUNT
Lee BOWMAN • Eddie ALBERT
'SMASH-UP'

—and—
'THAT'S MY MAN'
Don AMECHE • Catherine McLEOD

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MIDWAY
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too little remaining life of his own. He has virtually no will or mind or strength left but almost from the beginning is just a football, deflated so far that even its kicking around by the rest of the cast is rather soggy. So, as an image and allegory, the whole film loses much of its possible force: it is not a tragic poem but a series of passive elegiac tableaux with a certain suggested relationship, generally inferior, to the Stations of the Cross. The tone of pity for man is much too close to self-pity.

Yet detail by detail most of "Odd Man Out" is made with great skill and imaginativeness, and with a depth of ardor that is very rare in contemporary films. In fact, the kind of creative energy is at large here that is lacking in "Great Expectations"; and even the mistakes made by that kind of energy are more moving and more admirable than the gentler kinds of success. It does strike me, though, that "Odd Man Out" is at its weakest with its most important ideas, and next weakest with its most important characters, and is at its best with the inanimate world and with people as denizens of that world, not as self-responsible salients. If the world should end tomorrow, as this film rather substantially suggests that it must, and may as well, this film would furnish one of the more appropriate epitaphs: a sad, magnificent summing up of a night city. Movies have always been particularly good at appreciating cities at night: but of a night city this is the best image I have seen.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

LISTENING to a London Decca record of Berlioz's "Carnaval roman" Overture I was aware, first, of how much more beautiful than I had remembered the long opening *Andante sostenuto* section was; then I began to realize that this heightened effect was the result of the way the music was being performed; listening more attentively now to the performance I noted a sustained impetus and unflinching control in the marshaling and shaping of the sound into a continuous, clear-textured, and beautifully contoured progression. It was very much like what one hears in Toscanini's performances, and like what I recalled having heard from one other conductor once before—in the imported C. E. T. R. A. per-

formance of Mozart's Requiem. And at the end of the first side I looked at the label and found that the Berlioz was in fact being performed by the same man as the Mozart: Victor de Sabata, conducting the London Philharmonic.

The *Allegro* section of the overture was played as superbly as the *Andante*. And the reproduction of the performance was the first in my experience to justify the glowing descriptions in the London Decca literature and in my colleagues' reviews: for the first time there was clear, lustrous brilliance in loud passages, in addition to the marvelously distinct definition in space in quieter passages. The record (K1552; \$2), then, offers much to feel excited and happy about: the experience of the music and performance, and the additional evidence that there is now a musician from whom we may hope to hear something like what we have heard from Toscanini.

Other London Decca releases: A skillfully made and impressive work by Benjamin Britten, his *Serenade* for tenor, horn, and strings, beautifully sung by Peter Pears with Dennis Brain and the Boyd Neel orchestra under the composer's direction, and excellently recorded (Set ED-7; \$7). Dukas's "L'Apprenti sorcier," well performed by the National Symphony under Jorda, with the recorded sound of loud passages exhibiting the usual defects: indistinct, veiled violins, the confusion of reverberation, the haze of high-frequency distortion (Set ED-16; \$5). Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, well-performed by Ida Haendel with the National under Sargent, its recorded sound agreeable on a limited-range machine, but the solo violin wiry and loud passages of the orchestra poor on wide-range machines (Set ED-23; \$9). Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, not well played by Fistoulari with the National, the recorded sound of loud passages especially bad (Set ED-14; \$7). And Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," atrociously done by Coates with the National (Set ED-6; \$7).

Going to the opening of Ballet Theater's spring season at New York's City Center with high expectations, after last fall's performances, I was shocked by a performance of "Les Sylphides" in which the soloists jabbed and flung themselves in all directions with exhibitionistic violence, distorting the piece and destroying its poetic quality. And this was only the first of the performances which provided the clearest, most

forceful illustration of the tendencies Edwin Denby warned against repeatedly in his *Herald Tribune* reviews.

As far back as 1943 he spoke of Ballet Theater's stress of obvious dramatic expression in dancing, and of how the need of getting specific points across to the audience encouraged the dancer to focus attention on himself and got him to think this was the only kind of dancing that was important; whereas, said Denby, there were old and new ballets with poetic rather than dramatic intention, which was realized by delicate finish in the execution of movements with dance meaning rather than dramatic meaning. Ballet Theater's dancers had, then, developed a fine verve in dancing, but not "the sensitive articulation of movement which people call elegance"; they "got across to the audience boldly," but overdid their parts and tried "to top each other till the effect has been silly and vulgar." He therefore welcomed their new interest in the classics which he thought the best corrective for those faults. "For though the classics need dance verve and stage presence to bring them to life, they also need dance elegance and personal reticence: a classic dancer doesn't spill his personal glamor all over the stage as a dancer in a character part is sometimes tempted to do." But what Ballet Theater's dancers did recently was to carry the faults of their character dancing into their classic dancing.

In this the company—with the exception of Youskevitch, and of Kaye, whose classic dancing was relaxed and continent in its brilliance—followed the lead of Alonso, illustrating Denby's observation that in classic ballet the ballerina sets the style for the company. Alonso's own tendency is toward brilliance in *allegro*, with "high extensions . . . quick balance . . . bold, clear speed"; in competition with Markova she acquired a considerable measure of quiet and reticence; with Markova gone from the company Alonso feels free—and privileged by her new status as ballerina of the company—to do again what comes naturally.

In the two performances of Balanchine's "Apollo" Youskevitch knew his part even less well than last fall—from which one got an idea of how many performances of "Apollo" he had danced in since then, and how "Apollo" was regarded by the artistic directors of the company, and what sort of artistic brains and conscience were to receive the high-powered support of the newly formed Ballet Theater Foundation.

Letters to the Editors

Advice for Bigotees

Dear Sirs: Those who plan to attend the Berkshire Music Festival may be interested to know that a Massachusetts statute makes it unlawful to discriminate against anyone on account of race or color, and in addition to imposing a stiff criminal penalty grants to the aggrieved person a right to collect civil damages (Gen. Laws, Chap. 272, Sec. 98).

EDWARD SPIEGEL

Boston July 1

No Telling Where This Will End

Dear Sirs: First let me thank you for printing my letter some weeks ago [offering to exchange used copies of the *New Statesman* and *Nation* for used copies of *The Nation*—Editor]. As a consequence, I had so many replies that I had to get a reciprocal letter inserted in the *New Statesman*. Now I have had so many replies from Britons that all my American addresses are used up, and there are still more than 650 addresses of English people wishing to exchange their *New Statesman* for *The Nation* or the *New Republic*. Can you help me to supply these 650 American addresses? If so, I shall be very grateful and so will the recipients. My address is still 17 Forest Court, Snaresbrook, E. 11.

P. DENIS GOODALL

Snaresbrook, England, July 5

It's Up to You

Dear Sirs: I appreciate your warm and friendly response to my last-ditch effort to block the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. It was indeed encouraging to return from the Senate floor to my office at 4 a.m. and find it flooded with over 3,500

telegrams from well-wishers who had worked through the night to arouse their neighbors to the dangers of this bill while I was addressing the Senate. I wish time permitted me to write a personal message to each of you.

The chief purpose of the Taft-Hartley bill, in the last analysis, is the lowering of wages. Even Senator Taft, in an extremely frank statement, admitted that the effect of the President's veto of the Case bill last year was to prevent a wage decrease. Any bill that limits labor's right to organize ultimately cuts labor's wages. The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce are not seeking this type of legislation for the fun of it—they seek it because it means tremendous pay-roll savings for their members.

Most of my constituents are farmers. The worker is the farmer's best customer. When factory wages are high the worker buys more food; when they are low he buys less. Agriculture's prosperity depends upon labor's.

I think that the great mistake of the fight against this repressive law was that labor's magnificent response was badly timed. The bill could have been fought much more effectively in November, 1946, than in June, 1947. After last year's Case bill, labor had every reason to know what it could expect from a Republican Congress. The Democratic Party, in most states, had forthright and progressive candidates in the field. Throughout the country the Democratic primaries had resulted in a long string of victories for progressive, pro-labor candidates who were committed by word and by deed to the continuation of the New Deal. I know that this was particularly true of my own Northwest section.

In short, the issues were clearly drawn. There was every reason for zealous support of progressive Democratic candidates by those who are interested in protecting labor, the farmer, and the small business man.

Yet too many people allowed themselves to be confused by the constant emphasis on petty war-time shortages and annoyances in the always pro-Republican press. Too many sulked and quibbled about their own petty differences. Too many allowed themselves to forget the real issues, which had been classically stated and restated over the

years by President Roosevelt. Too many were deceived by hollow Republican promises that if the giant corporations were given their own way, prices would come down, goods would flow in abundance, and the threat of unemployment would disappear.

Indeed, ever since the death of President Roosevelt, too many Americans, including some union men, are like the baseball fans whose interest in the game dropped off after the retirement of Babe Ruth. But politics is much more serious. Sure, the Champ is dead, but the game goes on, and it vitally affects you and your family every day. You can't afford to lose interest. The Democratic Party will be as progressive as you make it, but it is up to every union man, every farmer, and every small business man to do a real job. Each must get into politics, ring doorbells, nominate good men at the primaries, get out the registration and the vote.

I warn you of one thing: the Taft-Hartley Act will not stay on the books very long without change. The next Congress will amend it either for better or for worse. Which way the tide turns depends largely upon your activity and your vote at registration, primary, and election time.

GLEN H. TAYLOR

Washington, July 3

N. F. L. U. Deserves Credit

Dear Sirs: In his article King Cotton Strikes Again (*The Nation*, June 21), Mr. Mezerik has committed the sin of omission by not even mentioning the work of the National Farm Labor Union (A. F. of L.). Known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union from 1933 to 1946, the N. F. L. U. is almost solely responsible for awakening liberal America to the plight of the Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and day laborers.

From 1939 to 1942 the Food and Tobacco Workers (C. I. O.) had a few locals among sharecroppers in the South, but since 1942 it has been virtually inactive in the rural South. At present the C. I. O. drive is not directed toward the sharecroppers and day laborers.

As one who has worked with the N. F. L. U. for the past three years, I believe that this organization deserves the attention of Mr. Mezerik and other

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DAVID S. BURGESS,

Organizer, T. W. U. A. (C. I. O.)

Rock Hill, S. C., July 3

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Dear Sirs: The desperate and continued need for American publications to serve as tools of physical and intellectual reconstruction abroad has been made vividly apparent by appeals from men of learning in many lands and from Americans who have seen that need. The American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries has in the past year and a half shipped nearly a million volumes of highly selected books and periodicals abroad.

Continuing its program through 1947, the center is making a renewed appeal for books and periodicals of intellectual merit in all fields, and especially for volumes published in the last ten years.

Of particular value are complete or incomplete files of *The Nation*. Such donations to the program will help in the reconstruction which must preface world understanding and peace.

Ship contributions to the American Book Center, care the Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C., freight prepaid, or write to the Book Center for further information.

ALICE D. BALL,

Assistant Executive Director

Washington, July 2

Books for D. P.'s

Dear Sirs: The S. O. S. (Supplies for Overseas Survivors) of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has recently launched an intensive campaign for books with which to establish libraries in D. P. camps for refugees awaiting resettlement and to provide leisure and educational reading for Jews who are attempting to reconstruct their lives in Europe.

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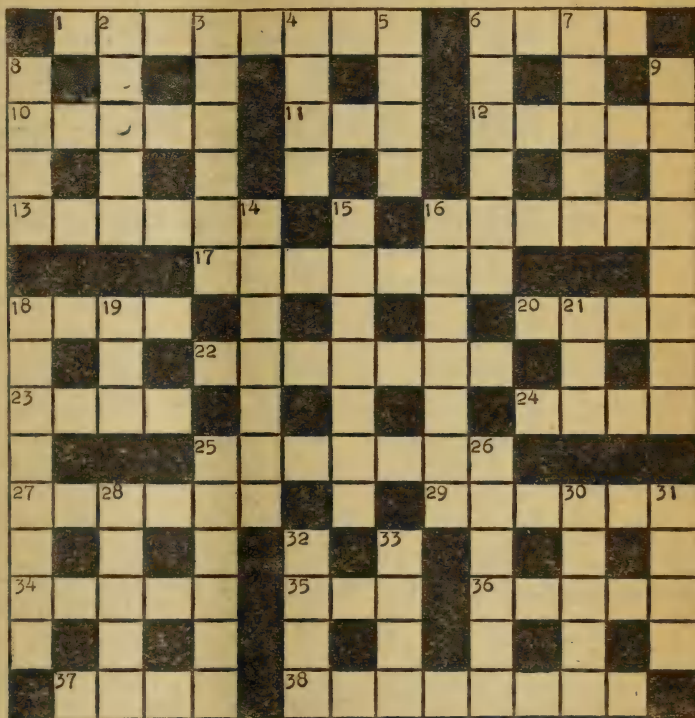
Anything you can do to make the public aware of the terrible dearth of reading material in the D. P. camps will be greatly appreciated.

BERNARD HANKIN,

New York, July 3 Publicity Director

Crossword Puzzle No. 220

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 What art's turned to is light and shady (5 & 3)
- 6 "Though I am not splenitive and ----, Yet have I something in me dangerous"
- 10 African gully found here and there in Donegal
- 11 A vaguely great number in the Indies
- 12 To get your hand in
- 13 Weak tea for a pet that is nursed
- 16 The clock strikes
- 17 "See the conquering hero comes! Sound the ----, beat the drums!"
- 18 Pier and tunnel-maker
- 20 Babe in holy orders
- 22 Tea, Lois? (anag.)
- 23 "He left the ---- at which the world grew pale, To point a moral, or adorn a tale"
- 24 Shown by men vying
- 25 Interrupt
- 27 Princess of Zenda
- 29 In a word, an American song of the last war but one
- 34 A potential lover, perhaps
- 35 One of those Nevada girls
- 36 Sort of flavor you might be crazy about
- 37 Take to water if you would be in the fashion
- 38 The food of fools

DOWN

- 2 A palindromic doctrine
- 3 High spot in Noah's life story

- 4 Tom Bowling lay a sheer one
- 5 Suggests a very short term credit
- 8 Hungarian goulash, as the French would have it
- 7 So bad for the harvester's nerves?
- 8 Mesmeric
- 9 A return to form
- 14 European country of acid nature
- 15 It isn't the early bird you copy
- 16 We are nearly halfway through this one
- 18 Min and Adolf in variety
- 19 How Bernard Shaw might spell the young sheep
- 21 Not a particularly stylish hair-do
- 25 An article has been omitted from the diagram
- 26 Scotsman's beehive?
- 28 We turn up by request, but not straightway
- 30 Prevent
- 31 They show up the dust
- 32 Looks like the answer to "Out of the strong came forth sweetness"
- 33 Fluid rock

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 219

ACROSS:—1 CLOVERLEAF; 6 EWER; 10 GRAPHIC; 11 ENTERIC; 12 CLARISSA; 13 ELIHU; 15 URSA; 17 INSOLVENT; 19 LIGHTSHIP; 21 SATAN; 23 OMEGA; 24 WELLADAY; 27 EASTERN; 28 AVOCADO; 29 SONS; 30 CENTIGRADE.

DOWN:—1 CAGE; 2 ORACLES; 3 ETHER; 4 LOCKSMITH; 5 ARENA; 7 WARLIKE; 8 RECOUNTING; 9 STERPLES; 14 BULLDOZERS; 16 SATIATED; 18 SUPPLIANT; 20 GLEASON; 22 TRA LA LA; 24 WINCE; 25 AMONG; 26 ROTE.

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NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

THE MIDTERM ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS leaves a most imposing slate of unfinished business. While the high-minded gentlemen on the Hill were spending months over the Lillenthal confirmation, cuts in appropriations, un-American activities, and the Taft-Hartley labor act, they were neglecting certain matters of some concern to important sections of their constituents. A few million Americans, many of them veterans, now doubled and tripled up with relatives, watched for the emergence of any housing program. None came. A few million American farmers wanted to know what was to take the place of the war-time price-support program, which expires at the end of 1949. They got no answer. A few million workers, on the sub-level of existence, wondered about an increase in legal minimum wages. Congress was dumb. The hundreds of thousands who saw their homes and lands inundated by the Mississippi floods wanted to know if they could count on the protection their friends in the Tennessee Valley enjoyed. They received an inspiring message from the President. Teachers in all states wondered about their disgracefully low salaries. Working and middle-class people wondered about how to meet doctors' bills. But Congress had no time for such socialistic measures as federal aid to health and education. The army—and all of us—wondered about the proposal for universal military training. It did not reach the level of Congressional debate. Exporters and importers, in this country and in other nations, looked for an extension of authority to negotiate reciprocal-trade agreements. They looked in vain. What *have* our Representatives been doing these last six months?

✱

"WE ARE DEALING WITH A HUMAN PROBLEM, a world tragedy." In these words, the President called on Congress to act, before this session ends, on the Stratton bill to admit to this country 400,000 of Europe's displaced persons during the next four years. Last week, his words were reinforced by urgent appeals from Secretary of State Marshall, former secretary of War Patterson, and Secretary of Commerce Harriman. All stressed the inhumanity of allowing these castaways of war to rot in Europe's camps. When Representative Gossett interrupted to remind Mr. Marshall that the United States

had a higher alien population than any other country in the world, the Secretary replied: "That is the significance of the Statue of Liberty." Opponents of the House bill and the similar one in the Senate have pleaded there is no time to take this momentous step before Congress adjourns. (The Stratton bill has been in the House since April.) The hurry of our Representatives to get home is matched against the weary despair of those who have known no home since the war ended, many of them since Hitler first began to imprison those who believed in liberty. To refuse to take action is to deny the one hope of a new life to thousands, to weaken still further our prestige in the eyes of the world, and to lessen our own self-respect as a people dedicated to the promotion of human rights. If time runs out and Congress adjourns without acting, then the Stratton bill should be placed on the agenda of the special session of Congress likely to be called to discuss the Marshall plan. For the rescue of those 400,000 displaced persons is a vital part of any plan for Europe's reconstruction.

✱

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO cut newsprint imports was indorsed by the House of Commons in spite of a barrage of criticism from members of all parties. The cut means that British newspapers must either reduce circulation or return to the four-page format of war time. As a result, it is charged, publishers will lose revenue, workers will lose jobs, and the task of keeping the public properly informed about current events will be rendered immeasurably more difficult. Moreover, it is argued, the maximum saving to be achieved is \$12,000,000, a minute fraction of the current trade deficit. We sympathize with British publishers and journalists but realize that the Labor government has a case too. Its thankless task is to cut down imports at a time when they are so far below the total Britain could absorb that any cut must be painful. As a first step, it has chosen to curtail the foreign exchange allotted to newsprint, gasoline, and tobacco. Reductions in the second and third items will be hard on smokers and owners of private automobiles, but these commodities cannot be classed as absolute necessities like food. Newsprint is a necessity, but in distinction to most of the raw materials imported by Britain, it does not enter directly into the

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manufacture of exports, and a smaller supply will do less harm to the economy than, say, a smaller supply of copper. There is no good reason to suppose, therefore, that the reduction in newsprint imports is based on anything but strictly economic considerations.

✱

NEVERTHELESS, OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN

have voiced the suspicion that the government's action was inspired by its "well-known dislike and contempt for the popular press." Such charges are perhaps no more than the normal currency of debate, but it is strange to find them parroted in a New York Times editorial. The Labor government, that paper suggests, is "making incidental use of a tight foreign-exchange position to still the voices of its British critics." And it links this "discriminatory policy" with the British government's authorization of "a secret inquiry into the British press." As the Times ought to be aware, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Press was authorized by a free vote of the House of Commons. Moreover, the decision to hear oral evidence in private was made not by the government but by the commission itself. It seems that working newspapermen could not afford to risk their jobs by talking frankly in public about what goes on behind editorial iron curtains—one of the things which the commission is supposed to discover. However, a long memorandum presented to the commission by the National Union of Journalists has been made public. This interesting document disproves the charge that the union favors government ownership or control of newspapers. It denounces specific abuses such as news distortion and misleading headlines but agrees that legal remedies might infringe on press freedom. Consequently, it calls for the formation of a British Press Council with authority to draw up and power to enforce a professional code of ethics. When the full text of this important memorandum is available in this country, we hope to give our readers further particulars.

✱

BIG HEADLINES MARCHED RIGHT ACROSS THE

front pages of several New York evening newspapers last week, announcing the invasion of Greece by large forces of guerrillas from Albania, including an "international brigade." The United States, in the person of Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, warned the Security Council that the situation might "burst into an explosion any day" and demanded emergency meetings on the "invasion." Editorials called for "action" before it was too late. Too late for what? No one answered directly, but presumably the new international brigade was only the advance guard of a Russian army which would presently sweep through the Balkans and Greece, precipitating the final struggle to decide the hegemony of the world. The

descent from insanity occurred three or four days later. Nobody, it seemed, could find an international brigade, not even the Greek authorities who had announced its arrival, not the United Nations observers who had rushed to the spot. A battle had taken place, with results still in dispute, between guerrillas and government forces somewhere in the vicinity of Yanina. A hundred or so guerrillas were reported to have been killed. So, for the moment, the great showdown seems to have been averted. But where were the eight-column streamer heads to notify the world of its happy reprieve? The evaporation of the international brigade was briefly reported under modest headlines or sunk in dispatches about other events. Meanwhile, the Greek government, encouraged by the splendid American response to a non-existent invasion, had carried through a new wholesale round-up of liberals and leftists. Questioned about these arrests, Dwight P. Griswold, recently arrived American commissioner in Greece, stated that they were none of our business.

✕

A REASONABLY EARLY PEACE TREATY WITH Japan now seems possible as a result of American initiative in suggesting an eleven-power conference in this country "as soon as practicable" to discuss such a treaty. Press comments on the proposed conference have turned chiefly on whether or not the Soviet Union would accept the invitation to it in view of the absence of veto provisions for the Big Five. Many other issues, however, are likely to appear more important before the conference succeeds in drafting a treaty. A tough struggle is to be expected, for example, over reparations, with Russian claims to the Japanese industrial equipment which it removed from Manchuria a particularly difficult stumbling-block. Even more serious is the gap between British and Australian views, on one hand, and American, on the other, over the degree of industrialization to be permitted in post-war Japan. The United States, for reasons indicated in Maxwell S. Stewart's article on page 95 of this issue, has come to favor a substantial revival of Japanese industry. Britain and Australia wish to throttle Japanese industry permanently for economic as well as military reasons. The British are also prepared to insist on much stricter penalties against the Zaibatsu than have so far been imposed. It will be interesting to see how far we are willing to go to meet the legitimate interests of our war-time allies.

✕

WITH THIS ISSUE, *THE NATION* OFFERS TO its readers the first instalment of a game-within-a-game. Turn to the back of the book and you will find a crossword puzzle by a man we choose to call Mr. X, a contender for the place held by Jack Barrett until his untimely death last month. Next week there will be another

contribution from Mr. X. And then we shall run two by a certain Mr. Y. And then back to X for two more, then back to Y, and so on, until each competitor has put six of his puzzles before the public. At the end of twelve weeks we shall decide, on the basis of letters from puzzle-solving readers, who is to be our regular crossword man.

Reuther's Victory

ONE of the most encouraging pieces of labor news in recent weeks was the overwhelming victory of President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers on the question of a merger with the Communist-controlled C. I. O. Farm Equipment Workers. In a referendum, the merger, fought by Reuther, was defeated by a better than two-to-one vote.

The terms of the proposed merger were truly scandalous, as were its background, purposes, and the way the referendum was pushed through. The history of the affair provides a classic example of party-line methods. More important, the defeat of the proposition provides an equally classic example of how to counter such tactics. The method was democracy. The U. A. W. has plenty of that—often too much for its own apparent good, but this time Reuther made it work.

A C. I. O. convention in 1945 had proposed a merger, on decent terms, of the two unions. The U. A. W., including the Reuther group, accepted, but the F. E. rejected the plan. After two years of no progress, with the F. E. still opposing, a complete merger proposal was sprung on Reuther on the final day of a U. A. W. Executive Board meeting in Chicago last June. The deal had been made by the F. E. officers and the anti-Reuther majority of the U. A. W. board, including Secretary-Treasurer George Addes and Vice President R. J. Thomas. These officials gave Reuther fifteen minutes to read the complex and long document setting forth the terms of the proposal. Reuther had been in the same hotel where the deal was negotiated, but his board members had not been able to "find" him to invite him to sit in. His pleas for time to consider the proposal were defeated and the Executive Board, by the usual split vote, authorized the referendum.

The merger terms were tricky. The F. E. would have come into the U. A. W. only for voting purposes, adding some 400 regimented votes to the anti-Reuther bloc at the convention. (Reuther won the presidency last time by a margin of only 124 votes.) Otherwise, the F. E. would have remained "autonomous," as the *Daily Worker* cheerfully pointed out. With only about 40,000 or 45,000 members itself, it would have absorbed 30,000 more members from the U. A. W.'s agricultural-implementation division. It would have elected its own officers for the proposed new division. Its members would have be-

longed to something new called the F. E.-U. A. W. The F. E. staff of fifty-four would have been retained for about 75,000 workers. (The U. A. W. has a staff of nine for 130,000 Ford members, and twelve for 300,000 General Motors. The U. A. W. would have assumed the F. E.'s financial obligations, paid its heavy back per capita dues debt to the C. I. O., but waived any claim on a future surplus that the new F. E. division might have accumulated.)

The circumstances surrounding the referendum were tailor-made for the Communists and their backers: summertime, small meetings, unit rule, no prior requirement of announcement of the purpose of the meeting. But the Reuther group worked harder than their opponents. The vote proved conclusively how much strength Reuther has gained among the rank-and-file, how unrepresentative is the anti-Reuther majority on the Executive Board, and, indeed, how unrepresentative are the Communist and near-Communist leaders of some of the locals. In one local, with five top officers all fellow-travelers who championed the merger, the vote was 145 to 5 against the merger proposal.

The defeat of the merger certainly means that Addes will not run against Reuther for the presidency of the U. A. W.; it almost certainly means that Reuther will be reelected easily at this fall's convention. As for the campaign he waged—speeches, debates, rousting out votes, never raising the red issue but fighting entirely on points of constitutionality and organizational soundness, it provided a working model for all other unions bothered with Communist infiltration tactics.

What Plan for Germany?

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE arithmetic looked easy. European reconstruction depends largely on steel which depends on coal. The Ruhr has coal and plants for making steel—plants that suffered less damage than most of us dreamed after the battering they took from British and American bombers. Before the war, the Ruhr turned out between 18 and 20 million tons of steel a year—an amount equal to that of Britain and France together. Today its capacity is estimated at 14 million. The actual output is a little above 2 million with a permissible output of 5.8 million. What more simple, Washington inquires of itself, than to step up this amount to 10 or 12 million tons and fill the hole in Europe's economy that prevents full production and an end to shortages which can only be met by giving dollars to countries that won't ever be able to sell us enough goods to balance their accounts? It is not far-fetched to say that the Ruhr has become the keystone of the Marshall plan for Europe; and if arith-

metic ruled human affairs it would be a reasonable enough basis.

Unfortunately, other influences also control events, defying arithmetic. One is fear; one is class interest; one is national interest. French opposition to any plan for increasing the industrial production of Germany, and particularly of the Ruhr, is based on considerations of security that override even the desire for dollars. Ambassador Bonnet's protest to the State Department was firm and eloquent enough to force a postponement of the plan announced last Wednesday by the State, War, and Navy departments to raise the level of German industrial production to a point where it can "contribute to the economic recovery of Europe." The French protest was animated by two intense desires: one, to prevent any agreements affecting the future of Germany, political or economic, being made without French participation; two, to prevent any increase in German economic power, which implies military potential as well, until Germany's invaded and devastated neighbors have been restored to full productivity—as far as possible with German help. Translated into policy, France wants German coal production increased first of all in order to fuel the industries of France; and it wants the French steel industry expanded, instead of the German, which would mean shipping Ruhr coal to Lorraine instead of Lorraine iron ore to the steel mills of the Ruhr.

French preoccupation with power and security has temporarily held up the American plan. But by failing to link the issue of national security with the even more fundamental political issues involved, France has been unable so far to make common cause with Britain. On the question of German recovery, Britain tends to side with the United States. At Moscow, Bevin supported Marshall's stiff attitude on reparations for Russia, and he has argued the need of increased production in Germany generally and particularly in the Ruhr. But Bevin wants the steel and coal of the Ruhr owned and operated by a German state authority (in a newly created Ruhr province), with proper supervision by the Military Government as long as it remains. On this point, the British and American policies collide. The United States is determined to "postpone" the question of nationalization until some remote date, meanwhile encouraging and subsidizing the restoration of private capital in the Ruhr, as elsewhere, only forbidding the reappearance of cartels.

The lengths Mr. Marshall seems ready to go in forcing the Labor Government to adapt its program to American ideas, has been shown by various recent happenings. Particularly pointed speeches have been made lately by various highly placed United States officials. Secretary of Commerce Harriman, in particular, did his best within the limits of diplomatic propriety to jab well-barbed *banderillas* into the hide of John Bull. Harriman implied that British management of coal, in Ger-

many and Britain alike, is not what it should be, a suggestion that obviously concealed a dig at state control. He also indicated that Britain could expect no preferred treatment in the matter of loans or dollar credits.

The political meaning of these talks was instantly appreciated: America is in a position to dictate terms, and intends to do so. Help goes only to those who agree with us. We speak in terms of recovery and reconstruction, we act in terms of political conformity. Not only are financial facilities to be withheld from states that remain outside the Marshall plan; we have made it clear that if the United States is to carry an increased share of the financial costs of the merged German zones, it will be on condition that the Ruhr industries are not socialized. This is simple political blackmail; and it is blackmail of a sort that is going to produce consequences our rulers have so far blandly declined to consider.

The United States has proposed to Britain, in effect, that we take over the Ruhr, determining economic policies and largely administering its industries. The plan has not been fully disclosed but its outline, according to two recent dispatches by Frederick Kuh in the *Chicago Sun* and *PM*, is something like this: A special American-British board will be created to control the Ruhr. It will have an American chairman with the British representative as his deputy or assistant. The United States will apparently provide most of the technicians and managers under whose supervision German industrialists would operate the plants. Britain's program of socializing the steel and coal industries would be shelved for at least five years.

Already Bevin and Bidault have discussed the implications of the new American proposal. Both are reported as strongly opposed; Bevin because he considers nationalization a necessary block to the re-creation of a powerful capitalist-militarist state; Bidault because he fears expansion of German industry, whether under private or public control. Both understandably resent being asked to yield up their basic policies to get American dollars. They see in this latest move a sign that the Marshall plan may not be the clear departure from the Truman Doctrine it at first appeared. It may, instead, be a somewhat diluted extension of that doctrine; a plan aimed at building an economic Maginot line against Western as well as Eastern varieties of socialism.

If Washington forces its Ruhr proposal through it will weaken both Bevin and Bidault, and the other "moderates," such as de Gasperi in Italy, on whom the Marshall plan depends. It will weaken the Socialists in Germany on whom resistance to communism depends. It will go far to justify the suspicions voiced by Molotov at Paris and the attacks of Communists from one end of Europe to the other.

The postponement of the government's order to level

up German production may indicate that the anxieties of our chief Western allies have made an impression. M. Bonnet's *démarche* exposed the French position very clearly. Britain's views will undoubtedly be expressed at the Ruhr coal conference to be held in Washington in the near future. But as long as Britain and France argue for two different solutions based on two different points of view, their protests are not likely to alter American decisions. What is greatly needed is a serious joint effort by both nations to modify the basic attitude of the United States government toward the economic needs of Europe. They could do this best, not by expounding the theories of socialism—to such heresies our officials are surely immune—but by setting forth the practical consequences which will flow from continued American efforts to buy off social change in Europe with food and dollars. They could explain what will happen to the precarious balance which holds moderates in office in a dozen Western nations if they are forced to surrender to American capitalist pressure. They could perhaps even convince this country of the need to prevent the return to power of those men and interests who, not only in Germany, helped lead Europe into fascism and the world into war.

But far more effective than exhortation would be a French-British plan which would unite the legitimate demands of both nations and at the same time provide for at least a moderate increase in Ruhr production. This is not, perhaps, as large an order as it sounds. France might well accept a rise in German steel output—even though it would involve the consumption of coal which the French demand and need—if it were firmly linked to a plan of inter-allied supervision of the Ruhr. (At the same time, provision could be made for increasing French and Belgian steel production along with German.) Britain, on its side, might tolerate an inter-Allied commission and a more complete union of the Western zones, including the French, as long as increased output and socialization were definitely part of the plan.

If the United States is not totally committed to the restoration of German heavy industry in private hands—but under American financial control—such a scheme would give it most of the rest of what it wants: more production to fill the gap in Europe's total production and the unity of action on the part of the European nations so earnestly requested by Secretary Marshall. If Britain and France could work out a compromise proposal and win for it the support of the smaller Western nations, their hand would be much strengthened in future negotiations with Washington. And if Washington could be led to abandon its decision to make a restored capitalist Germany the chief eastern bulwark against the Russian system, the attacks of the Western Communists would lose much of their present deadly effect.

A Matter of Expediency

BY JERRY TALLMER

Lake Success, July 18

THERE is a great joke being played on a couple of thousand people who work out at Lake Success these days, but most of them don't think it's so funny. These people are the permanent staff members of the United Nations—the hired hands—who had always thought, until recently, that they were working for an organization which was working, in its turn, to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

The important thing about this joke is not so much what it will do to injure the respect these 2,500 people have for themselves, for their employer, for the tribal customs of the nation in which their employer has set up shop, and for the ability of mankind to carry out its professed and cleanly stated aims. What is far more important about it if its perpetration becomes complete (which is a good odds-on bet at this point), is that it will have been performed in the theater which all the world attends. A poet could not more expertly have set the symbolic framework for this gesture of expediency and harassed acquiescence on the one hand and mercantile cynicism on the other, than have the gentlemen of the United Nations secretariat and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

What has happened is this: an agreement has been reached under which 600 apartments will be reserved in Metropolitan's Peter Cooper Village for U.N. employees.

White employees, that is.

It doesn't specifically say "white employees" in the contract which was signed last week after a long, finicky year of negotiation, but the announced clause which allows Metropolitan to lease directly to individual tenants, and thus to pass on its tenants, will turn the trick. For as any reader of this magazine and a great many other people know, Metropolitan frankly acknowledges that it does not think that whites and colored people mix in housing projects—not in *its* projects anyway. In virtue of which, Metropolitan is at the present defendant in a suit brought in the New York State Supreme Court to enjoin it from discriminating in tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town, adjoining Peter Cooper Village, and Judge Felix C. Benvenga may be writing a more important decision than he thinks—one with worldwide implications.

For make no mistake about it. People all over the world are going to hear about the U. N. and Metropolitan Life. As someone has said, the Soviets will see to

that. Even without their assistance, news will spread that the words of the U. N. Charter are being belied within the doors of the U. N. itself.

Several hundred U. N. employees, for instance, who are beginning to wonder just what the Charter means, took time off from the hour they needed to catch busses and trains yesterday evening and got together in the Economic and Social Council chambers to try to take the first steps toward restoring values to words. They will undoubtedly be classified, by the authorities, as malcontents and trouble-makers, at the very least. It is said that Trygve Lie, their boss, is a stickler for discipline and proper conduct. But the employees who met and lodged three resolutions against the U. N.—Metropolitan agreement seemed to think that the impropriety had already been committed.

"The U. N. has allowed itself to be maneuvered into a position where it appears to be indorsing all the principles we oppose," said Edward H. Lawson, a tall, rugged, gently speaking man. Mr. Lawson was eminently qualified to present his resolution, for he was speaking "as a member of the secretariat of the Human Rights Division, as an American Negro, and as an employee of the United Nations who needs housing pretty badly."

He went on to explain the obscurity of the situation as it is faced by U. N. employees. Except for what they had read in the newspapers, they had been unable to determine whether or not a contract existed. The U. N. had apparently broken off negotiations with Metropolitan a month before on the basis of the discrimination issue; first word that the agreement had been signed appeared in Judge Benvenga's courtroom when Metropolitan's man, George Gove, stated that it had been, in an affidavit disputing a point of the plaintiffs'. The U. N.'s about-face was inexplicable. Everybody was keeping mum or else knew nothing; Russel Cook, for one, the chief of the Housing Division of the Bureau of Personnel, seemed sincerely to be in the dark.

The day following the meeting, *The Nation* received a verification of the existence of the agreement from Byron Price, Assistant to the Secretary General, Department of Administrative and Financial Services. "Of course it exists," he said. But the staff members aren't told its terms, and Lawson's draft resolution—which will be incorporated with the other two resolutions—demands that "if the existing contract is not or cannot be interpreted as permitting the free, democratic, objective, and public choice of tenants . . . on the grounds of race, sex, language, or religion, all staff members

should refrain from leasing the apartments involved."

A second resolution by Jean Back, an interpreter, was milder, and "advised" employees to boycott the Peter Cooper apartments. But the third, submitted by Henri Cornil, a Security Council division administrator, was dynamite—and called upon the Secretary General to refer the staff protest back to the member governments. Cornil's resolution also calls upon the U. N. itself to provide bias-free housing.

The three resolutions have now to be hammered together, and the entire staff to vote on them. Another meeting is scheduled for this week—perhaps by the time you read this.

Meantime, delegates to the United Nations itself who sincerely want the U. N. Charter to stand for something—like Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the Human Rights Commission—might well ponder the words of the staff member, a doctor born in Africa—"where they have 300,000,000 black people"—, who said soberly and with great grace, into a microphone in the "Econ-Soc" chamber last Thursday, "If we do accept the use of the Peter Cooper Village now, in any form, it will not only hurt the American Negroes but hurt a great many more people abroad. All of us should understand the spirit of the Charter. It is a question of the rights of man."

Alaska Arms Again

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Annette Island, Alaska, July 20

THE generals and admirals don't want to be poor prophets a second time. In 1939, President Roosevelt asked the War Department about the condition of Alaskan garrisons and bases. The army then had 298 soldiers in the Territory, their ancient guns at Chilkoot Barracks pointed in the direction of our Canadian neighbors. However, the President was informed that "there appears at present to be no necessity from the viewpoint of national defense of increasing the military establishment in Alaska." The Chief of Naval Operations displayed equal complacency, reporting that "the Navy Department is on record as not in favor of very large appropriations for naval facilities in Alaska."

A few days later, the Aleutian Islands became the first American soil to be invaded in nearly a century and a half, bombs fell on Dutch Harbor, and army officers who could speak the Eskimo tongue desperately organized the natives for guerrilla warfare. Now the military departments are arming Alaska against a possible future enemy whose identity is by no means a secret.

Alaska has seen the wheel of international relations turn full circle. The phenomenon may be discussed around mahogany tables in Washington and London, but it happened in Alaska. Two years ago, a mission of a thousand Soviet aviators occupied barracks at Ladd Field near Fairbanks, taking delivery of fighter planes and medium bombers flown north along the Alcan Highway. Today, at Mile 26 on the Alcan out of Fair-

banks, the War Department is constructing a satellite field from which super-bombers can be sent winging into Siberia. The allies who roamed the streets of Fairbanks in 1945, buying perfume and lingerie for their girls, may be met again some day on an Arctic battlefield.

At Nome, Galena, and Anchorage the army is lengthening runways and building new hangars. The Alaska Railroad, whose equipment dates back to the driving of the golden spike by Warren G. Harding, is getting new locomotives and its spurs are being extended. Tunnels are under construction to take traffic off inflammable trestles. Prime Minister King has promised that Canada will maintain its 1,220 miles of the Alcan Highway so as to keep open an alternative route to Alaska if the sea lanes should be jeopardized. Commercial airfields at Annette Island, Juneau, and Yakutat are being made ready to receive the new big bombers.

These preparations are popular in Alaska. The golden trickle from the federal treasury, turned off after V-J Day, has commenced to flow again. Alaskan towns are booming. The white population of the Territory has increased at least 50 per cent. Both wages and prices are fantastic. Carpenters earn \$520 a month but must pay \$1.25 a dozen for eggs, \$1.50 for a haircut, 60 cents for a hamburger sandwich at a lunch counter, and \$1.40 for a quart of mediocre ice cream. As during the war, the present defense contracts are on a cost-plus basis. This means that spending is reckless, with five men on hand to do three men's work.

But beyond all this, the military activities are applauded for geopolitical reasons. When World II was being fought, vast good-will for Russia was created in Alaska. Alaskans overlooked the fact that though Soviet missions were at Fairbanks, Galena, and Nome, no

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, an Oregon journalist who served in Alaska during the war, has returned there this summer and is sending *The Nation* frequent reports on our Arctic bastion.

American mechanic was allowed in the planes which flew westward across Bering Strait. The Russian fliers were personally popular. They drained the half-a-dollar Alaskan milkshakes at a single draft, winked at the married waitresses, and hammered the counter for another "vanilla." Warm friendly relations melted international suspicions.

There is still none of the hysteria which the Hearst press hints has gripped the Territory. People do not think Russian atomic missiles are about to zoom over from Siberia. But the spy trials in Ottawa have aroused some concern. And Russia's intransigence at the peace table is considered in connection with the 14,400 combat planes delivered to it on Alaskan soil during the war. Even liberals in the territorial legislature and local newspaper offices have bitterly denounced the left-wing labor leaders in the United States who called the army's cold-weather experiment, "Operation Frostbite," a hostile act against the Soviet Union. Delegate E. L. Bartlett, a New Deal Democrat, has asked when Alaskans will be told as much about Siberian air bases, roads, and rail lines as the Russians know from first-hand observation.

The tragedy of this vast defense boom in Alaska is that it is not accompanied by any effort to give the Territory a stable and enduring civilization. Three years ago, the North Pacific Study financed by the State Department pointed out: "When North America was suddenly threatened through Alaska, our armed forces had to begin almost from scratch in an uninhabited wilderness which lacked most of the essential transportation, communication, and other instruments and social institutions which a decently developed civilian society would already have provided. These facilities would have been immediately available to the military forces had there been in Alaska a larger, better-distributed, and more permanent population carrying on the normal economic and social activities characteristic of Americans in 'the States.'"

The housing shortage in Alaska is so aggravated that families have tried to survive in tents during the 50-below-zero winters of the interior valleys. The territorial Department of Health contends that half the housing in Alaska is substandard. Even in communities within sight of the vast spruce and hemlock forests of the Alaskan "panhandle," no method has been worked out to solve the lumber shortage. The Alaska Development Board has been drawing up detailed plans for local exploitation of Alaskan resources, but the 1947 territorial legislature refused funds to continue the undertaking. The legislature, dominated by canneries and mining corporations, turned down Governor Gruening's plea for enactment of a territorial income tax. This scandalous situation, of which little is known in the United States, means that government in Alaska is virtually hamstrung.

For many years, Alaska has been the most lightly taxed entity under the American flag. Not until a 1 per cent

sales tax was passed in 1946 for veterans' benefits did the Territory have a single general tax. It still has no income or property tax. The salmon industry, worth \$55,000,000 a year, pays only a few cents on each case of fish. Yet Alaska needs funds for schools, roads, public health, and law enforcement. Some Alaskan cities have only four or five miles of roads beyond their limits. Veterans have been deterred from settling on the farm land of the Territory by the almost total lack of transportation and communication. Wendell P. Kay, director of the Alaska Housing Authority, declares that Alaska's death rate from tuberculosis, already the highest in the world, has been aggravated by overcrowding in icy tents, crumbling shacks, and unchinked cabins.

Alaska has vast open spaces but no wilderness police force to compare with the Royal Mounted of Canada. A criminal recently apprehended in Alaska confessed to six murders. Territorial law-enforcement officials did not even know his victims were missing. A federal judge told me that prospectors and trappers disappear in "the bush" and on one ever looks for them. "Not only are criminals uncaught generally in Alaska," he continued, as we ate fifty-cent cheese sandwiches in Ketchikan, "but I am convinced there is no real knowledge of what crimes are committed."

Alaska is maturing. Its cities are becoming increasingly like cities in Oregon and Washington. But its government is wholly unable to cope with the needs of the region. The Territory's feeble legislature cannot set up courts of either original or appellate jurisdiction. All legislative acts are subject to repeal by Congress. With no vote in Congress, the Alaskan Delegate is without influence. Even postal regulations victimize the Territory. All parcel post in Alaska is charged the eighth-zone rate. It costs as much to send a package the fourteen miles from Skagway to Haines as it does to send the same parcel from Seattle to New York City. Last year, Alaskans voted for statehood, but the present session of Congress has declined to act. It thought a delegation should visit the Territory this summer for further "analysis"—rainbow trout twenty-two inches long are caught in Alaska.

Alaska needs families. The present white population of 58,000 is a huge proportionate increase over the 39,000 whites who lived there before the war, but it is still made up of shifting, footloose men. Pan-American recently flew in 2,500 workers to lengthen runways and clear ground. The army is recruiting construction crews along the Seattle and Portland waterfronts. Canneries ship up boatloads of Filipinos who are virtually indentured laborers. Less than 15 per cent of Alaska's white people were born in the Territory. Those who were born there seldom stay. Of 10,595 Alaskan-born whites enumerated in the census of 1940, only 4,352 were living in Alaska. Governor Gruening is compiling a pamphlet out of answers to the question: "Why did you leave Alaska?"

One of the most frequent is lack of economic opportunity. Another is the difficulty of finding a place to live.

To sustain families, Alaska requires a solid economic base. The salmon industry is principally carried on by migrant labor brought by boat from Seattle. Gold-mining is a frail reed, an artificial industry dependent on financial manipulation rather than on genuine human needs. Pulp and paper would underpin the shaky economy of southeastern Alaska, and Secretary Krug has prophesied a newsprint enterprise employing 12,000 people—more people than live in Anchorage, the biggest Alaskan city. The spruce and hemlock forests of the panhandle could supply a fourth of America's newsprint, but owing to the present soaring wage and price scales the Alaskan product cannot compete with newsprint from other sources.

Alaska must have schools, hospitals, and communications. It must be freed from absentee government and absentee ownership of its natural resources. The American West was developed when the railroads received huge land grants to subsidize low freight rates and fares;

the Northern Pacific got \$136,000,000 worth of timber and farm lands to underwrite a \$70,000,000 railroad. But at least the rates were kept down, and people settled the Dakotas and Oregon. In Alaska, opposite policies have prevailed. The government-owned Alaska Railroad and the private Alaska Steamship Company have the highest rates in the world. High costs and high wages make it practically impossible for any Alaskan products to compete with similar products of other countries.

If war—God forbid—should ever sweep across the Arctic gables of the planet, Alaska will be more easily held if it is inhabited by half-a-million people than if it is a solitude. A country cannot be kept by forts alone. The Russians built log outposts in Alaska, put the Indians under the knout, and drained off the furs. Now only the rounded minarets of the old Greek Orthodox churches tell of their former sovereignty. The United States has the opportunity to build in Alaska a civilization which will far surpass the efforts of the power on the opposite shore of Bering Strait.

The Scope of Biological Warfare

BY LEONARD ENGEL

FROM the beginning of the debate on control of atomic energy, there has been a tendency to confuse the issue of control with the issue of peace. By this I mean that a great many people look on atomic control as a means of avoiding the horrors of a third world war. This is a fallacious approach. For a plan of control is essentially an instrument, and an instrument cannot supply what is not in the hearts of men. If men do not want peace, the plan is bound to fail. Only genuine friendship among the great powers can guarantee mankind against an atomic war. Moreover, a new war will bring other weapons which are fully as destructive as atomic bombs—and for which no mechanical control can be devised.

I refer to biological weapons. A few weeks ago, the *Journal of Immunology* published a long, hitherto secret report on bacterial warfare by Drs. Theodor Rosebury and Elvin A. Kabat of Columbia University. The report discusses no fewer than twenty-five diseases as potential agents of war. Yet it does not tell the story by half. For one thing, the Rosebury-Kabat paper deals mainly with the diseases of man. Livestock and crop diseases are given only passing mention, and crop poisons are entirely omitted. For another, the report was prepared in 1942. Since then, the largest biological laboratory in the

world—operated by the army at Camp Detrick, Maryland—has been working without cease on biological weapons. So have other laboratories in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, and, no doubt, in the U. S. S. R. Moreover, conservative research in biology and medicine opens up new biological-warfare possibilities every day.

Let me review briefly what BW (biological warfare) research is already known to have accomplished, and what further advances are promised for the future. We shall see then that there is no way out but peace.

BW obtains weapons from the whole of medicine and biology. It is, so to speak, medicine and biology stood on their heads. Thus, medicine studies disease epidemics for the purpose of minimizing their damage and halting their spread; the same data show the BW researcher how to make epidemics more virulent and widespread.

At the time Drs. Rosebury and Kabat prepared their report, systematic experiments in BW had not been conducted, so far as is known, anywhere in the world. But already, at least half a dozen of the possible disease weapons listed by the Columbia bacteriologists have been brought into practicable form. One is pneumonic plague, the invariably fatal air-borne form of bubonic plague. During the war, a small navy medical unit at the University of California developed an aerosol capable of disseminating a disease identified in the official announcement as "one of history's oldest killers"; the reference was almost certainly to the pneumonic plague.

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The disease agents developed by the army have not been disclosed. Some of them can be identified, however, through a careful reading of published reports on accidental infections at Camp Detrick and in other laboratories. These reports show that anthrax is readily usable as a projectile contaminant—to send even the lightly wounded to bed for protracted periods—and that some or all of the following can be spread by means of aerosol clouds: yellow fever, psittacosis, tularemia (rabbit fever), undulant fever, melioidosis (a rare fatal disease of the Malay Peninsula), and rickettsial infections such as typhus and Rocky Mountain spotted fever.

This is a revealing as well as a formidable list. It indicates clearly the extent of the BW experimenter's resources. A number of the diseases named occur very infrequently, and rare diseases are often superior weapons, for natural immunity to them is likely to be low.

Also well adapted to BW are diseases which are usually confined to particular sections of the globe. Yellow fever, for instance, is normally found only in tropical areas with a high concentration of *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes. In those regions, a large fraction of the population has acquired immunity. But "yellow jack" can be employed elsewhere with devastating results.

In order to introduce yellow fever into temperate zones, it is necessary to change its mode of transmission, for *Aedes aegypti* become numerous enough to serve as the carrier only under certain limited climatic and environmental conditions. However, the yellow-fever virus is easily cultivated in the laboratory. And cultured "yellow jack" can be spread through the air.

That brings us to an important point. An inexhaustible supply of dangerous biological weapons is provided by the comparatively simple procedure of disseminating old diseases in new ways. On the list of aerosol-spread infections above are three, besides yellow fever, which are not ordinarily air-borne and which in their natural form have little military value. Tularemia is generally contracted by handling infected animals; the rickettsial diseases are louse- and tick-borne; and undulant fever comes from infected milk. But all three can be transformed into readily spread, highly virulent air-borne diseases.

Though there are immunizing vaccines for plague, yellow fever, psittacosis, and typhus, they are not therefore eliminated as biological weapons. In the first place, BW is an insidious form of warfare, and an agent may not be identified until it is too late for vaccination counter-measures. Secondly, immunity can be overridden by an unusual mode of infection, a massive dose of infectious material, or an especially virulent microbe.

One of the principal activities of BW laboratories is the cultivation of super-virulent microbe strains. And it may soon be possible to create in the laboratory wholly new disease organisms of the most awesome power. In the last few years, virus chemists, paced by the Rockefeller

Institute's brilliant Wendell M. Stanley, have come close to the secret of viruses, the most elemental of pathogenic organisms. Viruses have been shown to be particles of protein, and several of the chemical groupings in their structure have been identified. Out of this knowledge, ingenious biochemists may ultimately fashion artificial neutralizing anti-bodies to protect man against a wide range of maladies, from the common cold to polio and encephalitis. But the same knowledge may first be used in the construction of new and deadlier viruses.

So much for the diseases of man. In general, BW utilizes similar bacterial and virus weapons for attacking livestock and crops. Crops may also be destroyed through artificially disseminated fungus blights and plant-hormone crop poisons. I would like to say a word about the latter, which are by-products of one of the most useful developments in modern science.

At the moment of Japan's surrender, we were ready, had the war continued into 1946, to spray Japanese fields with a chemical agent that would have withered the enemy's rice crop just before harvest. The chemical that was to be used has never been identified, but there are many that could have done the job.

About twenty years ago, a group of Dutch botanists began a systematic study of the growth mechanism of plants. Growth, they found, involves a family of compounds known as plant hormones or auxins. Today, hundreds of auxins have been identified, and auxin research is under way on a large scale in every country with a sizable chemical industry, for auxins are not difficult to manufacture and they can be made to regulate plant growth in numberless astonishing and useful ways. The manufacture of one auxin, 2,4-D, which stimulates broad-leaved plants to overgrowth and death and so is a wonderful weed killer, is already a multi-million-dollar business. Another hormone, methyl alpha-naphthyl-acetate, keeps potatoes and other tubers from sprouting in storage. Still another, alpha-naphthyl-acetic acid, prevents premature dropping of fruit from trees. Yet another promises to do away with a laborious hand "de-budding" operation now required in tobacco cultivation.

Most plant hormones can also be used to modify plant growth in disastrous ways. Vegetables as well as weeds, for example, are killed by 2,4-D, since both are broad-leaved plants. Any competent auxin chemist can, in fact, pick out in a few hours a combination of plant hormones capable of destroying almost any crop in any desired manner, whether by overgrowth, destruction of root system, or inhibition of fruiting.

It is consequently no exaggeration to say that a grim assortment of nightmarish horrors is at the disposal of tomorrow's warmakers. As a means of destruction, biological weapons are certainly comparable to the atom bomb. What makes matters worse is the fact that the only

possible future great war—between the United States and Russia—will provide precisely the right geographic and political conditions for BW.

Owing to the danger of a backfire among one's own troops and people, it is best to employ BW against a distant enemy. We and the Russians are as widely separated, geographically speaking, as possible. We are likewise poles apart ideologically. A clash between our two nations would pit two distinctive social systems against each other. Historically, no holds are barred in such struggles. Every available arm is used, no matter how barbaric. The sole test of a weapon is its military efficiency; fear of retaliation rarely serves as a restraint. The struggle between the Allies and the Axis brought unrestricted submarine warfare, systematic extermination of conquered peoples, mass incendiary and high-explosive attacks against cities, rocket warfare, and the atom bomb—an unprecedented collection of horrors.

A new war would see even fewer humanitarian restraints than the last. And there might well be early employment of BW by both sides. For as I said at the beginning of this article, there is no mechanical control scheme that can limit advance preparations by any nation. The raw materials of BW—disease germs and the like—are at hand in every country. The required equipment is simple and is to be found in any brewery. And the necessary techniques, which are as well known to Soviet as to American scientists, spring out of essential everyday activities in biology, medicine, and chemistry. Indeed, a biological arms race may already have started; BW research is still going on, at any rate, in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain under an agreement signed during the war. Nothing can halt such a race, nothing can secure man against the threat of biological war except peace and friendship among nations, especially the two that dominate the world today.

Our Record in Japan

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

AMERICANS returning from Japan have given very different appraisals of our occupation program. Some few have lent unqualified support to the widely held opinion in this country that "MacArthur is doing a good job." Others have been severely critical. But even the critics will admit that, though the situation is complex, surprising progress has been made toward the goals set forth in the Potsdam Declaration.

So far the occupation has been almost exclusively an American show. The Far Eastern Commission in Washington and the Allied Control Council in Tokyo have functioned chiefly as debating societies. Policy has been formulated by the State, Navy, and War departments in Washington. It has been administered by MacArthur and his staff. Because it has been a single-nation affair, the occupation has been far more efficient in Japan than in Germany. But its exclusively American character has also led to many blunders: Americans are ill equipped to understand Japanese psychology and Japanese institutions; too often, the making over of Japanese institutions along American lines has been interpreted as a "success."

As one tries to assemble unbiased and detailed information on occupation policy from individuals who have

served under MacArthur, one is immediately struck by the contradictions in the evidence. It appears, for example, that although the new Japanese constitution is one of the most enlightened and democratic in the world, the new Japanese government is the organic successor to the old, and power is in practically the same hands as before. Excellent plans for the elimination of the Zaibatsu exist on paper, but the great monopolies still wield tremendous power behind the scenes, virtually dominating the Yoshida government. The Japanese government has been forced to cancel all laws limiting freedom of speech, thought, or assembly, and union organization has been encouraged; yet Philip Murray's New Year's message to the Japanese workers was censored to exclude every reference to democracy. Preliminary steps have been taken to remove part of Japanese industry as reparations; simultaneously, the United States has granted credits for the restoration of important sectors of industry. The failure to deal adequately with Japan's economic crisis threatens such success as has been achieved in the political sphere.

Some of these contradictions are the result of the same dualism that is found in American policy toward other countries. The original policy directives, drawn with a view to stamping out militarism, were essentially democratic. But the threat of rising communism, though largely illusory, has led the American military authorities to take a number of undemocratic steps and to seek the cooperation of forces which they set out to destroy.

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Most of the shortcomings of the occupation, however, have grown out of the original American decision to work through the Japanese government. The decision to retain the emperor and the Japanese governmental apparatus was made, it will be recalled, despite the misgivings of the persons who had given the most study to the nature of Japanese society. Against their advice, it was decided that the United States did not have the trained personnel to administer Japan directly, and that use of the existing governmental structure would both cut the costs of the occupation substantially and contribute to the smoothness of its operation.

Unfortunately, it has also helped keep the Allies from attaining the primary objectives of the occupation. These objectives, as specified in the Potsdam Declaration and the basic directive of the State Department, might be summarized as (1) destruction of Japanese militarism, (2) removal of the bars to democracy, (3) creation of a stable peace-time economy, democratically organized and providing a wide distribution of income and of ownership of the means of production so as to prevent the resurgence of expansionist policies.

DEMILITARIZATION

The immediate tasks of demobilization and the repatriation of Japan's overseas troops and civilians were carried out smoothly and completely. But the larger aspects of demilitarization—the purge of militaristic elements from public life, the reorganization of the educational system, and the reorientation of Japanese thinking—have not been attacked with the expected vigor. The SCAP purge directive was sweeping. It ordered the Japanese government to eliminate from public life and from responsible positions in such private activities as the press, finance, and business, all war criminals and suspects, including professional military men and members of the former secret police, the war-time political fronts, and jingo-terroristic societies. But the Japanese government succeeded in mitigating the effects of the order by procrastination and lax enforcement. SCAP issued its first purge order on January 4, 1946. The Japanese Cabinet delayed even preliminary action until February 9, although a general election was imminent. Enforcement of the purge for many categories was put off until March 10, and not until November were purge lists issued covering local officials and leaders of the press, stage, screen, and radio.

Since some of the most important measures for the reformation of the Japanese government were initiated in the early months of 1946, the delay permitted many officials of the old regime to play a large role in the reconstruction of Japan. The Cabinet which was expected to carry out the purge directive, for example, contained four ministers who were subsequently barred from office. Many of the men affected by the terms of the purge

were allowed to retire voluntarily, a concession which protected their rights to pensions, benefits, and honors and made it easier for them to return to public life at a later date. Numerous other violations of the spirit and letter of the purge directive have occurred, and the occupation authorities, bearing no administrative authority, have been unable to do more than intervene in a few of the more flagrant cases, such as that of Icharo Hato-yama, president of the Liberal Party, who would have become Prime Minister if SCAP had not acted.

Definite progress can be reported in the task of reshaping the Japanese educational system along democratic lines. Textbooks have been rewritten to eliminate the nationalistic myths of Japanese history. Some nationalistic teachers have been purged, particularly from the higher posts. Training in judo, fencing, and bayonet drill has been abolished, but the children continue to march to and from school in military uniforms. There is evidence that independent thinking is being encouraged, even in the lower grades, by means of group discussion. But few new teachers have been trained, and the older ones complain that they cannot very well teach democracy when they have no opportunity to learn what it is or how it works. In education, more than in any other field, reforms cannot be imposed from outside. Encouragement must be given to the development of progressive teacher groups who can take over when the armies of occupation pull out. This development has scarcely begun.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Similar shortcomings may be noted in the political field. The new constitution is generally regarded as effectively laying the basis on which a Japanese democracy could be built. MacArthur himself is largely responsible for the prevalence of this idea, having called it "one of the great spiritual reformations of mankind." As a statement of democratic principles, it is, indeed, a remarkable document. The trouble is that it is essentially an American document. In an effort to by-pass the Four-Power Control Council, with its Soviet delegate, it was prepared in a few weeks by members of MacArthur's staff. The Japanese government not only had no hand in the final draft but was forced to accept it abruptly without discussion.

Perhaps the most praiseworthy feature of the new constitution is its guaranties of civil rights. No fewer than thirty-one articles are concerned with the "rights and duties" of the people as free citizens in a free state. Article 19 declares, for example, that "freedom of thought and conscience shall be held inviolable." Article 21 guarantees "freedom of assembly, association, speech, and press." Encouraged by SCAP directives insisting on these basic freedoms, the Japanese people were quick to take advantage of their new opportunities. Demon-

strations were held; new magazines and newspapers were started, reflecting various political views.

This early spontaneous exercise of the basic freedoms which we brought to Japan did not last long. Although SCAP refused to permit the Japanese government to exercise censorship, it installed a censorship of its own. It has also used its control of the allocation of newsprint to assist the older conservative papers at the expense of the radical papers which mushroomed into existence in the early days of the occupation. Undoubtedly, the Japanese people have a great deal more freedom than they ever had before. Much criticism of the government still appears in the press. However, the Communist bogey has caused SCAP to overlook certain violations of the bill of rights by the Japanese police, even to the use of force in breaking up strikes and popular demonstrations. Thus the Japanese can hardly be blamed if they feel that our interest in the protection of civil rights is often merely a pretext for encouraging the spread of American rather than Soviet ideas.

LABOR AND MONOPOLY

Yet, surprisingly enough, it is in the field of labor relations that the greatest progress has been made in laying the basis for a functioning democracy. Labor advisers on MacArthur's staff have acted on the assumption that the working class constitutes potentially the strongest support for a democratic regime in Japan. The upper class is thoroughly militaristic and reactionary; the middle class is weak; the farm population, although harshly exploited, is traditionally conservative and indifferent to politics. Under the encouragement of the occupation authorities, membership in Japanese labor unions has risen from less than half a million to approximately four and a half million. Most of the new unions have sprung up spontaneously in individual plants. American influence has been generally constructive, though efforts have been made to force the labor movement into channels that conform to American experience. Public demonstrations have been checked; collective bargaining has been encouraged; political activity on the part of labor has been held to a minimum even though labor's political power is badly needed to offset the dominant reactionary influences in the government.

Parallel with the strengthening of labor have been the efforts of the occupation to destroy or limit drastically the power of the great pre-war and war-time industrial and financial tycoons, the Zaibatsu. On paper, the steps taken seem impressive. Five of the largest of the Zaibatsu groups have been forced to dissolve. The former leadership has been purged. The assets of the wealthiest families have been converted into ten-year non-negotiable bonds, and a progressive income-tax program to reduce the wealth and power of individuals in these

great family trusts is projected. Not all these measures, however, have actually been carried out. The absence of a strong middle class makes it difficult to find purchasers for the assets taken from the wealthy families. In the absence of government ownership, which has been rejected by SCAP as socialistic, no one seems to know how the Zaibatsu's property can be widely redistributed.

Such success as SCAP has had in instituting democratic reform has been seriously endangered by its incapacity to deal with the grave economic problems facing post-war Japan. As in Germany, these problems are complicated by the fact that a revival of industry carries the threat of restoring military potential. Because of the divergence of views, reparations policy has not yet taken final form. This delay, in turn, has delayed presentation of a basic program of economic reconstruction. Another obstacle has been the Japanese government's failure to cope with the inflation. The rapid and uncontrolled rise in prices has been due largely to the government's attempt to meet the high costs of the occupation by printing money—possibly with the aim of discrediting the occupation. Last year the government incurred a deficit of 75 billion yen—considerably more than the costs of the occupation. Currency in circulation has jumped from 8 billion yen to 122 billion within twelve months.

FAILURE TO COMBAT INFLATION

The defects in the administrative structure and general operations of SCAP are forcefully demonstrated by its failure to combat rising prices. SCAP is specifically exempt from the responsibility of strengthening the Japanese economy. But it is clear that without a strong economy the whole program of democratization is doomed to failure. In April, 1946, some of the lesser experts in several SCAP divisions began to be concerned about the grave economic maladjustments resulting from the inflation, but before pressure could be brought to bear on the Japanese government to set up an adequate system of industrial allocations and price controls, agreement had to be reached within SCAP itself. To this end, a program of education had to be carried on in the various divisions, up to and including the General Staff. MacArthur himself had to be convinced of the necessity of action. So much time was consumed that the economic control board was not established until August, 1946.

At first, a political hack was placed in charge, and despite continued demands from the lower levels of SCAP, no real effort was made to establish a system of controls until late May and June, 1947, when the Katayama Cabinet took power. By that time, it was generally agreed that it was too late to check inflation by a system of industrial controls alone. The anti-inflation program announced by the Cabinet in early July was essentially a retreat. Only a basic reconstruction of the

Japanese economy, with adequate taxation and a restoration of export trade, would succeed today in checking the inflationary spiral. This would require substantial American financial assistance, which would mean reversing our original policy. Whether or not such assistance is ultimately given will not depend primarily on Japan's needs. It is more likely to depend on an appraisal of Japan's potential importance as an advanced industrial base in an American-Soviet war.

Thus we are confronted with the supreme paradox of our occupation policies. The democratic objectives of the occupation can be achieved only if the Japanese economy is restored, and the necessary American financial aid is likely to be forthcoming only as a means of building up Japan as a bulwark against Russia. But if Japan is to be developed as an anti-Communist outpost, the occupation authorities must seek support, not from labor and other democratic elements, but from the reactionary military groups that they at first wished to destroy.

Coal's Inflationary Balloon

BY OSGOOD NICHOLS

JOHAN L. LEWIS once said, "He who tooteth not his own horn, the same shall not be tooted." This year he was joined by a whole orchestra of mine operators, who were only too happy to accompany his inflationary solo about his theoretical 44½-cent hourly boost in the new coal contract in the belief that the louder the noise the more the audience would be willing to pay.

Last week the noise proved too much for President Truman. He pleaded with the coal and steel industries not to believe their own propaganda and hike up the consumer's bill out of all proportion to their increased costs. He also tried to explain to the public how badly the miners and operators had misrepresented their new contract. Unfortunately, he does not appear to have been too successful in either of these well-meaning ventures.

Once the miner's chieftain and the operators had settled the terms of their new agreement, conflict vanished, and they joined in a campaign to bamboozle the average citizen. Each had something to gain by making the boost seem as extravagant as possible. Mr. Lewis likes to make the rest of the labor movement jealous of the armloads of bacon he brings home to his men and

Although the effect of this paradox is clearly discernible in our occupation policies, the record to date is not on the whole a bad one. For the most part, the original goals of the occupation have been kept in sight. Despite many blunders, substantial progress has been made in most areas. However, the task of displacing the firmly entrenched way of life of old Japan is a gigantic one and has scarcely been begun. There is much to be said at this stage for placing this responsibility on the United Nations, for as long as the United States has, in effect, full power, our policies will inevitably reflect American imperialist interests. General MacArthur has expressed a desire to turn over the administration of the occupation to the U. N. If this is done before the American nationalistic impact becomes too pronounced, the high esteem in which MacArthur is held, both in this country and in Japan, may be confirmed by history. But most thoughtful observers will suspend judgement until it becomes apparent whether the seeds of democracy which have been sown are to be permitted to mature.

is not averse to putting phony labels on empty packages. The operators are not unduly shy about making a pretty profit out of a wage increase. Let us open some of these packages and see what they contain.

A little arithmetic shows how a 15-cents-an hour boost in the miner's pay became 44½ cents in the headlines. The miner will take home only \$1.20 more a day, which, as President Truman pointed out, is in line with the wage increases that have been won in other basic industries. In addition to this he will get several benefits, none of which, however, appear in his pay envelope. He will work an hour less a day, his work week being reduced to the forty hours set for other workers last year. The company's contribution to his welfare and retirement fund will be boosted 5 cents a ton, or about 30 cents a day. On paper he will now also have thirty minutes for lunch, instead of the theoretically inhuman fifteen. The miner, however, has never eaten by the clock and will not do so now. He takes his lunch deep into the mine with him and nibbles at it whenever work is slack. He gets overheated digging coal and doesn't like long periods of damp, chilly idleness.

To make all this look expensive, the U. M. W. and the operators translated it into a *straight-time hourly rate* which has only theoretical relation to what is in the miners' pay envelopes. Under their old contract, the miners worked nine hours but were paid for the equivalent of ten, since overtime rates began after the seventh

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hour. Their basic daily wage of \$11.85 divided by 10 gave them an hourly rate of \$1.18½. The miners will now work eight hours for \$13.05. To get their new rate, one should divide \$13.05 by 8½ (since the eighth hour would customarily be at time and a half), which gives \$1.53½, or an increase of 35 cents an hour.

The U. M. W. and the operators, however, discovered they could make 35 cents look like 44½ cents without spending a penny. This magic was accomplished by agreeing to begin overtime rates after the eighth instead of the seventh hour in the new contract. By this simple device, they could now divide \$13.05 by 8 instead of 8½ and publicize a rate of \$1.63 an hour, or an increase of 44½ cents. No money changes hands in this mathematical shell game; yet the miners' theoretical hourly pay becomes higher. They cannot buy groceries with the addition, since they will take home only 15 cents more an hour in their pay envelopes, but it looks good on paper.

Now we come to the more important question of how much the new contract increases the cost of mining coal. The operator will pay the miner \$1.20 more a day for one hour's less work. The amount this is going to cost him per ton depends on how much coal the miner produces in the shorter day. He averaged 5.90 tons per day in 1946, and his productivity over the previous decade increased at the rate of .13 tons a year. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that he was producing at the rate of 6 tons a day during the last months of the Krug-Lewis agreement. At the rate of \$11.85 a day, this comes to \$1.97½ a ton.

How many tons will he produce in the shorter day? Nine hours underground is too long for efficiency, and some operators privately say they expect their men to dig as much coal in eight hours. Conservative government economists estimate that the operators will get an average of 94 per cent of previous production, instead of the 89 per cent they would get if output was decreased in the same proportion as hours. Other factors besides lessening of fatigue go into this estimate, such as increased mechanization and an expected sharp drop in absenteeism.

Using this estimate, we get an average output per miner of 5.64 tons a day, for which he will be paid \$13.05. This comes to \$2.31 a ton, or an increase in cost of 33½ cents a ton. To this must be added the 5 cents per ton for the welfare fund, making a conservatively estimated total of 38½ cents.

The day after President Truman asked the coal and steel industries to wait and see how much their costs would increase before boosting their prices, George Humphrey, who with Benjamin Fairless of United States Steel made the original bargain with Lewis, announced that he had raised his prices an average of 75 cents a ton. If Mr. Humphrey were merely an average producer

in the industry, this would represent a profit of something like 100 per cent on the wage increase. But Mr. Humphrey, as chairman of the board of Pittsburgh-Consolidation, the largest commercial coal company in the world, is one of the lowest-cost producers in the industry. It is anyone's guess what a price his stockholders are extracting for peace in coal. He justifies the increase in part by saying he must make the price umbrella big enough to cover the costs of his less efficient competitors. The role of Good Samaritan seems quite profitable.

What about steel prices? No one seems to know accurately how much coal it takes to make a ton of steel. Government figures show that it takes 2,656 pounds of coal, or about 1½ tons, to produce the coke needed for a ton of pig iron. In the process of making the coke, however, the steel companies get a lot of valuable by-products. This is probably more than offset by the coal they use around the mill for purposes other than making coke. A ton and a half of coal per ton of finished steel would seem to be a good workable guess.

United States Steel, which holds the price umbrella for its industry, gets its coal, as do most of its competitors, from its own coal mines. It will not be called upon, therefore, to pay for Mr. Humphrey's umbrella. Converting the increased cost of coal (38½ cents a ton) into steel costs, we get an increase of 57.8 cents a ton. The bill for United States Steel, of course, should be much lower than this because it has some of the most efficient mines in the country.

Barron's, the national business and financial weekly, predicts an increase in steel prices of \$5 a ton. Last Tuesday, in Birmingham, Republic Steel and Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron announced that they had boosted their pig-iron prices \$3.50 a ton. United States Steel is more cautious. On July 29 its Board of Directors will meet and issue their second quarterly report for 1947, which will probably show, despite the steel wage raise, that the corporation is getting along handsomely. Indications are that it will make its decision about a price increase at that meeting.

Steel has one of its best peace-time markets in history, and by hiding behind the propaganda about the cost of the coal contract it could probably get away with a raise of \$1 to \$2 a ton, or a profit on the bargain of between 70 and over 200 per cent. This would start another round of price increases throughout the economy.

Perhaps the corporation, which has a great opportunity to make friends and influence, for the better, the course of coming events, will conclude that the health of the economy offers a better guaranty of United States Steel's future than short-term profiteering. If it follows the President's suggestion and waits to see how much its coal costs mount, the country will not only get peace in coal—which is no small contribution—but also may escape having to pay too exorbitant a price for it.

Late Summer in the Parks

BY HORACE SUTTON

ONE of the cheapest but one of the most richly rewarding vacations available this summer is a visit to a national park. This flat statement will be enthusiastically supported, I know, by the 22,000,000 people who made the trek to one of the parks last year. In fact, the National Park Service expects an even larger number of visitors this year in the 170 areas under its supervision. Of these, twenty-seven are National Parks; the others are historical sites and monuments.

Most of the big wild parks are in the West, far from populous regions. The only ones in the East are Acadia in Maine, Shenandoah in Virginia, and the Great Smokies in Tennessee and North Carolina.

To most Americans, the thought of a visit to a national park conjures up a picture of Old Faithful, the fabulous geyser at Yellowstone Park. Old Faithful still spouts off faithfully every seventy minutes, the interval growing longer as the years pass. A thousand lesser geysers, weirdly beautiful hot springs, and an inspiring canyon are also to be seen in Yellowstone, oldest and largest of the national parks.

Established by Congress in 1872 "as a pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," Yellowstone's huge tract covers the northwest corner of Wyoming, and runs over into Idaho and Montana. Bear, elk, moose, deer, and buffalo roam its wild uplands. But there is no hunting. Visitors, however, may fish without a license, ride the trails, set up their tents in the camping grounds, or live comfortably in hotels and lodges. They are urged not to feed the bears, which the attendants say have only become a problem since they have been fed civilization's candy bars, cracker-jacks, and picnic leftovers.

The park is open for motorists from May 1 to October 15, and for travelers coming by rail from June 20 to September 11, when the hotels close. Rates at Yellowstone are as low as \$5.50 a day for a double room without bath, European plan. Furnished cottages at the Mammoth Springs Hotel at the north entrance cost \$4 to \$5 a day without food. Lodge accommodations on the American plan can be had for \$10 a day for two. Coffee shops serve moderate-priced meals—breakfasts from 30 cents and dinners for \$1.25. The hotel will fry your fish at the rate of three for a quarter, four to six for 50 cents. If you eat a dollar's worth of trimmings, it will fry the fish for free. Hardy souls can rent a hundred oddments of camping equipment, from a stew pan for a nickel a day to a blanket for 25 cents a night. Split wood is a quarter a bundle. Drivers can be hired for \$7 a day; mountain guides and cooks at similar rates.

A typical two-and-a-half-day bus tour, including eight meals and two nights' lodging, costs \$42.50.

Yosemite National Park is 150 miles east of San Francisco and an easy drive from most points on the coast. It has been somewhat commercialized because it is so accessible, but it offers the striking natural beauty of the Yosemite Valley, a mile wide and eight miles long, and the spectacle of one of the highest free-leaping waterfalls in the world. The stream drops 1,430 feet, which, someone has taken the trouble to figure, is equal to nine Niagara Falls one on top of the other.

Used by the navy as a rest center until this year, Yosemite is again open to the public all the year round. A typical hotel is the Awahnee, on the north side of the valley, which houses 200 guests. It charges \$14 a day for a double room and bath, with meals. Yosemite Lodge, a colony of redwood cabins which have baths and electricity, charges \$3.50 a day per person. There are also some 700 tents for rent from June through August at \$2 a day. Meals for tent dwellers run about \$1. Tubs and showers in detached buildings can be enjoyed for a nominal fee. You can ride the floor of Yosemite Valley on a saddle horse for \$5 a day. Saddle and pack animals, guides, cooks, and equipment can be hired for camping trips in the High Sierras.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park, midway between Knoxville and Ashville, lately has drawn the largest attendance of any of the government reservations. In general, the Western parks offer better accommodations, the Eastern ones being nearer to big cities, where motorists can stay. The main hotel center for the Smokies is Gatlinburg, Tennessee, on the north side of the park, where varying comforts at varying rates can be obtained.

The adjacent development of the TVA program has had a beneficial effect on the recreational facilities of the Great Smoky Park. Construction of the magnificent Fontana Dam created Fontana Lake, which stretches along nearly half the southern border of the reservation. The TVA also cooperated in the relocation of several roads important to the park.

Experience gained in the Western parks is helping the National Park Service to steer clear of commercialization in the Smokies, one of its newest ventures. It is trying to preserve the traditional culture of the Appalachians and the crafts of the mountain whites or hillbillies. Old smokehouses, corn cribs, and log cabins are being restored. Visitors can see Cherokee Indians, find some 1,200 species of flowering plants, view 200,000 acres of virgin forest, and, what is not unimportant, keep cool.

Del Vayo—Dilemma of the Left

DURING two weeks we have heard certain liberal voices, in various accents, denounce Stalin and the Russians for having split the world in two. For those who, since the end of the war and even before, have been maintaining that no possibility existed of getting along with Russia, Paris was the pay-off. Molotov's retreat to Moscow provided a final answer to the partisans of collaboration. As one of the more acute French commentators pointed out, this is a case in which *tant pis* should read *tant mieux*. The New York Times gave substance to this view by writing on July 6: "Had Russia elected to participate in the scheme it might have been difficult if not impossible for President Truman and Secretary Marshall to convince Congress that American funds were being invested wisely and in the national interest of the United States." (How ironical if, even with Russia out, Congress should refuse the funds!)

Well, let us assume the record is clear and final: the blame rests on Moscow. For those liberals referred to above, plus most conservatives, the problem ends there. But the left—and here I am not referring to the Communists, whose position is also fixed on other grounds—cannot simply quit at this point and go to sleep. The first thing the left must do is to analyze coolly in which kind of half-world it is going to move from now on. And, next, it must inquire whether a way can be found to put an end to this insane period of war without war.

The half of the world that now carries the label "Western bloc" is certainly not a region in which a genuine liberal or radical can—until the moment of shooting arrives—enjoy a pleasant holiday. That this is so is mainly the fault of the men in the State Department and the Foreign Office who shape the real policy of the Western bloc. With a little more imagination they could have made the political climate of the new Allied coalition more tolerable for those who, under the old one, fought for democracy. If they foresaw that one day the division now taking place was going to be unavoidable, they had no excuse, for example, for not finding a democratic solution for Greece and Spain.

All the stories about "international brigades" and a "red invasion" will not succeed in overshadowing the situation in Greece, which has become, not only for leftists but for ordinary decent persons, unbearable. In a cable from Athens the other day, Richard Mowrer summed it up in a few lines:

With the arrival in Athens of Dwight P. Griswold, United States administrator of aid to Greece, Washington embarks on a policy aimed at containing Communist pressure. That policy is being sabotaged even before it starts. The excesses of the rightist Greek government in arresting and deporting, without warrants or trial, Socialists, Liberals, and Democrats (as well as Communists) is making new converts for the Communist-dominated rebels now fighting in the mountains. For many Greeks, it is not a question of political preference but of choosing between the risk of arrest and deportation by a regime

many of whose top officials collaborated with the Germans or of escaping to the insurgent-held mountains.

On Spain the Western bloc is going to find itself in September, at the General Assembly of the United Nations, in a nasty fix. The Spanish issue is going to come up and under greatly aggravated conditions. To begin with, the third great partner, France, will be found wholly out of agreement with the Anglo-American policy toward Franco. There is no possibility of normalizing relations between France and Spain while Franco is in power; this, even if no fighting breaks out in Spain. If an uprising should occur, as Lord Templewood has been steadily predicting, the tension within the Western bloc will become acute.

Greece and Spain may be the most sensitive and exposed nerves in the Western coalition, but they are not the only ones. Germany is a more serious element of disunity. Regarding Germany, there is the old division between the British, who underline the economic aspect of the problem, and the French, for whom security is the first consideration. There is the difference between the British Laborites, who remain faithful to the theory that only Socialist planning can resolve the problem of Germany, and the Americans, who favor free enterprise tempered with a minimum of security control. As the London *Economist* said in its issue of July 12, "an American plan to base European revival upon a German heavy industry built up as a cartel by private capital might well bring the Communist Party to power in France and in the Ruhr." The demand of the German parties for a full share in the Paris conference fortified the impression that in the new division of Europe Germany was going to be the chief beneficiary. However, if traditional American policy prevails, the actual German beneficiaries will not be the Ruhr miners but the industrial barons and the new—or old—Nazis.

And this leads to the essential point for the left: The leadership of the Western bloc is bound to tend more and more to the right, and current uncomfortable situations, as in the cases of Greece, Spain, and Germany, will multiply. On the other side, the Russians are not going to remain idle. They will exploit to the full all the political differences and contradictions of the Western bloc, at the same time building up in the East agrarian reform, nationalization, Socialist planning, and a broad program of trade and customs cooperation. The position of the Western left will become more and more difficult.

But there is a way out: an end to the situation that ought to have been the beginning. That way is through the United Nations. It has been the fault of all—East as well as West, left as well as right—to have reduced the United Nations in two years to a sort of wrangling Forum of the Air, instead of an instrument of peace. But it is the only place, outside the field of battle, where East and West can still meet.

[In a second article Mr. del Vayo will discuss the relationship of the U. N. to the Marshall plan.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

World Bank on Wall Street

THE first bond offering of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development proved a smash hit in Wall Street. Although the issue was a large one—\$250,000,000—the demand was still larger, and investment houses were allotted only a fraction of the amounts called for by customers' orders. When dealings started on the Stock Exchange, bidding was lively for both the ten-year and twenty-five-year bonds, which opened at premiums of two and over three points respectively.

In setting up the issue, the bank's management took great pains to enlist the interest of security houses throughout the country. They put on a big publicity and educational campaign and, what is more important, offered commissions of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent—\$5 per \$1,000 bond—on the twenty-five-year issue and $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the ten-year issue. In recent corporate bond underwritings, commissions of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent have been normal. In addition, the securities themselves were priced very attractively. The twenty-five-year bonds, which make up \$150,000,000 of the total, carry a 3 per cent coupon, and the \$100,000,000 of the shorter-term issue pay $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Both issues were offered at par. Such yields are well above the returns currently obtainable from first-class industrial bonds. So it is not surprising that insurance companies, savings banks, and other institutional investors, which do not always find it easy to secure suitable homes for their vast funds, were among the eager buyers of the new securities.

Since such investors must give safety precedence over yield, their willingness to buy World Bank bonds shows that they regard these issues as well protected. And so, indeed, they are, provided we can keep the world from an economic tailspin. In the first place, the total lending power of the bank is limited to the total of its subscribed capital and accumulated surplus. Subscribed capital currently amounts to just over \$8,000,000,000, of which one-fifth has been paid up, 2 per cent in gold or United States dollars and the balance in the currencies of the forty-four member nations. All or part of the remainder of the capital may be called up if required to meet the bank's liabilities. Of course, the obligation of members to meet such capital calls or to repay loans made to them depends on the "faith and credit" of sovereign states and is therefore not legally enforceable. On the other hand, as the bond prospectus points out, each member government has "a direct interest in the performance by every other member government of its obligations to the bank." In addition, while the credit rating of some of the members is none too good, that of the nations subscribing more than two-thirds of the capital has never been questioned. The United States share alone is 34.23 per cent.

The reception given to the bond issue might seem to suggest that in fixing its terms the bank's managers were over-generous. But I do not think they can be criticized on this account. They were, it must be remembered, putting on the market a new and strange security and appealing for support to a notoriously conservative body of investors. In a deal of this sort, the margin between success and failure is often a narrow one, and they could not afford failure. On the contrary, they needed a resounding success to put the World Bank on the Wall Street map and smooth the way for future issues.

We may therefore congratulate the president of the bank, J. J. McCloy, and the group of banking executives he has recruited on a striking achievement. But we must ask them not to rest on their laurels. Now that they have proved their ability to augment their limited supply of dollars by raising capital in the American market, it is to be hoped they will put their dollars to work rather more rapidly than hitherto. In the year since the bank opened its doors, it has made only one loan, \$250,000,000 to France, which had asked for, and needed, twice that amount. Many other member nations have put in requests for various amounts totaling more than \$2,000,000,000. Some of these may be granted in the near future, but the bank is proceeding with the utmost caution.

In deciding which member countries are credit-worthy and which projects they put forward have a reasonable chance of being self-liquidating, the bank's managers face a difficult dilemma. They are only permitted to lend money when adequate private finance is not available: that rules out the best risks. On the other hand, they must operate in accordance with sound financial practice and thus deny assistance to many of the countries most in need of it. Moreover, the more the bank looks to American investors for lendable funds the more conservative it is likely to be. As Sylvia Porter, financial editor of the *New York Post*, said a few weeks ago, when predicting a good reception for the bond issue, "It's just because the World Bank isn't what it was supposed to be, that the issue will be such a success. It's just because its loan policy is now on the 'sound-business,' 'calculated-risks' basis that our giant investors are warming up."

However, "safety first" can prove a dangerous maxim in today's weakened economic world. It is no use deciding to sit only on the most solid chairs when the foundations of the house are cracking. With all Europe threatened with economic collapse, the distinction between countries which are good risks and those which are bad becomes academic. Unless steps are soon taken to underpin the whole structure, bankruptcy and revolution may be the Continent's common lot. As receiver, Mr. J. Stalin probably would not give much consideration to the World Bank's claims.

I am not suggesting that the World Bank could or should serve as Europe's *deus ex machina*. It has neither the resources nor the authority to undertake the kind of job envisaged by Secretary Marshall's proposals. But speedy action on some of the applications for reconstruction loans it has long been pondering would help to keep Europe breathing while broader plans are being ground through the slow mills of American democracy.

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Man of Feeling

THE INNOCENT EYE. By Herbert Read. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.50.

HERBERT READ has written poetry and critical prose. Following the advice of Coleridge, he tells us, he took "regular employment" in order to be a writer in his leisure hours. He is that phenomenon, more familiar in England than in this country, of the state functionary and man of letters in one. For many years he was an official in the British Treasury and for many years a curator of ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum. But he remained always, it is clear, primarily a man of letters, with a voracious interest in all the world's literature in all its genres. He remained throughout the *littérateur* who, partly as a result of his work in the museum, came to be a writer and to be known most widely as an effective critic of art and the arts. But it is clear from these pages that he had ambitions to be a novelist, though his novels have remained projects, and that his heart is with poetry, though his published poems have not been the chief source of his influence or reputation.

What we have here, then, is the intellectual autobiography, almost too intellectual for one who proclaims himself a romantic and a man of feeling. It is the story of the sources of his being of one for whom art is the center and actuality of life, and poetry the center and actuality of art. His book is largely the account of the steps in the development of a man who has such feelings and has come to such conclusions. It is the narrative of the innocent eye, innocent in the childhood before experience, simple again in the ardent discipline of achieved aesthetic insight.

There are several grounds on which this book, of uneven distinction, has claims to critical attention. Mr. Read is in the first place in some way an index to a period. In the twenties he was a close literary associate of a group which included the Sitwells, Siegfried Sassoon, T. S. Eliot, Ford Madox Ford, Richard

Aldington. While he was still at the front in France during World War I, he was one of the anonymous editors of *Arts and Letters*, which might be described as a sort of predecessor of *Horizon*. It conveys vividly the climate of literary feeling in the England of twenty-five to thirty years ago.

Secondly, Mr. Read's autobiography has a special sociological claim to interest. Mr. Read's background, for all his fastidious cultivation, is not the familiar one of the typical English aesthete. He did not come from a well-to-do family or go to Eton and Oxford. He has not the public-school manner, which even the rebellious aesthetes have so often had as their stamp. He was born and spent the first nine years of his life on a farm, in a remote corner of Yorkshire. The most evocative and most convincing part of his memoir is that dealing with the house and garden, the moors and woods, the cycle of the seasons, the growing of things, the killing of animals by men and by one another, the vividness of country scenes as these were touched and seen and felt by the uncorrupted awareness of a sensitive child. Mr. Read, indeed, attributes to this early vividness of his farm experience his later sophisticated sense of the importance of "immediacy and contact in art and life."

Herbert Read's father died when the boy was only nine years old, and from there on he had another kind of experience not familiar in the history of the modern literary intellectual in England. He spent two years at an orphanage school.

He worked for several years as clerk in a savings bank in Leeds. Himself so poor that he could not afford tram fare, he walked miles through the slums and came to know the life of the very poor. Against his family's cautious advice he managed somehow to get to the university, the University of Leeds, which with its random electives and its large courses seems more like an American provincial university than like the cliché conception of Oxford. He served in World War I as an officer, despite his pacifist sentiments, and his accounts of

"The Raid," previously printed as a book in England, and of "Retreat" constitute minor classics of the felt truth about war experience.

Throughout, this is the case history of a non-snob English intellectual whose background is nearer that of Priestley or Arnold Bennett than of Cyril Connolly or Desmond MacCarthy, and it is marked by an earnest, almost plodding industriousness in reading. Mr. Read seems to have read everything of importance in modern literature in all languages, although, again atypical, he seems to be rather sketchy on the classics and to have little Latin and less Greek.

There is one other erraticism or rather scantiness of reading which accounts for some of the lack of clarity of the author's leading ideas, namely, in philosophy. He had an early infatuation with Nietzsche and seems to have had a late one with Kierkegaard. There is little evidence of Plato, none of Aristotle or of the good, solid British empiricists. Mr. Read obviously sets great store by a few of his chief intellectual themes, though he is not careful to define his terms. He declares he is a romantic and an idealist and depends on the vague aura of those words to tell us what he means. But if he is not quite rigorous, he is, as perhaps a "romantic" should be, suggestive. I use the term in both a praising and depreciative sense. Mr. Read makes suggestions and yet they are mere adumbrations, not very clear and if intelligible not consistent with each other. His last chapter is called—how English men of letters love relatively obscure classical images!—The Adamantine Sickle. The sickle is reason. It is the same sickle "which Earth gave Cronos and with which he mutilated the Divine Father." "Such a weapon is reason, which alone can slay despair and lead us to an Ethiopian rock. But as we wield this weapon, we find that it deals not only death but life, and that new beings, the furies and the muses of our inspiration, gather round the carnage." But our experience, says Mr. Read, is full of contradictions. It is the function of art to reconcile these and it cannot do that until it passes be-

yond reason. "Only an art which rises above conscious reality, only a transcendent or super-real art is adequate."

I confess that at this point, which is at the close of the book, I am not sure I know what Mr. Read is talking about, or that he does. I am a little clearer when earlier he finds the creative act of art something that has some significance for the nature of ultimate reality itself, and I see some gleam of suggestion in his notion that there is perhaps more than analogy between the rhythms which make the patterns of art and the rhythms of life and of ultimate being. I can understand what Mr. Read means when he preaches as the goal of political life the life which is non-political, the nourishment of creative freedom. I can sympathize with him when he appeals to "living in accordance with nature," but not when he says, "The world I discover is contained within myself." I do not quite know, and have never known, what Mr. Read means by the "sense of glory," to which he appeals and which he somehow identifies with creation and freedom. Nor do I think he needs the term "anarchist" to describe the ideal of a society that would make freedom possible.

There is a curious admixture of references to Kierkegaard, surrealism, Berg-

son, Whitehead. Mr. Read promises in his closing paragraph to devote his "intellectual energy in the years that are left [to him]" to "elucidation" of what "super-real art" is. Meanwhile his book exhibits the virtues and limits of the not quite philosophical literary mind. Where he is most a man of letters, as when he is telling his own story, he is best. Mr. Read ought to be less—or considerably more—of a philosopher if he is going to plumb the great questions of the relations of art to morals and politics and metaphysics. As it is, he illustrates some of the more foggy qualities of what is generally suggested by the term "romantic," some of the baffling obscurities of the literary man out of his depth.

IRWIN EDMAN

The "Middle Ground"

THE BALKANS, FRONTIER OF TWO WORLDS. By William B. King and Frank O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

THIS book is the deposit of several years' reporting from various Balkan capitals by two correspondents for the Associated Press. The bulk of it summarizes the course of political events in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Turkey, and Greece during the past five or six years. The authors add occasional snippets of background information—larded with some misinformation—sketch leading political personalities, and make various observations on the world significance of recent Balkan developments.

The theme of the book is the disappearance of the "middle ground" between Russia and the United States in the Balkans. Both Russia and the United States, according to the authors, uphold a philosophy of society and government which is thought to be "good for everybody, everywhere." In this they see the seeds for a sort of religious struggle, which might even lead to eventual war. Trying to assess responsibility, King and O'Brien hold Russia's insistence that only Communist governments can be friendly governments to be the principal factor in smashing the Socialist parties of the Balkans and thus destroying the "middle ground."

The book is markedly uneven in

workmanship and detail. The chapters on Rumania are the most enlightening and coherent, and Yugoslavia is well treated. At the other extreme, three paragraphs suffice for Albania, and the chapter devoted to that country is padded out with only vaguely relevant material. Greece, too, is described without understanding, very largely in terms of the personal ups and downs of the royal family.

The style is sometimes vivid and natural; but in other passages it becomes irritating or even ludicrous with inept metaphors or flippant generalizations.

The nature of their work for a wire service required the authors to live almost exclusively in the various Balkan capitals within a few minutes' reach of the telegraph. In consequence provincial life largely escapes their attention. Consideration of economic conditions is also practically absent from the book, save for an account of Russian financial manipulations of Rumanian oil and other resources. This omission inevitably prevents the reader from obtaining a sound understanding of the political events described.

Such criticism is perhaps unfair, for the authors hardly pretend to present a complete and balanced picture of Balkan society and government. The book does provide a summary of recent events, neither more nor less reliable than the reports which appear daily in our newspapers. As such it serves as a useful recapitulation and can well be used to refresh memories jaded by the complexities of Balkan events.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

The Christian Significance of KARL MARX

By ALEXANDER MILLER

Written primarily for Christians who want to understand Communism—whether they accept Marxist theory or not—this book insists that Communism is a momentous fact which Christians are bound to take into account. So the author does not set up a straw man in order to knock him down. He exposes the reader to the full impact of Marxism and contemporary criticism of Marxism, and lets him make up his own mind. This stimulating and disturbing book presents a challenge to all serious Christians.

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MACMILLAN

The Films of a Nation

FROM CALIGARI TO HITLER. A

Psychological History of the German Film. By Siegfried Kracauer. Princeton University Press. \$5.

THE thesis of this unusually interesting book is that the German films of the twenties were filled with premonitions of the German totalitarianism of the thirties: that Hitler arose as the resolution of psychological dilemmas which had been reflected in the German movies and which accounted for both their greatness and their decline. The films of the Weimar Republic, Dr. Kracauer argues, constitute a

"unique *monologue intérieur*. They reveal developments in almost inaccessible layers of the German mind."

Dr. Kracauer illustrates his theme by a readable account of the evolution of the German film industry and of the creation of the masterpieces. He knows much of the story at first hand; and he has the advantage of direct testimony from other participants, particularly some fascinating material from Hans Janowitz on the background of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." "Caligari," of course, presented the terrible choice between tyranny and chaos in its most radical form; but this theme was almost obsessive with the film-makers of the classical period. Kracauer demonstrates convincingly its reappearance in "Dr. Mabuse," in "Waxworks," in "Nibelungen," in "The Last Laugh."

The period of slow decline after 1924 came about when inner conflict produced, not renewed questing, but stagnation and paralysis. Writers and directors sought to evade or to muffle the unanswerable questions. Gradually, in the last days of the republic, films displayed forebodings of totalitarianism, a subconscious dream becoming increasingly attractive as a substitute for the agonies of individual responsibility. Finally the fantasies which animated the films—and often contradicted their formal theses—came to full and bloody life, and Germany carried out what had been anticipated by its cinema from the beginning. "Self-appointed Caligaris hypnotized innumerable Caesars into murder. Raving Mabuses committed fantastic crimes with impunity, and mad Ivans devised unheard-of tortures."

The book's premise, of course, is that the films of a nation irresistibly disclose its dominant psychological dispositions. Films reflect the national mentality more directly, Dr. Kracauer would even argue, than any other form of artistic expression. They are collective products; hence the very process of creation tends to suppress individual peculiarities in favor of traits common to many people. Moreover, they must appeal to anonymous multitudes and so must conform to existing mass desires. Nor is the story content alone significant; the changes in technique, the nature of the imagery, the style of the editing are as revelatory as the metaphors and cadences of poetry.

This is an extraordinarily fruitful and stimulating approach. It is probably inevitable that a pioneering work like "From Caligari to Hitler" should have a number of overstatements and oversimplifications in applying the approach; but this should not deter anyone from reading the book. The main trouble, of course, is that Dr. Kracauer knows in advance which dreams panned out. Nazism provides him with convenient criteria for determining the "basic" film themes of the twenties; and one cannot avoid the impression that he is reading back from the actuality to the corresponding fantasy.

Thus, were the United States today under a fascist dictatorship, an acute Indonesian critic might point out how Hollywood's obsession with horror and violence revealed the inevitability of fascism: how the cult of the gangster foreshadowed the secret police, how the Boris Karloff films showed the frenzied flight from reason, how the psychiatric vogue disclosed the deep sickness in the American soul. Sunnier political developments, however, might reveal that Bing Crosby really embodied the "basic" American fantasy. Dr. Kracauer, in short, has oversystematized his interpretations and omitted the elements which should be fundamental in any psychological analysis—the element of ambiguity.

Still he has written a challenging book. And he has looked at the films

themselves with a sensitive and discerning eye. Not the least part of the joy in reading "From Caligari to Hitler" lies in its evocation of vivid and happy memories long out of mind—the sardonic brilliance of "Die Dreigroschenoper," the tinkling charm of "Die Drei von der Tankstelle," the passionate good will of "Kameradschaft," the bitter sentimentality of "Der Blaue Engel," the neurotic intensities of "M." Sixty-four illustrations add substance to these memories.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Streamlining Congress

A TWENTIETH-CENTURY CONGRESS. By Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.

THE long-delayed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was only a promising beginning in the streamlining of a horse-and-buggy Congress. Representative Kefauver and Dr. Levin now present in a simple, readable, and comprehensive fashion the necessary next steps.

Their catalogue of overdue reforms is a long one—the strengthening of party responsibility, the installation of electric voting, the elimination of the filibuster, better liaison with and supervision of executive agencies, scrapping of the seniority rule in committee assignments, a regular question-answer period for Cabinet members, reducing

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By LOUIS M. HACKER

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the petty tasks of both Congress and its members; there are other concrete suggestions.

Congress and Congressmen suffer from too much work and too little time. And yet the solutions are relatively easy of accomplishment. At least 15 per cent of the meeting time of the House is consumed by roll calls which average about forty minutes each. Electrical voting, now practiced in eleven states, will eliminate this unnecessary drain of Congressional time and simultaneously end teller votes which allow Congressmen to vote in anonymity. Only stubborn inertia stands in the way.

Another 10 per cent of the five-hour daily sessions is used up in the relatively trivial bills for the District of Columbia. Home rule for the District will allow Congress to function as a national legislature. Representative Kefauver does not explain, however, that one reason for the refusal to allow District suffrage is fear of the Negro voters (28 per cent of the District population).

The average Congressman is similarly overburdened—but with non-legislative tasks. Eighty per cent of his time is spent in running errands for his constituents, interceding with executive agencies on their behalf. He has thus become a Washington representative rather than a member of Congress. Yet, these duties are important not only to insure his reelection but because without such help our immense and complex government will become a bureaucracy, inaccessible to the citizen.

An administrative assistant at \$8,000 a year has recently been provided for each Senator, but the House has hesitated to authorize similar aides because of a fear of misunderstanding by voters back home. When the House, however, selects its employees by a merit system, no one will begrudge the added expense.

Congress suffers from an inferiority complex in dealing with the sprawling executive branch, a neurosis which engenders suspicion, fear, and often hatred. The authors' remedy, however, of a fortnightly two-hour question-and-answer period, each session being devoted to one agency, would allow each department head less than two hours a year. The English practice of a daily period for written questions addressed

to any government official is more flexible and promises more informative and lively sessions. Thus interpellations could be held from 10 a.m. to noon, before the regular session began, with attendance voluntary. A veritable manual of procedure for determining what are fair questions already exists in the House of Commons practice.

Space does not permit further discussion of the book's many other suggestions, which deserve the widest circulation and study.

The authors' program for legislative reform should be pushed by all those concerned with strengthening democratic processes in America. Congress cannot hope to function in an atomic age unless its creaking machinery is modernized.

WILL MASLOW

"Into the Sun"

CONSIDER THE LILIES OF THE FIELD. By Erico Verissimo. Translated by Samuel Putnam. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

WITHIN the last few years two Latin American novels which won fame in their own countries have appeared in translation in the United States. The first was "Bay of Silence," by Edward Mallea of Argentina. The second is "Consider the Lilies," by Erico Verissimo of Brazil. Both were written before the war by men of a similar age who had spent their youthful years in Europe. Both deal with characters and problems in their respective homelands and show traces of European influence in their techniques. For North American readers the books shed light not only on the pre-war state of major fiction in the Southern capitals but on the differences of attitude in Argentina and Brazil.

Verissimo's novel, which was issued first in Porto Alegre in 1938 and has just been published here in a vigorous if uneven translation by Samuel Putnam, went through eight Portuguese editions in the first two years, and is said to have reached the 100,000 mark—a record in Brazilian publishing. It was translated almost immediately into Spanish, and its appearance in English is late. It is a love story with sociological overtones. Its hero is a bright boy named Eugenio Fontes, son of a poor tailor and a patient mother, who

grows up under the pressure and shame of poverty. He escapes from both by marrying one of those frigid heiresses with intellectual pretensions who seem to hold great fascination for Latin novelists.

Eugenio holds a degree in medicine, but his clinic is supported by his wealthy father-in-law, and his practice is a fashionable pretense. His marriage is outwardly brilliant, inwardly a sham. He makes a friend's wife his mistress as a means of consolation, and his own wife finds sadistic satisfaction in psychoanalytic dabbings. (The emphasis on intellectual pyrotechnics is marked in both books.) Suddenly a wise and saintly teacher to whom the young doctor had made love when they were both in school—and by whom he had had a child—sends for him on her death bed. The revulsion against false values which her death creates in him turns him back to his profession of medicine as a way of life. He breaks with wife, wealth, and mistress and sets about redeeming his soul by hard work among poor patients. The last sentence in the book, robbed of its classic implications in the English translation, bows to Ibsen and Echegaray with father and daughter going out "into the sun."

Eduardo Mallea's novel, reviewed in 1944 when the English version, much cut, appeared here, was also a love story, but of a different type, outwardly more sophisticated, inwardly more confused. The tale moved from Buenos Aires to Paris, Brussels, London, and by means of the misty stream-of-consciousness technique explored the hero's political attitudes as well as his spiritual longings. Very little happened outside the hero's mind, and what happened inside was more important in process than in result. Some saw in the author's passionate yearning for Argentinian self-assertion an incipient fascism, but that, too, was far from clear. From the artistic point of view the style pattern, lost in translation, was a more important achievement than the plot or the creation of character.

The Brazilian novel is hopeful, practical, constructive, sentimental. The Argentinian novel was confused, full of passion and frustration on a national as well as a personal plane. Indeed, the two attitudes and viewpoints seemed to merge, and therein lay the potential

danger. It is, of course, not fair to compare the two books as typical of the prevailing states of mind in the two countries from which they come, and due allowance must be made for events since they were written. Nevertheless, it cannot be overlooked that Verissimo's underprivileged, stemming from mixed European stock, saw the then looming conflict clearly, whereas Mallea's jejune intellectuals had far more difficulty getting their proportions straight.

To North American eyes in 1947 both novels have, in spite of competence and technical tricks, a slightly old-fashioned air. Partly this is because they reflect attitudes popular before the war here as there, and now forgotten. Partly it is due to a time lag which shows itself in many fields. Verissimo's reformed climber who finds peace in ministering to the poor is blood brother to the heroes of sociological novels popular here before 1920. His builder who sacrifices all for a skyscraper might still exist in a burgeoning city which has not yet achieved one but is still hopeful. Sinclair Lewis would have understood him. In this novel Verissimo presents the lure and the danger of United States ways—a menacing pull which both Brazilians and Argentinians feel.

MILDRED ADAMS

Economic Warfare

THE HIDDEN WEAPON. By David L. Gordon and Royden Dangerfield. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

A VALUABLE and interesting account of the varied aspects of economic warfare in World War II written by two men who served successively as chief of the Blockade Division of the Foreign Economic Administration. It deals not only with methods of enforcing the long-distance blockade of the Axis powers, but also with such matters as preclusive buying of useful materials in neutral markets, the black lists, financial controls, and the "safe-haven program," the purpose of which was to thwart the Nazis' efforts to salt down their loot in neutral countries. The authors report with regret that this program met with a somewhat limited success.

Economic warfare had its exciting and glamorous moments, but for the

most part it was a grinding job of research, statistics, and diplomacy. After Pearl Harbor the task of squeezing out the enemy's economic life became the joint responsibility of the United States and Britain. The authors give considerable space to the problems of collaboration between the two countries, most of which were successfully surmounted. The final chapters of the book provide a realistic evaluation of the effects of economic warfare and discuss briefly the possibility that the U. N. might use some of the same methods if it is ever called upon to enforce economic sanctions against an aggressor.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Life at the Metropole

OVER AT UNCLE JOE'S: MOSCOW AND ME. By Oriana Atkinson. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.

AN ANGRY sea is tossing between Moscow and Washington these days, and is bringing many things to rest on the beaches of Park Avenue and the Kremlin Prospect.

You lean back and relax under a hot July sun and reach out your toes in the contentment of a good stretch only to touch something hard and flat. It may be the memoirs of Joseph Davies's chauffeur, who learned about Moscow from the NKVD lads whom he kept supplied with *Amerikanski pappirosi*. Or it may be a sharp new play by Konstantin Simonov, discovering in a rather naive way some of the things which the king of the muckrakers exposed in "The Brass Check" many years ago.

Frankly, in the state of the world today you can name your poison in Moscow or Washington and let your stomach be your guide—there is something on the shelf for all tastes.

With this warning let us have a quick look at a volume by the wife of the former New York Times correspondent in Moscow, Brooks Atkinson. It is seldom that a book can boast not only a title but a subtitle which is so rewarding.

When Oriana Atkinson titled her book "Over at Uncle Joe's" she was obviously thinking of a place where you could get a quick one. When she subtitled it "Moscow and me" she seems, despite the modest capitalization, to have been thinking primarily of "me."

There is a unique pleasure in this book for anyone who has ever had the horror of living in the Metropole Hotel. In Oriana Atkinson one feels certain that that strange nemesis of Russo-American good-will, Jack Margolis, finally met his master. Many correspondents have retired from the Moscow battleground muttering in their beards about the Metropole and Margolis, manager of the Metropole menagerie.

Not so Oriana. She retired from the Metropole with battle flags flying. No one who has fought the battle of the Metropole, which is always the first and frequently the last battle of the foreign correspondent in Moscow, can fail to pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of this correspondent's wife. She stayed in there pitching against the impossible plumbing, the ridiculous service, the incredible conveniences right up to the moment of leaving Moscow. There is no doubt that Oriana won the Moscow oak leaf—with clusters. And any fair-minded person would be quick to agree that Bella Markovna, the fourth-floor room manager, deserves an equally conspicuous honor. There may be those who would give the highest honor to Bella. But that—as relations go these days—is a matter of face between Russia and America. The fact—and it may be the most important fact exposed in this book—is that before the time came for Oriana to quit Moscow she and Bella had arrived at a decent understanding. Each knew the limitations of the other. What was more important, each had some kind of inkling as to the social mores which lay behind their disagreements.

Probably the most encouraging thing about "Over at Uncle Joe's" is not its breezy title or subtle but its basic evidence that an American woman and

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HARRISON SALISBURY

Five Pieces by Rilke

FIVE PROSE PIECES. Translated by Carl Niemeyer from Volume Four of the "Gesammelte Werke" of Rainer Maria Rilke. The Cummington Press.

OF THESE prose pieces of Rainer Maria Rilke, the first is dated 1899, the last twenty years later; the other three are undated. No Rilke item is without interest, even those that derive from his silly side, which should be forgiven him, and forgotten, as soon as possible, but which instead endear him to the cults and lovers of the fancy-smancy. These five pieces testify, again, to a sensitivity which learned to outgrow the morbid, and a meditative insight which could make the pathetic fallacy look like the gospel truth. One of them is a sad little tale of a boy with a weak heart dying under the rigors of a gymnasium class in a military school; another a two- or three-page vignette about a man taking a walk with a dog;

the third, and the most interesting, an essay on dolls, of considerable symbolic power; the fourth, a description of the momentary intensification of a man's awareness of the world—"he had passed over to the other side of nature"; the fifth, an essay entitled *Primal Sound*, partly concerned with a physical experiment, partly with poetry in general, and how the poet should widen and fuse the various areas of sense perception.

The text is embellished, if that is the word, by several, too many, ugly and incongruous woodcuts by Wightman Williams. I do not think Rilke would have cared for these at all.

The Cummington Press has issued the collection. "Two hundred nineteen copies of this book," they say, "case-bound by the hand of Arno Werner, will be for sale 5 May, 1947, from the printers: 189 on Oxhead paper and in half-calf, at \$8.15; and 27, hand-colored on Tunbridge paper in half-pigskin, at \$16.20." Also, "From the woodblocks cut by Wightman Williams and types composed by Harry Duncan, 271 copies are by them printed and numbered as follows: 1 through 4, each with an original drawing tipped in, on Curfew paper, and vii through xxxvii on Tunbridge paper being col-

ored by hand, 1 through 203 on Van Gelder Oxhead paper, and 204 through 234, in wrappers, on various papers."

Without wishing either to glut the market or to offend the readers of *The Nation* with vulgar compliments on their purchasing power, the reviewer hereby states that he will refuse no reasonable offer for copy number 228.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Food, Food, Everywhere

TOMORROW'S FOOD. By James Rorty and N. Philip Norman. Prentice-Hall. \$3.50.

WHY in a land of plenty is there widespread malnutrition? Why in a world full of scientific knowledge regarding nutrition is there starvation? Why should millions of people be forced to subsist on the equivalent of 1,500 calories a day, or less, not to speak of inadequate variety and choice of food? These and other matters are discussed by Mr. Rorty and Dr. Norman in their book, which, though it is somewhat repetitious, is full of interesting material; and they come to the sensible conclusion that a good deal of poverty and malnutrition would disappear with more—much more—and wiser govern-

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ment control. They point to the TVA, the beacon directing all other efforts. They emphasize the remarkable fact that in England during the terrible war years the children were better fed, and therefore healthier, than during the years preceding World War II, because of control forced upon the government, which in turn sought the advice of nutritional experts—experts, not fakers.

But why must the authors in their eagerness to expose weaknesses also indulge in—as they appear to me—unwarranted attacks? What justification is there for criticizing the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council, a body which within the limits of its authority did a magnificent job?

The authors condemn—and correctly, in my opinion—many of the claims made by the various food advertising fraternities, but to some extent they themselves are also at fault when they indorse views which are open to doubt. For example, the relation of cholesterol to hardening of the arteries and the connection between the amount of sugar consumed and the development of a diabetic condition are not the proved "facts" which they are made to appear in this book.

But there remains much to praise in "Tomorrow's Food," particularly those portions of it which emphasize such matters as unnecessary waste and misleading advertisements.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Briefer Comment

GUAM AND ITS PEOPLE. By Laura Thompson. Princeton University Press. \$5.

THIS new and up-to-date edition of Miss Thompson's standard work on Guam, its history, culture, institutions, and current problems, is most timely. As readers of John Collier's recent article in *The Nation* will remember, the future of Guam now lies on the knees of Congress, which is called upon to decide whether its inhabitants are to be allowed self-government or are to remain under naval dictatorship. Let us hope that some members, at least, will read Miss Thompson's sober, detailed analysis of the fruits of naval rule. If they do they should have little difficulty

in making up their minds on how to vote.

HENRY THE NAVIGATOR. By Elaine Sanceau. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.50.

THE Infante D. Henrique of Portugal, who owes his well-known nickname to a nineteenth-century British biographer, straddled the gulf between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In the spirit of the first he crusaded against the Moors and wore a hair shirt; as a forerunner of the second he was the patron of astronomers and geographers, the promoter of explorations of the Atlantic islands and West Africa which paved the way for the discoveries of Vasco de Gama and Columbus. In this new account of his life and times, Miss Sanceau has mixed popularization and scholarship in acceptable proportions. But she should beware of a tendency to archness.

K. H.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT IS exceptional for Horowitz to play anything as simply—and I would say as well—as he does the Song Without Words Opus 62 No. 1, entitled "Sea Breezes," in his RCA Victor album of Mendelssohn's piano music (Set 1121; \$3.85). Normally it is impossible for him to start a phrase without beginning to fuss with it, to twist it, to do everything with it but let it take its natural course and shape. He could say I am judging by what are only my personal ideas of how a musical phrase should be played; and he would be right, except that those ideas are not something I dreamed up by myself: I got them from hearing phrases played by a long succession of musicians; and today they are largely what I have learned from my more recent and, I think, more perceptive listening to the greatest musician of all. Again Horowitz could question the adequacy of my ears when I listened; but it is easy enough for him to ask Toscanini how he would have his violins play the theme of Mendelssohn's Variations Serieuses, or Variation 14: I am sure it would not be in the mannered, torturing style of Horowitz's playing of them, but with

subtle inflection and easy, continuous flow.

Entirely apart from this is the extraordinary mastery of the piano which many people are excited by and confused into thinking mastery of the music. For them the set includes a performance of Horowitz's further pyrotechnical elaboration of a Liszt monstrosity—some variations on the Wedding March from the "Midsummer Night's Dream" music. The piano is excellently reproduced; but some of the surfaces in my set are noisy, and the side with the march wavers badly in pitch.

RCA Victor also offers some of Virgil Thomson's music for the film "The Plough That Broke the Plains"—all of it impressive in the way it is made and sounds, and two sections, "Cattle" and "Speculation," fine pieces of music by themselves, but the rest, I think, without sufficient interest in its own operations to be heard without the sequences in the films. Stokowski's performance with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra seems good and is beautifully reproduced (Set 1116; \$2.85).

One accepts the orchestrations of Chopin's piano pieces with the ballet "Les Sylphides," but without it they seem to me pointless; and in the RCA Victor set (1119; \$3.85) Fiedler's performances with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra are insensitively fast and not well reproduced—to say nothing of the insertion, between one statement of the A major Prelude at the end of side 3 and another at the beginning of side 5, of a piece that I have never heard and seen danced to in "Les Sylphides."

The remaining RCA Victor June release, Blitzstein's "The Airborne," I will discuss at a later time. Right now I prefer to report on the two recordings of Shostakovich's Ninth—one made for Victor by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1134; \$3.85), the other for Columbia by Kurtz with the New York Philharmonic (Set 688; \$5). This is the work in which Shostakovich, with the war's end as his justification,

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permitted himself to be gay, and elicited semi-official frowns for music without the affirmative, constructive attitudes the Russians consider proper in an artist working in a socialist society, the seriousness they consider proper in war-ravaged Russia today. Thus was the work found wanting from the Russian point of view about art; and I would say it is worthless from our own point of view. Its gaiety—expressed in an idiom whose melodic and harmonic distortion is heavily sardonic and parodistic in effect—is the ostentatiously exaggerated smart-Alec grimacing and buffoonery characteristic of Shostakovich; and what, on the records, is a slow movement with a straining distorted lyricism is not a slow movement at all. A musician who has seen the score tells me that the direction *Moderato* for the second movement is implemented by the metronome-marking 208 for the quarter-note, which establishes a moderato waltz tempo; but Koussevitzky exercises the privilege he claims of disregarding the composer's wishes and takes the movement slowly at 138, and Kurtz takes it even more slowly at 88, requiring an additional side (the second additional side, with only an inch or so of recording, is made necessary by the superfluous repetition of the exposition of the first movement). The New York orchestra plays well, the Boston with its greater beauty and refinement of sonority which is recorded with more richness and luster.

On a Victor set a few months ago I misread the opus number of a Brahms sonata for viola or clarinet and piano as 120 No. 2 instead of 120 No. 1; and in my review, therefore, I correlated my evaluation of the Victor performance and recording that I heard now with my evaluation of the performance and recording in the Columbia set of Opus 120 No. 2 that I had heard a year or so before (and that I no longer had in my possession to rehear). My failure to realize that I was listening to a different work this time—which a reader rightly has called me to account for—was due to the fact that, disliking the two works whenever I hear them, I have heard them only a very few times at intervals of many years and haven't retained them in my mind; and also to the fact that with all their differences in themes and structure they are similar in their Brahmsian thought, style, and mannerisms, so that listening to one I would hear things that I might think I had heard in the other a year before.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Protest for Isabelita

Dear Sirs: The following letter taken from the May 31 edition of the *New Statesman and Nation* may be of interest to your readers, on the heels of my piece, *Isabelita Has Lost Her Reason*, in your May 24 issue. Of the children about whom I wrote, these are the three who had been condemned to death,

Sir:—I am sure your readers will be interested to know that on May 6 last a telegram of protest against the proposed judicial murder of José Luis Cano, Juan Arranz Lafont, and Germán Sanz Esteban, was sent to the Spanish ambassador in London. The protest was signed by twenty-six members of Parliament.

(Signed) John Platts Mills,
House of Commons

Paris, June 14

KAY BOYLE

Illustrating Abrams

Dear Sirs: When a man pleads that he is the victim of injustice and proceeds to inflict injustice on his neighbor, his complaint is apt to be disregarded. The real-estate groups have spent many thousands of dollars in the past few years to persuade Congress and the American people that they are the victims of wrongful rent-control laws and, in this locality, that they are staggering under tax burdens which are a grossly inequitable distribution of liability. There is some truth in their claims, however much the language of martyrdom lessens the credibility of their case. Yet when a man like Harry Carskadon, head of one of the largest real-estate firms on the Monterey Peninsula, voices flagrantly undemocratic notions in the sacred interests of real estate, we begin to wonder how sinister a pressure group can be.

"Any attempt to move Negroes or Chinese into areas occupied by the white race will result in a *serious depreciation of property values*," according to Oberleutnant Carskadon. "Such social equalization is undesirable." This from an American, and a prominent one, is astounding. The depreciation he refers to will occur in the property we all own—democracy. And when, we may ask, are Negroes or Chinese not our equals in a democratic nation? Mr. Carskadon does not evidently mean the community when he refers to society—

he means the fashionable world of his own choosing, where a black tie and a bridge score are the criteria of social worth. "The only solution to the housing problem," he went on to say, "is segregation." Ghettos, perhaps, Mr. Carskadon? Or concentration camps? Or would Negroes in the vicinity constitute un-American activity?

Obviously, the organized real-estate groups as a whole cannot take the blame for Carskadon's utterances, however heartily many property-owners may secretly agree with him. Land does depreciate in value when colored people own it, for some strange reason. Perhaps as neighbors they constitute too much of a challenge to our beliefs in the Constitution we honor—and have fought for, on occasion—for us to remain in any comfort. So we move out, and democracy with us. But then real-estate men are not preachers and could hardly be expected to plead for the tolerance which might keep up the values of property in a democratic way. Buchenwald and Belsen are not so far from San Mateo.

MICHAEL DEMAREST

San Francisco, July 15

Preserving the Bloodstream

Dear Sirs: Relative to your editorial *Pass the Stratton Bill* (issue of June 7), the movement against it all over the country is just as definite as the propaganda in its favor to which you refer. [Extract from the editorial in question: "There is not a single argument that can decently be brought to bear against the bill—and the chairman of the House judiciary subcommittee has already discovered, to his annoyance, 'a very definite propaganda movement from all over the country' in its favor."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Our immigration laws were passed to preserve the *then* present bloodstream of the country and that is the balance we insist be kept—we need the skills of all peoples. Therefore the German quota must be filled by German people—not merely people *born* in Germany or there as D. P.'s.

America has always taken care of the needy and suffering throughout the world, and heaven knows we are doing it now in a wholesale manner; but we do not want, nor will we have, our

country swamped with—for want of a better name—refugees.

ANNETTE V. MARSHALL

Otsego, Michigan, July 13

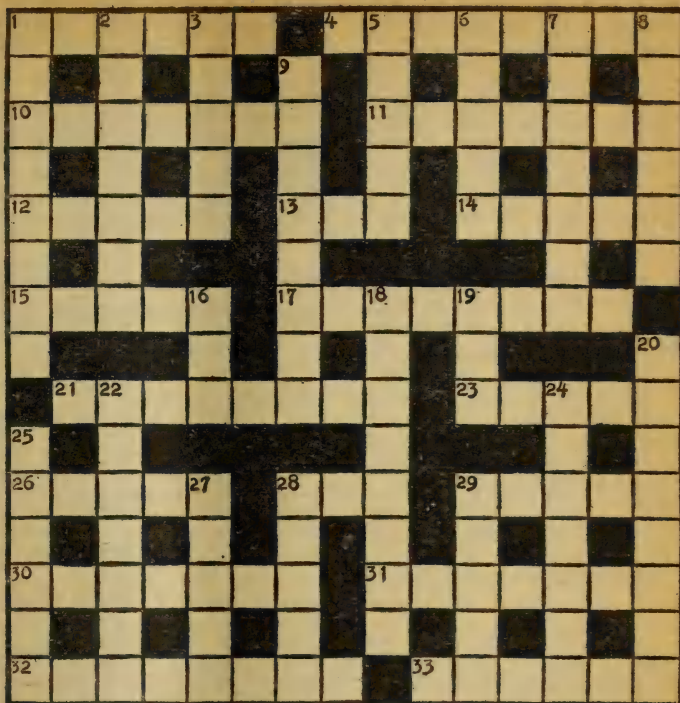
Saying It Better

Dear Sirs: J. M. Martinez of Miami reads an article in *The Nation* by Jacques Maritain and concludes that you are exhibiting "signs of decadence and senility." (Worse yet, he writes you to tell you so.) As I make him out, Mr. Martinez is unnerved by (a) the appearance of a Roman Catholic spokesman in your columns, and (b) the point of view that gives man's faith in God a very general precedence over man's faith in himself.

As to the first, it should be noted that M. Maritain is not only a Roman Catholic but also a theologian: the combination is as formidable, in a way, as that of the Marxist who has actually read Marx. Further, there are even more doctrinal extensions of Roman Catholicism than there are of Marxism—a fact somewhat obscured because Roman Catholics sustain only one Pope whereas Marxists sustain several, all infallible, all mutually exclusive, and all wielding truncheons of one sort or another. Aside from Spain and perhaps Argentina, Roman churchmen carry no truncheons so far as I know (I am not a Roman Catholic), figurative truncheons or any other kind. Yet it is quite as awkward an impropriety to lump them all together as it is to do likewise with Marxists. The comments one might apply to a Stalinist are not applicable to a Trotskyist; similarly, the comments one might apply to a Thomist are not applicable to an Augustinian.

And even as a Thomistic theologian M. Maritain is a very special case. He is admired by numerous Protestant theologians who admire no other Roman Catholic, he is admired by numerous Roman Catholics who admire no other rationalist, and he is admired by numerous rationalists who admire no other theologian. I daresay he is the best possible choice *The Nation's* editors could have made from the Roman Catholic phalanx. To align M. Maritain with the reactionary elements of Mother Church, as Mr. Martinez does, is to betray a somewhat primitive understanding of modern Christianity. For additional information Mr. Martinez is respectfully referred, among M. Maritain's published works, to "True Humanism" and "Religion in the Modern World."

It is easy enough to sympathize with



Crossword Puzzle No. 221

By MR. X.

ACROSS

- 1 Dimnet (the good abbé) can bow gracefully out of predicaments
- 4 It's detrimental to have led off with a stern pedant
- 10 Tea for two makes rhyme with reason
- 11 Cede tax was involved when forced to pay
- 12 GI is quick to get in a drink
- 13 French riposte
- 14 All the rail is on the track
- 15 Happening to die out at eventide
- 17 Conducted a systematic search for Dr. X. at the Pole
- 21 The el came in to vie for business when it was finished
- 23 'E returned to the fink, offering a cut
- 26 Trocadero performer rode out for an agent
- 28 I slip in short weight with acumen
- 29 Horse play on the beach
- 30 There's method in the madness of attics, see?
- 31 Lad rang with a rosy wreath
- 32 Seer returns about a veil and redresses
- 33 Make an entry in a paper

DOWN

- 1 A philosopher reacts so to questions.
- 2 I turn in in a regular route
- 3 Spills the beans and pules
- 5 Wake up! It is later than you think

- 6 Good for bread and wine
- 7 Explosive message by night rate
- 8 There's something odd in a baby's walk
- 9 Team sped in a panic
- 16 Money is given at the end
- 18 Ascendancy can be achieved, e.g., with a stripe
- 19 Heart of the British Navy
- 20 Washington: The ----- of his country—the founder of liberty, the friend of man . . .
- 22 Anything of vision in the Capitol?
- 24 Make it a sole affair
- 25 Sailing ship in the stream
- 27 The good part of salaries after you earn your salt
- 28 Sweat to change your waist
- 29 Red hot poker

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 220

ACROSS:—1 STRAW HAT; 6 RASH; 10 DONGA; 11 LAC; 12 GLOVE; 13 CATLAP; 16 CUCKOO; 17 TRUMPET; 18 MOLE; 20 ABBE; 22 ISOLATE; 23 NAME; 24 ENVY; 25 DISTURB; 27 FLAVIA; 29 YONDER; 31 LIKER; 33 EVA; 36 NUTTY; 37 SWIM; 38 FLATTERY.

DOWN:—2 TENET; 3 ARARAT; 4 HULK; 5 TICK; 8 RAGOUT; 7 SHOCK; 8 ODIC; 9 RECOVERY; 14 PRUSSIA; 15 EMULATE; 16 CENTURY; 18 MANIFOLD; 19 LAM; 21 BUN; 25 DIGRAM; 26 BONNET; 28 ASKEW; 30 DETER; 31 RAYS; 32 BEEF; 33 LAVA.

the second of Mr. Martinez's strictures, if not with the conclusion drawn from it. He writes: "Murder, hatred, poverty, exploitation, hunger, and injustice—that is what millions and millions of people who had plenty of faith in God have obtained for thousands of years." This has been said better, curiously enough, by professing Christians. Some months ago, for instance, the Reverend J. D. Townsend of the Providence (Rhode Island, that is) Methodist Tabernacle developed the same theme with a scourging bitterness in *Zion's Herald*, a Methodist weekly printed in Boston. Here is a memorable line from that clergyman's testimony: "The story of Christianity is an almost unbroken chronicle of warfare." And just recently the executive committee of the General Conference of the Seventh Day Adventist Church (take a breath, more coming) addressed a remarkable document to the Commission on Human Rights of the U. N. Economic and Social Council. It is an eloquent plea for an internationally mandated religious freedom, for the principle of religion unharnessed to the state or to the civil code—in short, for the "free church" institutions (I am not of that persuasion either, by the way). Elaborating on Dr. Townsend's theme, this document itemizes precisely ten great wars in which an "established" or state religion played either a direct or a tributary role. Last item: the Russian Revolution (Greek Orthodox Church).

There are any number of ways to assess this melancholy material, and all of them take more elbow-room than *The Nation* can make available to its kibitzers. But I might mention one way that may interest Mr. Martinez, soliciting merely his attention, not his concurrence, *The Nation's* contributing editor, Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, is one of a group of contemporary theologians preoccupied with a channel of thought sometimes called "neo-orthodoxy," which lays much stress on man's depravity. ("We are dead in trespasses and sin," said St. Paul.) The doctrine of total depravity is considerably at variance with Mr. Martinez's "faith in himself and faith in man," but it is perhaps somewhat more useful in explaining man's history. As a matter of fact, it brings us right up to the atom bomb, bacteriological warfare, and that other weapon so horrendous that it remains the War Department's peace-time secret.

MAYNARD KNISKERN

Springfield, Ohio, July 11

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NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

WORKING OUR PASSAGE TO THE NEW WORLD roughly charted by the Paris Economic Conference is likely to prove more complicated than some of America's foreign-policy experts anticipated. The members of the Cooperation Committee had scarcely taken their seats, when the British and French opened fire on the American proposals for Germany. The Labor government fears that Washington's intention is to convert the Western zone into a kind of gigantic American trust. French Ambassador Bonnet spent all of last week trying to convince the State Department that nothing "should be done in Germany at the expense of the security of France and its other neighbors." In the face of this preliminary skirmish within the Western bloc, Washington has yielded ground slightly and proposed two new conferences, one between the United States and Britain on coal and the Ruhr, the other between these two countries and France at which the whole problem of German industry will be reviewed. Unfortunately, Britain, too, has retreated. By yielding to Washington's insistence upon a separate conference on coal, London will find itself under intense pressure to abandon the Socialist program in the British zone; and if a breach is opened in Labor's nationalization plan, the British government is likely to see its work of the past two years wiped out. It is even more difficult for the French to accept the American plan for German recovery. Should M. Bidault yield on the crucial issue of the Ruhr, the French Communists will have a powerful weapon in the October municipal elections. Belated realization of this fact in Washington has held up the plan, but Secretary Marshall should be wary of attributing French opposition to Communist pressure. That pressure is dangerous precisely because the fear of revived German industrial power is universal in France.

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THE TRAGIC FATE OF *EXODUS 1947* IS WORTH studying for the light it throws on the story of Jewish Palestine itself in this year of wrath. The old ship, crowded with 4,500 refugees, was rammed by British destroyers and boarded by fifty sailors who were fiercely resisted by passengers and crew. The attack was made outside territorial waters. Three Jews were killed, including an American, William Bernstein of Los Angeles. The *Exodus 1947* arrived in Haifa under its own power,

and its exhausted and battered company were quickly shunted onto vessels usually used to ferry immigrants to Cyprus. This time, the vessels headed not for Cyprus but for France, the country from which the *Exodus 1947* had set sail. Immediately this became known in Palestine, acts of terror multiplied and tension became explosive. The Jewish Agency attacked the government angrily for the brutality of its action. The government blamed those who advised the immigrants to resist and imposed a dusk-to-dawn house arrest of 90,000 Jerusalem Jews. Several Zionist groups in the United States denounced the British and demanded that the State Department act. The statement of the Zionist Emergency Council made a special point of Britain's violation of freedom of the seas. The State Department took no measures. Here in one episode we find compressed the chief ingredients of Palestine's tragedy: the fierce determination of Europe's Jews to fight their way, if necessary, to the promised homeland; British determination to turn back the stream of immigration even by violence and illegality when other means fail and to force the European nations to check the stream at its various sources; the growing reluctance of our own government to bring pressure on Britain, in spite of strong public feeling. By good luck, two members of the United Nations Committee on Palestine were on hand in Haifa to witness the incident. It is to be hoped that they carried its grim lesson with them to Geneva as evidence of the bitter dialectics of repression and terror that now rule Palestine. They should have the story of *Exodus 1947* in mind as they compile their report.

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IF REASON RULED INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, the United Nations Balkan dispute would have been settled long ago. Since power has replaced reason, the row goes on, endlessly, with Russia joining its Balkan satellites in rejecting the whole plan of a border commission and the United States fiercely denouncing Greece's neighbors as a "menace to the peace." Several delegates from smaller or more disinterested states, notably Dr. Alfonso Lopez of Colombia, have been pleading for a decision aimed at promoting good relations rather than fixing blame for past offenses. Without challenging the findings of the U.N. commission

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against the three border states, they have urged in the Security Council a solution which would remove the immediate causes of friction on both sides of the Greek frontier, and provide protection equally for all parties to the dispute. These efforts have foundered on the rock of Russian intransigence. Whether they might have succeeded if the American delegate had adopted a less violent and partisan attitude, no one will ever know. But his language certainly ended any chance of persuading the Slav states that a border commission might perform a job of unbiased observation or conciliation. Gromyko has attacked the American proposal on legal grounds as a violation of the Charter, and the debate has assumed the nature of a filibuster. We believe it will end in a Russian veto and a submission of the question to the Assembly. Meanwhile, the fighting in Greece goes on and assumes more and more the character of a general civil war with each side backed, physically and politically, by one of two hostile Great Powers.

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THE ASSASSINATION OF U AUNG SAN AND most of his colleagues in the Burmese interim government came as Burma was taking its last steps toward complete independence. On June 16, the Constituent Assembly had proclaimed a sovereign, independent republic; in October, the British government will introduce legislation in the House of Commons providing for the formal separation of Burma from the British Commonwealth. Thus Burma will be the first nation to follow the United States in winning complete independence from Britain. It is tragic that so historic a change should be marred by an outbreak of political murder. But the country is in an extremely disturbed condition and may well suffer from more violence before achieving stability. In the elections for the Constituent Assembly, Aung San's Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League, which is nationalist and Socialist, captured almost all the seats. It was too overwhelming a victory to be healthy, for, while the league is undoubtedly supported by the majority of Burmese, there are other political groups which cannot be ignored. Outstanding among these are the Communist Party, which practically controls the province of Arakan, and the ultra-nationalist Myochit Party headed by U Saw, former premier. Immediately after the assassination, there were suggestions of Communist complicity, but no supporting evidence has appeared. On the other hand, U Saw and a number of his followers have been arrested and a large arms cache uncovered at his residence. Such a find, however, is no proof of guilt; unfortunately, all the Burmese parties maintain private armies. That is one of the enormous difficulties faced by the new government. Fortunately, the young leaders of the Peoples' League have brains, courage, and self-confidence. They will need all these qualities in establishing their newly won independence on a firm basis.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS—which might be more accurately described as the House Committee on False Economies—has been given an object lesson on the results of its policies. Last month, the Taber group eliminated all Interior Department funds for fire control in Alaska, "it being the opinion of this committee that such fire protection is not justified." The ink of this prophetic language was barely dry before one of the most devastating fires in the Territory's history began to gut 500,000 acres of valuable timber on the Kenai Peninsula. Without funds, the fire-control system could send no organized force to combat the blaze. The fire still burns, and millions of dollars of tree and forage have been reduced to embers on the altar of Congressional "economy."

Freud Is Unfair...

THE quarrel between Monsignor Sheen and the psychoanalysts reminds us of a jurisdictional dispute between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., with Monsignor Sheen in the role, say, of William Hutcheson of the Carpenters Union. It all began when Monsignor Sheen delivered a sermon at St. Patrick's Cathedral in March on Psychoanalysis and Confession. According to the report of the sermon in the New York *Times*, Monsignor Sheen attacked psychoanalysis in general and what he called Freudian psychoanalysis in particular. He said it was a form of escapism that produced "morbidly and disintegration." In confession, on the contrary, "there is no morbidity. You don't look so much on your sins as you look upon your Savior." Whereas psychoanalysis gives no norms or standards, "confession gives you the standard of Christ, the perfect personality." It was a rather good sales talk, except that the Monsignor went on, in what seems to us a rather morbid vein, to call transference, one of the processes used in psychoanalysis, "the transfer of affection to the analyst," and said that it "is only used when a patient is a young and very beautiful woman"—which reminds us of nothing so much as the vulgar charge of anti-Catholic bigots that there is sometimes a "transfer of affection" in the confessional. Sheen added that Freudian psychoanalysis is based on "materialism, hedonism, infantilism, and eroticism."

A number of Catholic psychiatrists took exception to Monsignor Sheen's fundamentalist remarks. And one of them, Dr. Frank Curran, finally resigned as chief psychiatrist at St. Vincent's Hospital because the Archdiocese of New York had not disowned Sheen's attack on a science which is extensively used in Catholic institutions. (Since his resignation, the Archdiocese has explained archly that it has no jurisdiction over Monsignor Sheen, who hails from the Diocese of Peoria, Illinois.) Meanwhile, psychoanalysts, Catholic and non-Catholic, among them Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie, had

offered a point-by-point rebuttal of Sheen's attack and asked for a clearer statement of his views—but in vain.

In the middle of June, Monsignor Sheen told Albert Deutsch of *PM*, in a remarkable interview, that the newspapers had misquoted him, but that he hadn't bothered to send in corrections because he never read the newspapers! Finally, however, he condescended to write a letter to the *Times* which was printed on July 21. In this letter, he said that the *Times* had misquoted his sermon and that he had not attacked psychiatry or psychoanalysis in general, but only "Freudian psychoanalysis." He even remembered, in July, that the first paragraph of his sermon in March, which he quoted, had made this specifically clear. This is noteworthy, because when Dr. Kubie had asked for a copy of the sermon two days after its delivery, he was told that "There are never any written copies made of any of my sermons." As Dr. Kubie remarked, it shows a miraculous memory. Having thus backed up and filled in, the prelate of Peoria tried to obscure the whole maneuver by a burst of irrelevant humor.

Obviously, Monsignor Hutcheson—we mean Sheen—is opposed to the psychoanalytical method because it competes, in his view, with the confessional, a tool which that venerable craft union, the Catholic Church, discovered and patented many years ago.

Congress, Late and Lamentable

IT IS difficult to find any field of legislative activity in which the record of the first session of the Eightieth Congress was not dreadful. It poisoned whatever it touched, and what it did not touch, it murdered by that very negligence.

Setting aside, for the moment, the question of what social aims and legislative goals are desirable, and considering only the efficiency of Congress in achieving the goals which it set for itself, the conclusion is the same. The G. O. P. leadership announced its three-point program for this session to be labor legislation, budget reduction, and tax cuts. On the first, it wrote a bill which is self-defeating, whatever the merits or demerits of its stated or hidden objectives. The Taft-Hartley act is administratively unworkable. As for budget reduction, the sky will be the limit on Republican claims, but only those legislators who are shamelessly mendacious will try to argue that they accomplished a curtailment of as much as \$3 billion below Mr. Truman's request. Actually, when a whole host of phoney reductions are washed out, the true reduction will be between \$1½ and \$2 billions—a ludicrous figure compared to the House's noisy promise of a \$6 billion cut and the Senate's self-righteous goal of \$4½ billions. Such reductions as there were,

it may be noted, were precisely in those federal activities where cuts were most damaging to useful government. On tax reduction, the claim will be made that Mr. Truman is the villain responsible for blighting the G. O. P. promise. The truth is that it would be hard to conceive of any plan for tax reduction as grossly inequitable, uneconomic, and downright deceitful as the twice-proposed monstrosity which the President vetoed. Much as he might have objected to tax reduction at this time, he probably would not have vetoed an honest bill.

The Eightieth Congress's sins of omission are entirely too many to be catalogued here. They reflect a hell-for-leather drive backwards, toward a normalcy which Warren G. Harding himself could scarcely have stomached. The minimum wage was left at 40 cents an hour; social-security coverage was not expanded; the housing bill was left rotting on the vine; so also was legislation for federal aid to education, a new department for health and welfare, river-valley development, health insurance, and F. E. P. C.

Whenever the Congress did put its finger into domestic-welfare subjects, it traced the curve of reaction. On the pretext of correcting portal-to-portal inequities, already a dead issue by court decision, the Congress ravished both the provisions and the enforcement of previous wage-hour and fair-labor-standards laws. In a distinguished burst of meretriciousness, it professed to extend rent control while cutting out its heart. It completely, almost boastfully (and in utter violation of its own laws), ignored the economic reports sent to it by Mr. Truman and his Council of Economic Advisors.

It purported to be liberal-minded in authorizing this nation's joining the International Refugee Organization, but it refused to pass legislation making that action effective by a temporary amendment of the quota laws to permit entry of displaced persons.

The House failed in its effort to enact a bill of at-tainder by denying funds to director Edgar G. Warren of the Conciliation Service, but only because the passage of the labor bill abolished that job and made the issue academic. The House had better luck, however, in its Un-American activities. Those of J. Parnell Thomas, Rankin, Rees, and others are making A. Mitchell Palmer look like a very restrained fellow.

In the matter of appointments, the Senate kept an even pace in viciousness with the House. The obscene fight against Lilienthal by McKellar, Bricker, and Taft needs no recalling. In addition, there was Vandenberg's refusal to let his Foreign Relations Committee consider the nomination of Francis Biddle as American delegate to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; the four-months' harassment of Gordon Clapp, nominated to be TVA head; Ferguson's six-month refusal to permit Philip Perlman to become Solicitor General. The only vestige of malfeasance of all of these nominees was previous association with the Democratic Party—an act

which, as Leon Henderson points out, has created an entirely new category of Grade B citizens. Fortunately, in three out of these four cases, a majority vote for confirmation made some atonement for the disreputable performance of the Senate diehards. Possibly, when measured in absolute terms, and certainly, when compared to Congress, the Administration has appeared in a favorable light during the last seven months. Mr. Truman's appointments have recently been far superior to those he was making in the days of the Missouri gang. After scuttling Wyatt and the housing program last year, his economic and social thinking has taken a heartening turn for the better. In foreign affairs, he has been at least no more benighted than the Congress, and on the matter of labor proposals there is no comparison at all.

Optimists in Washington have hope that some of the improvement in the Administration will continue, and that the next legislative session will not be so gruesome—the theory being that the first session is the worst session. Pessimists, who are in larger number, see the second session as even more fearsome, on the somewhat more logical grounds that legislative reason diminishes as the election date draws nearer. They also prophesy that in the early 1950's we will look back with regret to the intelligent days of the Eightieth Congress.

Hiroshima Deathday

HIROSHIMA is much tidier today. Much of the rubble is cleared away. The dust is settled. There are even a number of children who can't remember that day two years ago when a passing American plane dropped a bomb that killed a hundred thousand people.

The pillar of fire and whirling vapor that rose above Hiroshima to forty thousand feet was to have led the human race out of the wilderness of war into the green pastures of peace. That is what we said, trying to rationalize the destruction we had let loose on earth. One world or none. Modern man is obsolete. "The good news of damnation," said Hutchins of Chicago, quoting the French philosopher Leon Bloy, "doubtless on the theory that none of us would be Christians if we were not afraid of perpetual hell-fire."

We've got over that first blinding revelation, that foretaste of world death. War books don't sell any more, the publishers say. "Atomic" will sell if it's a name on perfume or lipstick, but Selig Hecht has been off the best seller list for weeks. The United Nations is very poor copy, the newspapers say: even the Atomic Energy Commission. Atomic scientists, who, knowing the score, led the first crusade against world suicide, are no longer in the headlines unless, like Condon, they are maliciously libeled as "reds" by the Thomas committee. We've got used to the idea of two worlds. We're getting used to the idea that away off ahead—ten years

ahead, perhaps,—there's a war with Russia. We don't quite say "atomic war" and tests of supersonic planes, radar controlled, make interesting reading—but not as interesting as the team standings in the National League with the Dodgers seven full games ahead of the Cards.

Of course, we've been busy in these two years since Hiroshima. And it has not all been wasted effort—not quite all. Some unaccountable horse sense led the Eightieth Congress to put to flight McKellar and his fellow Philistines and establish David Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission. Some superhuman patience holds the United Nations atomic group to their labors, so that after fourteen months they can report reaching a qualified agreement that atomic energy must be internationally controlled. And the ticking seconds on the stop-watch have speeded the efforts of the World Federalists, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists around Einstein, and the World Constitution group around Hutchins.

But for most men, Hiroshima was just a bright blinding light that went out. Probably most men are obsolete. World Government, United Nations, One World, Peace are unreal terms. National Sovereignty, National Honor, Russia, War, these spell reality. As the obsolete George Sokolsky—rebuking Einstein—puts it so well: "Most Americans are narrow nationalists and atom splitting has not changed them at all. We have the atom bomb. For better or for worse we mean to keep it."

The Emergency World's People's Congress suggests three minutes of silent thought or prayer on Hiroshima Day. They suggest, "There are many things we might think about during this fateful pause: The collective responsibility of mankind for the long history of war, of which Hiroshima was the logical climax. The duty of all the world's people to mobilize for peace before they are again called upon to mobilize for war. . . ." It took just about three minutes for the bomb to fall on Hiroshima.

Warning All Scientists

BY LEONARD ENGEL

TWO weeks ago, the Washington *Times-Herald* carried a front-page attack on Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the Bureau of Standards, which, even by the *Times-Herald's* own low standards, was a cheap, mean, and dishonest piece of journalism. By unmistakable implication, Condon was accused of Communist sympathies.

My first inclination was to laugh. I know something about Condon, and he is rather less of a Communist than his boss, Secretary of Commerce Harriman. However, the *Times-Herald* attack is only the latest act in a well-planned campaign to tar Condon, a top-ranking scientist, and thus to discredit civilian scientists generally, so that scientific research (especially in the field of atomic energy) can be turned back to the army. The campaign will continue unless the ugly individuals and forces behind it are brought to light and given a thorough scrubbing with lye soap.

The story of the extraordinary campaign against Condon begins with a visit to him by two Un-American Activities Committee investigators last March. They were after—and obtained freely—a copy of a letter mentioning Condon's name in connection with the solicitation of members for the American-Soviet Science Society. The latter, of whose board of directors Condon is a member, is an agency set up chiefly to furnish American research workers with translations of Russian scientific papers, a service several industrial firms now go to great expense to provide for themselves.

Though the society now has no connection with any pro-Soviet organization whatever, though it is to operate on Rockefeller Foundation funds, Representative Thomas of the Un-American Activities Committee appears to have recoiled in fake horror when he saw the letter. Imagine, a government scientist connected with an agency that wants to make it easier for Americans to keep up with what Russian scientists are working on! At any rate, a grossly distorted account of the society and of Condon's link with it appeared in an article by Thomas in the *American Magazine* for June. Condon was also attacked, though not by name, in an article by Thomas in the June 21 issue of *Liberty*.

The caliber of the Thomas pieces and the *Times-Herald* article may be judged from the fact that, in one, Thomas or his ghost-writer identifies the Bureau of Standards as an agency for testing patents (this will be news to the Patent Office) and, in the *Times-Herald*, Condon's first name is given incorrectly as Albert. Besides membership in the American-Soviet Science Society, the three articles charge him with the following sinister delinquencies:

Association with that "red" organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Condon once served, along with several other "respectables," as sponsor of a local Southern Conference dinner);

Having a foreign-born wife who expressed a pro-Soviet opinion at a Washington dinner party (she was born in Chicago and didn't express such an opinion);

Reluctance to appear before the Thomas Committee (he has never been invited to testify);

Trying to sneak off to Moscow to spill atom bomb secrets (he was nominated by American scientific organizations as a delegate to the jubilee of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., two years ago).

About the only word of truth in these allegations is that Condon is a leading atomic scientist. That he is. Although he is barely 45, he already has a distinguished career behind him.

A bulky individual with a quiet, low-pitched voice, a quick smile, curly black hair, and a pipe, Condon comes from the West—everywhere West. He was born at Alamogordo, New Mexico, scene of the first A-bomb test. His father was a railroad construction engineer, so young Condon had lived in fourteen different towns and gone to fourteen different schools by the time he entered the University of California in 1921.

When Condon entered California, his interest lay in astronomy. But he soon switched to physics and he is best known among scientists for his contributions in a peculiarly difficult branch of physics, quantum mechanics. Quantum theory, a cornerstone of the atomic age, is equal in importance to Einstein's theories of relativity. It holds that radiation is discontinuous in nature. Condon played a leading part in working out the mathematics of quantum theory and applying it to atomic systems. A large chunk of the theoretical knowledge that went into the atom bomb has Condon's name on it.

Condon did most of this work as a research fellow at Göttingen and Munich, a lecturer at Columbia, and a professor at Princeton and the University of Minnesota. In 1937, he went to the Westinghouse Research Laboratories where, as associate director, he pursued studies with Westinghouse's Van de Graaff generator, the first industry-operated atom smasher and a type of machine as important and costly as the more widely known cyclotron. Three years later, when the whole Allied world suddenly found itself demanding a thousand kinds of radar equipment at once, Condon was put in charge of Westinghouse radar research.

In 1941, Condon was called to serve on two of the most important policy-making organizations set up during the war. One was a committee to explore the feasibility of rocket warfare; it was this committee's recommendation that gave birth to the fabulous Caltech rocket center. The other was the National Defense Research Council's famous S-1 Committees, which had supervision of the early work on uranium fission and made the fateful determination that atomic explosives were a practical possibility. Later, Condon was released from radar work to participate actively in A-bomb research. At Los Alamos, he wrote the "Los Alamos Primer" for new A-bomb researchers; and at Berkeley, he was a leader of the Westinghouse-University of California team that de-

veloped the electromagnetic process for replacing uranium isotopes.

Condon returned to Westinghouse's Pittsburgh laboratories early in 1945, but he didn't remain there long. That fall, Senator McMahon, chairman of the Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, asked a score of the nation's leading scientists to nominate a man for the post of scientific adviser to his committee. Their unanimous choice was Condon, who had also just been elected president of the American Physical Society (one of the youngest in the society's history, by the way). At the same time, at the suggestion of Commerce Secretary Henry Wallace, President Truman appointed Condon director of the Bureau of Standards. Condon was, incidentally, one of the few important Truman appointees to be confirmed by the Senate unanimously.

That brings me to the question of the motives of Condon's detractors. Why are they so anxious to get rid of a man of such obvious attainments and distinction? One factor is the circumstance of his appointment having been suggested by Wallace. To some perverted individuals, a Wallace endorsement is proof that a man is a red of deepest dye. The odd part of it is that, in this instance, Wallace's recommendation involved no political considerations at all. Condon was chosen—this was at a time when Wallace was trying to bring about a rapprochement between industry and the Department of Commerce—because of his industrial laboratory experience. Wallace believed that the Bureau of Standards should be of direct service to industry and he picked the best industrial scientist he could find.

Red-baiting attacks on Wallace appointees are, of course, simply a device for driving New Dealers out of Washington. However, in the case of Condon, there is much more involved. In one respect, Condon is a New Dealer—he stands for public honesty on a vital question that has received all too little attention in the last two years. The bulk of the financing for scientific research now comes from government sources. So the question arises, who owns the resulting patents? Condon is on record as believing that the public should own them, a position directly opposite to that taken by most industrial corporations.

I don't believe that any industry representatives are taking a direct part in the campaign against Condon. But one does know this: industry considers people with views like Condon's highly undesirable and is happy to see them driven out of Washington. If industry really disapproved of the attacks on Condon, it would silence Thomas in a second.

A more important factor is the campaign to turn atomic energy back to the army, a campaign in which Thomas is playing a loud, if incoherent and raucous, part. The give-the-atom-back-to-the-army drive has a complex of origins. One is the widespread—and falla-

cious—belief that atomic energy is primarily a weapon and therefore belongs under military control. Another is the ceaseless effort of politically ambitious army officers, like General Groves, to extend their political influence; they understand atomic energy's future importance full well. Finally, a major segment of industry is hostile to peacetime application of atomic energy, for fear it will bring an industrial revolution that will shear monopoly of its power; these representatives of industry believe that army control will delay non-military atomic energy development and so safeguard their position.

If the attack on Condon succeeds, no civilian scientist will be safe. For a Thomas that lies and invents and distorts about a Condon will not hesitate to do the same to any other scientist. Nor are nuclear physicists the only

scientists threatened. For, as the last war showed, every field of science has important military applications. If atomic energy returns to the army, with it will inevitably go chemistry, geology, biology, medicine.

As Dr. Frank B. Jewett, former president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories and of the National Academy of Sciences, wrote George W. Merck, the pharmaceutical manufacturer and treasurer of the New Jersey Republican party, "It's high time Thomas stopped his Un-American activities." Civilian control of atomic energy was voted by an overwhelming majority of Congress, after the most thorough discussion. Thomas would do well to observe the law for a change, both the law of Congress and, by halting his attacks on Condon, the law of common decency.

Our Blunder in Korea

BY ROGER N. BALDWIN

UNLESS American policy undergoes a change in southern Korea, we are probably going to deliver another country into the waiting arms of the Soviet Union. Thirty million Koreans have been liberated from the Japanese after forty years of subjection, only to suffer a ruinous division at the hands of their liberators. What Koreans passionately desire is unity. But the prospects are: further disunity or final subjection to the Soviets. The present Joint Commission appears stymied by Russia's determination to have a "friendly country" on its borders. A friendly country, on the basis of past experience, means one under Russian control. Hence, every possible effort has been made by the Russians and the Korean Communists to Sovietize their northern half of Korea, and to increase Soviet influence in the southern half.

This latter effort is gaining, not so much through Russian aid and Korean penetration, as through the blind and naive policies of the United States, and the extremism of the Korean anti-Communists. A few days' conversation with Americans and Koreans here makes that fact painfully clear.

It may be said that any observer who has spent only two weeks in Korea, as I did, is hardly competent to analyze the Korean drama, and it may further be contended that one who was denied permission, as I was, to visit northern Korea, cannot set forth the conditions necessary to unity. But the problems of democratic-Com-

munist conflict have a universal character, modified only by local conditions. I met all the leaders in the Military Government, and in the parties of the left and right, as well as a host of Korean officials, intellectuals, students, and lawyers. The conclusions I express have currency in all these circles. No one likes our present policy, nor the prospects it engenders.

Our policy rests on the assumption that the southern Koreans should run their own affairs. But its first implementation, oddly enough, was our establishment of an interim puppet government—legislature, courts, administrators, and police. We appointed all its officials, excepting half of the legislature, which was chosen in what passed for an election, improvised by the military.

That legislature has just now set an election for around September 1, under United States supervision. The puppet government will go out and Koreans will, for the first time in all their centuries of history, have experienced real universal suffrage. The new officials will exercise regional authority until Korea is united. Their government will thus be another form of interim rule. It will doubtless be subject to some control by the United States, for it is hardly conceivable that we will withdraw our armed forces from southern Korea until the impasse with Russia is resolved. None but a pro-Soviet government would desire such a withdrawal on our part. And our commitment to the trusteeship principle indicates the likelihood of some limitation of the sovereignty of the temporary government, no matter how unpalatable that may be to the government itself.

Military rule in a liberated country is rather an anomaly at best, but beyond that, we have poorly prepared southern Korea for independence. We created a govern-

ROGER N. BALDWIN, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has just returned from a trip to American-occupied Japan and southern Korea.

ment by fiat and we gave it office without power. We reserved the right to remove any appointee and to annul any legislative or official act. We made law by issuing orders, without consulting the legislature. At the same time, we blandly held that we were engaged in a process of "Koreanization," and we urged the Koreans to go ahead and run things—while we held the strings. We thus created, naturally enough, an atmosphere of confusion and distrust, in which the puppet government suffered from schizophrenia, a high turn-over rate, and bitter public criticism of its members. In this atmosphere, no strong democratic system could possibly develop or offer an alternative to the Communist appeal.

Finally, as if to insure the success of the Soviet siren song, we have been party to a Korean police state, bitterly resented by all but extreme rightists. Suppression breeds Communists. That lesson is learned only at high cost, and we have not yet learned it. The national police administration which we foster is run by anti-Communists, terrorists of the right, and police officers trained largely in Japanese methods. The latter still operate under Japanese law. We hold in prison thousands of men convicted by our American provost courts—which are no courts at all, in a legal sense—for "offenses against the occupation." Some such offenses: "Attending, organizing, or acting as an officer at an unauthorized meeting; uttering speech, or words, or singing a song hostile to the United States, the armed forces, or the Military Government; sending a communication detrimental or disrespectful to the United States, or failing to report its receipt; sending an uncensored message, or a letter outside the mails."

These are provost-court offenses, taken from the manual—and in a liberated country. Penalty for committing them may be five years in jail. Most of the prisoners so held are, ostensibly, leftists. Are they "disrespectful to the United States" when they strike or hold unauthorized meetings? The Seoul press reports that 70 per cent of the provost-court prisoners are involved in strike cases. In May, I found a thousand of them isolated in one prison, and kept in total idleness on the excuse that "they did not want to work." Their friends told me it was an additional punishment for carrying on propaganda in prison.

Of course, leftists—like rightists—are guilty of terrorism. Of course, there has been violence in strikes. Of course, the police have been attacked. But such truths do not warrant this wholesale policy of suppression; a suppression which forces many non-Communists to flee to the north in desperation, which causes liberal political leaders to find new quarters every night for fear of the police or of gangs, and which caused the chairman of the legislature, an American appointee, to retire to the United States hospital, ten miles out in the country, because he was "politically ill." I found him there, having

his temperature taken, and I would not be surprised if it were high, considering the risks he said he ran. And this man, damned by the right as a Communist, is a staunch middle-of-the-roader, a Princeton graduate, and chairman of the abortive Coalition Committee selected by the Military Government itself.

Only extremes are tolerated in Korea. You are either pro-Soviet or rightist. If you happen, actually, to be a liberal, if you feel that the pro-Japanese collaborators must be purged, that the police must be removed from politics, that unions should have freedom to strike, and that northern and southern Korea must be reconciled—then you are a Communist. You are safe in applauding a Korean who wins the Boston Marathon; and about there you stop. You can't even promote a program of "left" music at a Korean Symphony concert. The musicians have already been threatened by gangsters invading their concert hall.

The right is not without its fears. I found the homes of the two elder statesmen of Independence in Exile guarded day and night by Korean police. The police are fearful, too. Throughout the country, they cluster in their booths, always two or more together; the chiefs of police drive about in guarded cars. They have good reason. Some police have been killed by goaded leftists. Then rightist gangs help the police against the left, and the war is on.

I have no doubt that, under present conditions, civil war would break out in southern Korea if the occupying forces pulled out. That is the belief of high military officials. The civil war would, of course, expand throughout Korea if the Russians left, too. An embryonic civil war is taking place at this moment, in the south. And we Americans tolerate it, to a degree, as an affair between Koreans, a necessary family row, only incidental to our Koreanization program. We save our heavy hand for strikes and criticism of the occupation, and we apply it by universal censorship of meetings, the mails, and communications. To our credit be it noted that we have ended the practise of advance censorship of the press—but only after having suppressed three leftist newspapers.

OUT of the present chaos of southern Korea, three conclusions emerge: first, that we have offered no constructive demonstration of democracy for its own sake as a counter-lure to communism; second, that by nurturing the police state we drive moderates into the Communist camp; third, that our Koreanization policy has created such division and irresponsibility among Koreans and Americans as to be dangerous to our proposed objectives.

From the little I heard and read of northern Korea, the Soviet occupation seems to have won considerable popular support. It has distributed land, without com-

pensation to landlords; it has nationalized industries, again without compensation; it has purged pro-Japanese elements (except for the repentant sinners who joined the party); it has installed a legislature with a semblance of popular backing. So much to the good. On the other hand, northern Korea is, of course, a police state. Some form of conscription has apparently been adopted; the Communists have captured all political leadership; the people are hungry. Two thousand refugees a day tramp over the mountains from northern Korea, looking either for food or greater freedom in the south. Only a trickle of refugees go from south to north, chiefly Communists and Communist sympathizers who do not enjoy being hunted.

If a united Korea is ultimately to be created, the basic economic systems of the two zones must be tied into some reasonable relationship. The south has yet to tackle the distribution of land—in a territory 80 per cent peasant—or the purge of pro-Japanese collaborators. Such action is precluded, it is said, because the interim legislature is too closely allied with landlords and former collaborators. Some of its leaders told me that there are not over a dozen real progressives among its ninety members. Others were hopeful of action after the September elections. Tentative drafts have been made of a constitution, a land law, and a purge act. It would take a year or two at best, say legislative leaders, to put any land law or purge into effect.

The new government may be able to establish a basis for ultimate reconciliation of the political forms and economic institutions of north and south. Its character will depend on the issues of the campaign. If national independence and anti-trusteeship are the issues, as seems likely, the nationalists will win. If they do, there will be an indefinite and tragic deepening of the split along Korea's north-south border.

Possible, but unlikely, in the September elections, is a victory of the left. It favors independence, to win votes, and trusteeship, to win Soviet aid. The issues they would raise, leftists told me, would be land distribution for the peasants, nationalization of industry, opposition to reactionary nationalists, and acceptance of trusteeship as a political necessity. Trusteeship would be expected to enlist Russian influence in offsetting presumed American "imperialism," but it would seem unlikely that a leftist campaign which accepted it would win friends and influence people.

AMERICA has obligations to the Koreans which should be discharged now. The State Department is discharging one of them by replacing military with civil government. Its first task will be to abandon military habits of control in a liberated land. That means putting an end to censorship, control of meetings, licensing of organizations, penalties on criticisms of the occu-

pation, curtailment of strikes, and the imprisonment of the hundreds who are guilty only of spoken or written violation of occupation orders. It also means stopping political terrorism. If this requires joint action by military police and Korean police, under army direction, it should be done that way. Law and order is an American responsibility until the Koreans possess a firmly established government which can maintain it.

The United States also has an obligation to clear up the trusteeship question, so far as definition will do it. It is the most debated issue in southern Korea. American military officials have stated that trusteeship means "aid and assistance," but how much more it means, they do not say. Until it is officially made clear which is the United States definition of trusteeship—a protectorate superimposed upon sovereignty, or aid and assistance to a sovereign people—the issue cannot be removed as a leading factor in any political campaign.

The Koreans, though so long under alien rule, have the capacity for self-government and a desire for democracy as we understand it. I was struck by the vigor and ability of Korean leaders. They need no guardians. Anyone familiar with the present leadership of the political movements of the southern zone, and with Korean intellectual life, will testify to that. But they will need extensive and expert help to construct a wholly new government and rebuild a shattered economy.

All observers say that a period of transition will be necessary, in which, by mutual agreement, authority would be shared. A longer period of transition would clearly be required if, by a miracle, agreement is reached with the Russians for the creation of a provisional government. Events since the Joint Commission met in May, while I was there, do not promise that; nor did I meet any observers, even then, who felt that the Russians would settle for anything less than the assurance of a Soviet Korea.

Our other obligations are economic. We will be represented in Korea, on whatever terms, for a long time to come. Food, credits, exchange, a self-supporting economy—vastly difficult until unity is achieved—all these demand continued American aid.

With a representative, elected government in southern Korea, we may be able to concentrate on the economic problem and settle down to constructive action. We cannot afford any further major blunders. Here, as elsewhere, our answer to the challenge of communism can only be a working democracy, capable of satisfying the needs and claims of a desperate, brave, and long-suffering people.



Will Interracial Housing Work?

SECOND IN A SERIES, "RACE BIAS IN HOUSING"

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

WITH the enactment of the United States Housing Act in 1937, responsibility for building and operating public housing projects devolved on the local housing authorities, though the federal government continued to advance the money. No policy as to race relations was pressed on local authorities except that projects were to follow "community patterns and trends." The federal housing administrators had always viewed the racial issue in housing as a hot potato and gladly passed on the responsibility to the localities.

The patterns of tenant distribution that developed locally were not the products of previous exploration of the problem and fanned out in many directions. By January 13, 1944, public housing projects tenanted partially or wholly by Negroes were divided as follows:

Total number of projects occupied by Negro tenants, 622.

Number of projects providing for total occupancy by Negroes, 297.

Number of projects providing for occupancy by Negro and white tenants, 325.

Of the projects occupied by Negro and white tenants, 124 were "controlled"—that is, buildings or sections were deliberately assigned to bring about racial separation. Forty-five were "uncontrolled," with management making no effort to bring about a separation between the races. Eighty-nine were "partially controlled." In this group, the buildings at one end were allotted to one race and those at the other end to the other race, with a flexible area in between.

The racial patterns that have developed in projects, however, are not all uniform. They may be classified as follows:

1. Insulated homogeneous—projects occupied by whites and Negroes separated in two different areas with a clear dividing line, such as a street or intervening neighborhood.

2. Insulated bi-racial—projects in which whites and Negroes occupy different sections of a single self-contained project.

3. Mixed token—occupied predominantly by whites with a few token Negro families to indicate absence of intentional discrimination.

4. Mixed equal—occupied by whites and Negroes in equal or nearly equal proportions.

5. Mixed minority—occupied predominantly by whites but with Negroes represented by a minority.

6. Insulated bi-racial-token—projects in which the Negroes occupy a separate section but one or a few token Negro families are mixed in with the whites.

The experience gained from these projects is not unseasoned, for public housing projects have been in operation for more than ten years. The tenants have not been exclusively lower-income groups, higher-income groups having lived in the war projects. The racial problems that have arisen have, with rare exception, been tackled successfully.

Considering the novelty of the approach and the perplexities inherent in any effort to reshape a living pattern founded upon an old prejudice, the experience is one of the most revealing in the history of the race-relations enigma. The deduction to be drawn may be summarized as follows: *if Negroes are integrated with whites into self-contained communities without segregation, where they have daily contact with other tenants, are given the same privileges, and share the same responsibilities, initial tensions tend to subside, differences are reconciled, and cooperation develops—in short, an environment is created in which interracial harmony will be achieved.*

This conclusion is supported by many reports of housing authorities which have ventured into mixed occupancy. The Philadelphia Housing Authority says that it has "been able to operate housing projects with mixed occupancy without difficulty or untoward incidents." Pittsburgh's eight projects are all successful mixed communities. The Los Angeles Housing Authority "points with pride to the harmony that has been achieved in its Aliso Village, an 802-unit slum-clearance development devoted temporarily to the housing of war workers, among whom are large representations of various races, colors, religions, and nationalities." The Chicago Housing Authority, in a project of 586 dwelling units of which 117 are occupied by Negroes, finds that an adjustment is made "within a surprisingly short time despite the fact that many of the tenants are living in Chicago for the first time and that many came from small communities where interracial living was unheard of."

New York City's experiment with mixed occupancy has been in progress since about 1935. The following

table shows the proportion of Negroes to total occupancy in its federal projects in 1946:

	Total Occupancy	Negro
Williamsburgh	1622	34
Red Hook	2545	127
Queensbridge	3149	123
Vladeck	1531	14
So. Jamaica	448	341
East River	1170	124
Kingsboro	1166	550
Clason Point	400	7
Markham	360	36

In none of the projects are Negroes separated from the whites, and in none has there been friction. "The experiment," says the Authority, "if you wish to term it an experiment, has been a very successful one in every way."

In some cases, there have been problems and managerial headaches, and in some, disappointments, but these have only pointed up the need for a proper race-relations policy and the desirability of following the mixed-race practice which has so notably succeeded in other cities. For example, difficulties have arisen where Negroes were isolated in one part of the project, a pattern which tends to intensify class and race consciousness. The presence of "a majority of the minority" in a project has tended to discourage applications by white tenants. But if the Negro families have only a token representation, they are likely not to participate in its activities. Such management policies only discourage integration and accentuate race distinctions.

Still other problems were created by war migrations. The infiltration of Southern Negroes and Southern whites into war-production areas brought tension or conflict. But in the pre-war projects and in the large majority of war projects in which the minority was mingled with the white majority, the experiment proved a signal success. It would have been significant had it succeeded in only a single instance. That it succeeded in so many, where it was properly applied, is of epochal importance to America, pointing up the false mythology that still underlies much of our thinking on the race question in housing. The success of the bi-racial war projects which were occupied by the higher-paid skilled workers suggests that a properly tackled program of bi-racial housing for higher-income families would again succeed.

HOW is the public-housing experience to be reconciled with that of private real estate, which so often sees a mass exodus of white tenants the moment an unwanted minority moves into the neighborhood? Why do values collapse, when Negroes come in; why are homes so often sold at a sacrifice? Why has the use of the restrictive covenant increased? How explain the aversion to a Negro neighbor when a Negro is freely

accepted into the household as a servant? The answer may explain the pattern of enforced segregation that has become intensified in the last few decades.

The indicated causes are mainly three varieties of fear: fear of losing social status, fear of losing established neighborhood associations, and fear of losing an investment. Some idealists are quick to condemn fellow-citizens who oppose infiltration by a minority and either sell their property or join a local association formed to keep the minority out. It should, however, be understood that the fears mentioned are as common to the American proletariat as they are to the so-called gentry. Dismissing them with an airy shrug will get us nowhere.

The social status of a neighborhood is an item to be reckoned with by any home owner, tenant or investor. Where one lives is usually indicative of one's station in life and has an effect on friends, potential friends, and business associates. The character of the neighborhood may be especially important to one's daughter during her marriageable years. Unhappily, social status depends partly on race and color. Sometimes a single Grundy in a neighborhood may inspire organized opposition; sometimes the intrusion of a single family of "unwelcome ancestry" may precipitate an exodus—first by those best able to afford it, then by others. The section gets to be known as "the undesirable part of town," houses fall into disrepair, and the neighborhood turns into a hand-me-down.

With the movement of one's neighbors, established associations begin to suffer: the composition of the school changes, the bridge club goes uptown, the old movie house is no longer what it used to be, and the old parishioners are no longer seen in church. Social pressure to move into the "better" section of town sets in.

These changes usually precipitate a collapse in property values. Owners become anxious to sell, too many properties are put up for sale at one time, values suffer. Mortgagees will now insist upon payment of their mortgage principal or drastic reduction of their loans when they become due and will make no new loans in the neighborhood. The physical deterioration of many of the buildings pares values further.

In a few cases, infiltration by a minority may raise rentals and even boom prices. This happens when a shortage of dwelling space for the minority inspires its members to pay a ransom price for the privilege of getting a better home in a better section.

Change in the racial character of the neighborhood is accelerated when mass infiltration is feared, and when fear has become increasingly responsible for heightened racial tensions. Mass infiltration is bound to occur when there is a shortage of dwelling space for the minority. Races pressed for shelter will force their way into a neighborhood if the opportunity is given them. Few

neighborhoods are lastingly safe. The more stringent and the more widespread are the methods taken to exclude the minority, the less living space will be available to it, and the stronger therefore will be its pressure. As

soon as a few minority families move in, the influx acquires the force of a tidal wave. No restriction will be effective to keep the minority out so long as there is a shortage of housing for the minority.

Hornets' Nest in Indonesia

BY CHARLES WOLF, JR.

THE Dutch have embarked upon a program of "limited police measures," in Java and Sumatra, which are neither "limited" nor "policing" in the usual sense of those words. From recent reports, it appears, rather, that the measures taken constitute a full-scale military action limited only by the number of Dutch troops, arms, and planes available, and aiming ultimately at the unilateral enforcement of the Linggadjati agreement of March 25.

The Dutch action was taken, moreover, against the iterated and reiterated wishes and counsel of the United States and British governments, and from that action there can be no immediate turning back. The results of this precipitous move will, in all likelihood, be threefold: military, economic, and political.

In the first place, we have the beginning of what will be a long and bloody guerrilla warfare, after the initial momentum of the Dutch drive has been spent. After the arrival of the 2nd Division this month, Dutch troops in Indonesia will number about 109,000. They will compose a strong, disciplined, well-equipped, mobile and mechanized force, with adequate first-line air support, but with a relatively small ability to replace damaged or lost equipment. Their morale is generally good. I have talked with many of the officers and men, both in Batavia and at hill stations in Java, from the time they began to arrive in large shiploads a year ago. They seemed ready and anxious to fight, on the theory that the fighting had to come: the sooner it began, the sooner it would be over, and the sooner they could return home. Without exception, they felt that the military issue would be settled within a matter of weeks by the complete destruction of the Indonesian forces. I believe, however, that this appraisal will prove to be hasty and inaccurate. The republican army will not be destroyed, because it will not be caught in large-scale, direct action against the Dutch. Instead, it will take to the hills and to the natural fortifications in which Java and Sumatra abound, and will prosecute a long harassing campaign, even after the Dutch have attained their major objectives.

CHARLES WOLF, JR., returned in June from sixteen months' duty in an official post in Java, to accept a graduate fellowship in public administration at Harvard.

The Tentara Republik Indonesia (the republican army) is a trained, if untried, force. It contains both regular and irregular units. The irregular local forces—the Lasjkar Rayat or "People's Forces" and the Barisan Banteng or "Buffalo Militia"—were organized by the Japanese and have only recently come under the centralized command of the T. R. I.'s General Soedirman.

In total strength, the T. R. I. possesses or directs some 200,000 troops, of which 150,000 are in Java and 50,000 in Sumatra. This combined force, which still bears the markings of the Japanese model from which it was constructed, is armed with approximately 150,000 rifles, and something under 5,000 small arms, machine guns, and mortars. The republic has a token air force of Japanese Zero fighters and a few bombers. Not more than forty planes, in all, are in flying condition. And Air Commodore Soerriadarma commands only half as many pilots as he does planes.

It is worth remembering that the French, in Indo-China, have been stalemated by less than 160,000 Viet Nameese guerrillas with 50,000 rifles. And there are more French troops in Indo-China than there will be Dutch in Indonesia. In addition, the Dutch will be engaging a considerably stronger and more organized foe than have the French, and they will be operating over a considerably larger area with an exceedingly difficult terrain. Like the French, the Dutch may win their initial objectives; like the French, they will soon be bogged down.

Economic repercussions will swiftly follow the outbreak of military action in Indonesia. These repercussions are likely to be particularly unfortunate from America's point of view. It is the announced intention of the republican government to follow a scorched-earth policy in the course of its retreat, and plans for execution of this policy were drawn up long before the Dutch attack of July 21. Likely to be burned and permanently lost to the world's economy as a result, are accumulated stockpiles of from 200,000 to 600,000 tons of sugar, approximately 1,500 tons of cinchona bark, from which quinine is made, over 6,000 tons of hard-cordage fibers, and indefinite quantities of rubber, tobacco, and tea.*

*The Dutch claim that the burning of factories, plantations, and stockpiles by the republican forces had been going on for weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, and that the necessity of preventing the further destruction of vital resources was one of the important factors in the decision to take military action.—EDITH.

The political effects of the Dutch decision have already begun to be felt, and it is certain that they will increase in scope and intensity in the near future. India's Pandit Nehru is an Indonesian sympathizer and a personal friend of the republic's vice president, Mohammed Hatta, and its former prime minister, Soetan Sjahrir. Nehru has already expressed his government's displeasure over the outbreak of hostilities, and has requested both Britain and the United States to mediate the dispute before it goes any further. Hadji Agoes Salim, the republic's shrewd old foreign minister, is still in Cairo, continuing his mission to gain friends for his cause throughout the Middle East, and Sjahrir is embarking on a world tour to plead the Indonesian case. It is only a matter of time before the subject will be brought up in the United Nations. When it is, the Arab League, India, and Australia are likely to take a particularly active hand in the proceedings.

In the face of all this, what are the Dutch motives for embarking on their "limited policing" program? There can be no doubt that two factors have been decisive. Dutch patience has been exhausted by the dilatory tactics of the republic during the last phase of the two-year negotiations. And the Dutch exchequer has been exhausted by the drain of the 3,000,000 guilders (roughly \$1,000,000) required each day to maintain armed forces

in Indonesia—with no appreciable economic rehabilitation or resumption of trade yet evident.

Dr. H. J. Van Mook, the Dutch Lieutenant Governor-General, has played a peculiarly interesting role in the present events. A liberal statesman who has been widely criticized in Holland for his concessions to the Indonesians, Van Mook is now, incongruously enough, a sponsor of military action. The reason behind this apparent change of heart is somewhat obscure. As an idealist and something of a zealot, Van Mook has become discouraged by the course of events since the signing of the Linggadjati agreement, which recognized the de facto authority of the republic in Java and Sumatra, and provided for the formation, by January 1, 1949, of a federalized United States of Indonesia. Indonesia would then have been an equal and sovereign partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Dutch crown. Now, distraught and disappointed by delays and obstacles created by the republicans, Van Mook has evidently decided that he can implement the agreement more effectively on a unilateral basis. He is a man of principle, and there is no doubt that he sincerely believes he can bring about a conclusive and just resolution of the problem, on unilateral terms. Regardless of the integrity of his motives, however, his current policy appears misguided, and doomed to an unhappy ending.



THE SEVENTEENTH GUEST



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Congress Sugar Daddies

WHEN the *Wall Street Journal* snaps at both the G. O. P. and at business interests in one editorial, then man has really bitten dog. It did just that, on July 22, in commenting on the sugar bill which has passed the House and got the approval of the Senate in the closing hours of the session. As a result, explains the *Wall Street Journal*, "sugar is to be put under a completely 'planned economy,' which is another word for monopoly. . . . If we understood what the Republicans were saying in the last campaign, they were denouncing this sort of business. If we understood a great many associations of businessmen, they have been asking that the government leave them alone. But here is the Republican Congress about to approve as neat a little legal monopoly as one would care to see. We may have missed it, but we have not heard any of the business associations pointing out what their colleagues in the sugar industry are up to."

Needless to say, my views on economic planning do not coincide with those of the *Wall Street Journal*, but on this occasion I can add "amen" to their editorial. For the sugar bill is a scandalous example of "private socialism;" that is to say, of the employment of government planning, fiscal, and police powers, not for the general welfare, but for the profit of special interests. In order to protect domestic sugar growers and refiners, imports are to be rigidly restricted and prices held at a scarcity level. Moreover, the bill violates, in the most flagrant manner, the principles of freer trade and non-discrimination that American representatives are at this very moment advocating at Geneva.

In the main, the bill follows the same line as the sugar act of 1937 which was passed at a time when sugar prices were abnormally low. Like that act, it requires the Secretary of Agriculture to forecast, by October 31, the probable demand for sugar during the coming year, and on this basis to fix allotments for various consumers and producers. But whereas the old legislation instructed the Secretary to guard against scarcity, the new accents avoidance of surpluses and price maintenance. According to the bakers, who use a lot of sugar, the price is likely to be three cents a pound higher than it would be in a free market, adding \$30,000,000 a year to the consumers' bill for baked goods alone.

The bill sets the following quotas for American producers:

Short tons, raw value

Domestic beet sugar growers.....	1,800,000
Mainland cane sugar growers.....	500,000
Hawaiian growers.....	1,052,000
Puerto Rican growers.....	910,000
Virgin Island growers.....	6,000

4,268,000

To the Philippines, a quota of 952,000 tons is assigned in accordance with the Philippines Trade Act. Cuba's share of the market will be 98.64 per cent of whatever tonnage is required to meet domestic demand, after allowing for the above quotas, leaving all other sugar-producing countries to scramble for the remaining 1.36 per cent. However, since it is expected that the Philippines will be unable to provide the whole of its assigned tonnage during the next few years, Cuba will be permitted to make up whatever deficit arises and will also be allowed to ship additional amounts of sugar if mainland producers prove unable to deliver their full quotas in any year. Finally, the Cubans are guaranteed that their share of the American market will not be smaller than it was under the old law.

If per capita consumption of sugar returns to the prewar level, total American demand will be about 7,500,000 tons. Thus when Philippine production is restored, Cuba's quota will amount to less than one-third of this total, or 2,250,000 tons. Yet it was Cuba that came to the rescue during the wartime scarcity. While production of domestic producers declined, the Cuban plantations expanded acreage and output, and in the current year are delivering to the American market nearly 4,000,000 tons of raw sugar, making possible the end of domestic rationing. Now Congress says, in effect: "Thanks for the effort, *amigos*, but you had better abandon a lot of that new acreage, for our own boys are afraid of competition and they have votes."

The quotas given by the bill to the domestic producers, in fact, add up to about 20 per cent more than their average output in the ten years, 1936-45. In addition, they will continue to benefit from the tariff of 75 cents a 100 pounds imposed on Cuban sugar, from incentive payments and subsidies, and from the price maintenance activities of the Department of Agriculture. The domestic refiners are also being well looked after. Imports of refined sugar are limited to 586,000 tons a year, a quota divided between Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. This provision not only discriminates against foreign countries but imposes an internal embargo operating against such integral parts of the United States as Hawaii. Is it constitutional?

The sugar bill, it is not surprising to learn, was drafted by the domestic growing and refining interests. The Cuban sugar companies, mostly American-owned, were not consulted. They appear, however, to regard the bill as a slight improvement on the 1937 act. Nevertheless, they are faced with very difficult problems of adjustment for, when the world sugar situation returns to normal, they will have a huge surplus capacity. American businessmen and farmers, other than sugar-growers, will also be adversely affected. Cuba is one of the largest foreign customers for American goods, including foodstuffs, textiles and machinery.

As for the ordinary American citizen, the bill hits him twice in the pocketbook nerve; his sugar will cost him more and he will be contributing as taxpayer to subsidization of the industry. He may, therefore, be inclined to ask, as the *Wall Street Journal* does: "Is there any reason why the producers all along the line should not have their profits limited; is there any reason why they should have the consumer pay for their protection?" Very pertinent questions and ones that apply to other commodities as well as sugar.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Realism Is Not Enough

NO PEACE FOR ASIA. By Harold R. Isaacs. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE ORIENT. By Ralph Coniston. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

VICTORY has been followed by reaction in Asia too. But the reaction, American-supported, is no solution to human problems in Asia any more than elsewhere; it is a phase in the great revolutionary travail of Asiatic society and will be succeeded by other phases even less advantageous to the United States. As we approach the disaster which Asia seems to have in store for us, thoughtful Americans can enjoy the bitter satisfaction of foresight.

Victory in Asia brought reaction because the victors had been too long absent and had fallen behind the march of history. Japan knocked out the sovereign authority of the Dutch, the French, and the Kuomintang over large areas of dense population and at the same time roused popular movements of resistance. What had been "resistance" in war time, however, became "revolution" after Japan surrendered. The sovereign victors could return only by suppressing the popular movements. Britain succeeded in forcing the Dutch and French regimes precariously back into Java and Indo-China. The United States succeeded in bringing the Kuomintang precariously back into Eastern China. These regimes were, after all, allies and sovereign powers.

The return of the victors had a curious pattern. In areas liberated from Japan the liberators found it necessary at first to use the local Japanese troops against the native peoples which were being liberated and whose resistance movements threatened the status quo ante. Later, however, it was possible for the victors to return in force in American ships and planes, using American arms and equipment, with American training, wearing American uniforms, and accompanied by Amer-

ican observers with the American flag.

One result of our being the arsenal of democracy was that the legally recognized governments of the Far East were able to reassert their sovereignty only by using obvious American support to attack the popular revolutions in Java, Annam, Central Luzon, and North China. And so, to most thoughtful Asiatics, the United States no longer means democracy.

This tragedy would have occurred even if Marx had never lived and communism never been invented. It results from the fact that during the war the established pre-war political institutions of colonial and semi-colonial Asia were outdated by the growth of political consciousness and popular organization. While we fought a war, Asia began a revolution. Unfortunately we allowed the tail end of our great military effort to become a counter-revolution.

This tragedy for the American people is heightened by the fact that communism does exist, that it competes for the allegiance of popular movements in Asia, and that the American mood is one of emotional reliance upon our wealth and power rather than an intelligent realization that we are turning the Asiatic half of mankind against us.

Naturally this picture is not all black or white, and many of our best friends, as well as the best people, are fighting the Asian revolutions and clamoring for more aid. It is unhappily reassuring, therefore, to find essentially the same picture presented by two such diverse reporters as Harold Isaacs ("No Peace for Asia") and Ralph Coniston ("The Future of Freedom in the Orient"). Coniston's is a lighter book, more episodic and casual, based similarly on first-hand observation. It reinforces Isaacs's conclusions and finds the seeds of war in every corner of the Orient.

"No Peace for Asia" is a vigorous dissection of the nationalist rivalries which now lead us toward destruction, and the most vivid, and biting, survey which has yet appeared of power politics in the post-war Asiatic spheres of Britain—India, Indonesia, and Indo-

China—and of the United States—China, Japan, lower Korea. Isaacs sees contradictions everywhere. He castigates the British despoiling of India through the decades, which has left the country under-industrialized, poverty-stricken, 88 per cent illiterate, and politically divided. Yet he sees that one factor holding India back has been the conservative weakness of Indian nationalism, "diluted and confused by Gandhi's pacifism and his mystic ruralism." On Indo-China he gives a vivid first-hand account of the cynical Anglo-French attack on the Viet Minh, noting that the latter got its earliest inspiration from the French libertarian tradition.

As for the United States, where we formally "represented a distant dream that would one day spring alive and bring with it felicity for all," we now appear to Asiatics as the foes of social change and the defenders of archaic conservatism. In the Chinese civil war "the United States stands as the committed supporter of one side, the decadent, brutal, incompetent, tyrannical side, whose only visible virtue from the official American point of view is its opposition to the Communists . . . the civil war in China is already in essence a masked border war between Russia and the United States." Chiang Kai-shek has used for his own ends at different periods communism—he was once the "Red General"—Anglo-Saxon democracy, Christianity, European fascism. The New Confucianism which he now espouses was the main enemy of the great nationalist movement through which he came to power twenty years ago.

As for Russia, the internationalism of the Bolshevik revolution under Lenin and Trotsky shifted, under Stalin, "from the radical world view to the conservative national view." Under the tyranny of its new bureaucratic super-class, nationalist Russia has used the potentialities of international revolution to strengthen itself in a thoroughly cynical and self-centered program of self-preservation. That the Soviet fatherland has thus picked up the thread of

classic Russian imperialism was demonstrated in the Yalta agreement and the Sino-Soviet treaty, which restored to Stalin the long-lost acquisitions of the czars in Manchuria.

Isaacs uses these contradictions between myth and reality, past and present, to highlight the illness of our society. Years ago he wrote a valuable research monograph, "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," analyzing the Stalinist failure in China in the revolution of 1925-27 from a Trotskyist point of view. Yet he is by no means doctrinaire. Rather, he is too keen a reporter and too sympathetic to the human struggle not to be a disillusioned idealist. His view of the evil forces at work in Asia is a projection of the kind of liberalism which casts a plague on everyone's house, and he documents it till it sticks. He believes we face nationalist war and self-destruction unless there is quickly a "radical change of the whole structure of society," "a new world order" based on internationalism, new world agencies, a new world economy.

I was going to suggest, like the devotees of practical politics, that this disillusioned idealism is not practical, that we must acknowledge harsh realities, understand and discriminate, face our choice of evils and choose the lesser ones. But I am afraid Isaacs is right: there isn't time to go on choosing lesser evils. It only makes them bigger. Realism and arms will not save us without a new attitude and spirit.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

"Candomblé"

THE CITY OF WOMEN. By Ruth Landes. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THIS tourist account by an anthropologist of a field trip to Brazil is devoted in the main to "candomblé," one of a number of fascinating African survivals in the Western Hemisphere. West Africans brought this religious cult from their homeland when they were shipped as slaves to Brazil, and their descendants are keeping it alive today in a modified form. In the old seaport town of Bahia Miss Landes observed candomblé rituals and came to know a number of the devotees and priestesses who belongs both to the Catholic

church and to the Yoruba temples. In the Afro-Brazilian cult Olurun, the Yoruba equivalent of the supreme deity, is worshiped through a series of lesser divinities, or *orisbas*, who have their counterparts in the hierarchy of Catholic saints, beginning with Oxalá, who has become identified with Jesus. Human communication with cult deities is established through the temple "mother" and through priestesses dedicated to specific *orisbas*. "The City of Women" describes devotional dances in which temple priestesses achieve a trance-like state during which the gods "enter their heads" and "ride them."

In the orthodox Yoruba temples, according to Miss Landes's descriptions and reported conversations, the hierarchy is matriarchal. Men serve only as *ogans*, protectors of the temple: those few who become priests and dance are scorned as effeminate types. This emphasis on matriarchy as fundamental to the cult is questionable, however. Other investigators have ascribed the dominance of women in the older temples to their stronger adherence to the "old" or African ways and to their greater willingness to undergo the years of preparatory training.

Some discussion of the "gêge-nago" cults of Africa, from which the candomblé derives, might have been enlightening in this and in other connections, but they are not even mentioned in "The City of Women." They might, moreover, have served as a useful point of departure for investigating the candomblés as part of an acculturation process of West African to Catholic rites and mythology. But throughout the book Miss Landes's interests tend to center rather on the more sensational aspects of candomblé. It is this unfortunate susceptibility to striking surface expressions and imperviousness to sub-surface forces that is the basic shortcoming of "The City of Women." And as an almost inevitable corollary of this tourist approach, the book contains no references to the highly developed West African culture that so deeply conditions current Afro-Brazilian attitudes and beliefs. Yet that heritage of ancient community organization, of profound human and religious values, and of generous acceptance of alien but compatible gods, partially explains the African temples of Brazil. It also provides a possible clue

to why the worshippers of Olurun have fully embraced Jesus and his saints with no diminution of dedication to the old gods of Africa.

The Negroes of Bahia and the candomblés have been fairly thoroughly investigated by native Brazilians. In English there is an excellent study by Donald Pierson, "Negroes of Brazil." No new light is shed on the subject by "The City of Women." Its chief value is that it is the first popularly written account of candomblé; but that is no excuse for careless writing and for even more careless thinking.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Visions, with Trimmings

KINDERGARTEN CHATS AND OTHER WRITINGS. By Louis H. Sullivan. Edited by Isabella Athey. Wittenborn and Company. \$4.50.

IN 1946 the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects was "presented" to Louis Sullivan, who had been dead twenty-two years. "He attacked entrenched beliefs. He repudiated false standards. He scorned the stylistic gods of the market place." Such prophets we need in every field; in religion first of all, but also in politics, economics, and education. Like Sullivan, they are likely to "fight almost alone in their generation, live unhappily and die in poverty." It is an appropriate tribute to Sullivan's memory that his "Kindergarten Chats" should at last be made available to the general public. These essays are of concern to architects in the noblest sense: master-builders, planners, men who turn needs into visions, visions into blueprints, blueprints into stone and steel. For Sullivan professed that "the study of architecture is a branch of social science—the study of a newly shaping type of civilization."

This tribute is ungrudging. Men of the Sullivan type are the salt of the earth. But our admiration should not be uncritical and translate itself into rhapsodies of the "Fountainhead" type. Nothing is so contrary to the artistic spirit—which I equate with the prophetic—as the slavish worship of the unconventional. As soon as man or formula become the object of a cult, it falls under Sullivan's condemnation.

A free spirit, not shackled by cliques or fashions, must recognize that Sullivan was not a pure victim, crucified by a coarse and stupid generation. He had his chance. If he failed at the end, it was through some inner flaw which was not excess of wisdom or power. Perhaps he needed the cleverer Adler. The Chats are insufferably overwritten. It is curious that functionalist architects should almost invariably, when they write, cultivate the most extreme Baroque. His professional achievements are by no means sensational. There is still a great deal of the Richardsonsque in the Auditorium, and Richardson's style reminds me of a Wagnerian opera: it would have appealed to Hitler. The Wainwright, in St. Louis, is better, although vaguely Egyptian. The excellence of the Carson Pirie and Scott store is purely negative.

Architectural doctrinairism is as bad as all the other forms of that disease, and possibly a little worse. Sullivan, no doubt, has fine things to say about human and dollar values, and about function and form. But there is also on every page an excess of pyrotechnic patter. In so far as architecture is engineering, functionalism in the plainest sense rules supreme; beauty is not an inevitable result but a happy accident. But in *art*, form and function do not coincide. What on earth is the "function" of a Van Gogh?

Sullivan spurns "logic, scholarship, and taste," and demands "common sense, a thoroughly disciplined mind, a perfected technique, and an abundant and gracious gift of expression"—exactly the same things not so tersely expressed. To be sure, he places first "a poetic imagination," as did Boileau. But an office building requires well-organized floor space, nothing else. His condemnation of the historical styles for modern use involves a fallacy. No doubt a Richardsonsque railway station, like the Union Depot at St. Louis, is an anachronism, a boner on a colossal scale. But it would have been foolish for La-farge and Cram to house a traditional faith in a revolutionary building.

In so far as architecture is art, it has overtones which are not functional but symbolic. And symbol is a language which cannot be created anew by every man. Mallarmé's mysterious Angel could only "impart a purer meaning to the

words of the tribe." Sullivan says, and I agree with him, that a Roman temple has no business on Monroe Street, Chicago. But he adds, "Such a structure must of necessity be a simulacrum." All the significant words are Latin. Why does he not talk plain Chicagoese of the twentieth century?

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Romantic Poet

A CHOICE OF ENGLISH ROMANTIC POETRY. Edited with an introduction by Stephen Spender. The Dial Press. \$4.

THIS selection from Blake to Emily Brontë, but mainly the romantic poets of the early nineteenth century—is meant for the general reader (bless him) who finds poetry necessary to his well-being. But even for the person who has read widely in romantic poetry, it is a pleasant book to have around. It contains a sufficiency of the better known poems in addition to some that are not as well known, and selections from longer romantic poems which the general reader has probably not read and which the exceptional reader is not likely to care to read again in full. Shelley and Keats are best represented; Wordsworth and Byron, as Spender says, cannot be anthologized.

Spender's introduction is intelligent and acute, but for all that, not very good. He writes of romanticism too much in the old academic and literary way. That is, his criticism is descriptive rather than historical. The "why?" still remains unanswered. Why nature, why solitude, why fantasy? Why couldn't romantic poets like Shelley give poetic expression to their "prose ideas"? Spender says, "The romantic poet is divorced from history, which he ends by despising." Is he? Why? It seems to me that by locating and defining, no matter how unsurely, a reason why the romantics felt themselves divorced from history, he would have done more to help the reader understand the poems than he has by describing what took place inside the poets and the poems. Significantly enough, he is best on Keats, of all the English romantics the one who sticks closest to poetry and strays least. I was delighted, by the way, to find quoted in full in the introduc-

tion (for purposes of contrast) George Herbert's poem *Prayer*, which ends with the magnificent lines:

Church-bells beyond the stars heard, the
soul's blood,
The land of spices, something under-
stood.

H. P. LAZARUS

Films

JAMES
AGEE

CROSSFIRE" is a gruesomely exciting story about some soldiers, one of whom murders a Jew. It is extremely well played by Roberts Young, Mitchum and Ryan, very notably Ryan; by Sam Levene and Paul Kelly; and by practically everyone else in the cast. It is excellently written and directed by John Paxton and Edward Dmytryk, respectively. In part, I don't doubt, because the picture is *about* something, which everyone making it can take seriously, it is, even as melodramatic entertainment, the best Hollywood movie in a long time. (Chaplin doesn't make Hollywood movies; he makes Chaplin movies.) Much of its more serious stuff, about Anti-Semitism, is very good and very heartening too, but I think the following qualifiers must be recognized: 1) In a way it is as embarrassing to see a movie *Come Right Out Against Anti-Semitism* as it would be to see a movie *Come Right Out Against torturing children*. 2) Few things pay off better in prestige and hard cash—granted you present it in an entertaining way—than safe fearlessness. 3) This film is not entirely fearless, even within its relatively safe terms. They have the sardonic courage to preach the main persuaders to a Southern boy, taking painfully embarrassing care never to mention Negroes; but they lack the courage to make that omission inescapably clear to the audience.

Largely because of this film and his recent statement that he believes in making other movies that take chances, RKO-Radio's vice-president in charge of production, Dore Schary, is likely to be regarded by many people as a white hope and a hero. I do not question the

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goodness of his deepest motives, and I certainly wish him well; but it may as well be remembered that, at best, Hollywood's heroism is calculated to land buttered side up. Movies about Anti-Semitism aren't so desperately chancy, after all. Millions of people will look forward to them if only for the questionable excitement of hearing actors throw the word "Jew" around; Fox and Goldwyn are coming out, respectively, with "Gentleman's Agreement" and "Earth and High Heaven," and Goldwyn has astutely postponed production, not to be snowed under by his competitors. The murdered Jew in "Crossfire" was a murdered homosexual in the original novel, Richard Brooks's "The Brick Foxhole," and I learn from a reliable source that this quick shift was made, and "Crossfire" was rushed through, in order to jump the gun on the two more pretentious films. I am sorry to spend so much time on such matters, but I suspect they will be generally neglected in the pleasure of awarding Hollywood a sprinting-prize for taking Baby's First Step; and they shouldn't be neglected. All that aside, however, "Crossfire" is an unusually good and honest movie and may—I hope, well—prove a very useful one.

"The Hucksters" comes right out against radio advertising, and in the Hollywood scheme of things this is doubtless much more heroic than attacking Jew-baiters, who are not so well organized as advertising men to

fight back. Some of the singing commercials are very funny, and some of the minor characters are drawn with medium shrewdness. Clark Gable seems well at ease, most of the time, but something soft and unfortunate has happened to his mouth; Deborah Kerr struggles prettily but, I'm afraid, rather complacently, against a thorough job of packaging. I dislike the movie as I disliked what little I could read of the book: for I find uniquely nauseating the spectacle of incurable corruption laboring under delusions of honesty.

I agree with Shirley O'Hara of the *New Republic* that the period of the original "Perils of Pauline" is good for a lot more than patronizing laughter. I am also astonished that so many people find the new "Perils" so howlingly funny. People who can accept such stuff as solid gold have either forgotten a lot, or never knew first-rate slapstick when they saw it, twenty to thirty years ago, when it was one of the wonders of the world.

I am with Miss O'Hara again, and everyone else who knows what a beautiful film could be made about jazz. For years, I wished I might make a movie about New Orleans, centered on Louis Armstrong and his colleagues. I like "New Orleans" because, barring Djon Mil's rather too alligatorish short, it is the only movie ever to show any real feeling for jazz; and because the Negro musicians are much more nearly at ease than is usual in movies; and because of

Armstrong, who seems to me one of the most likable people in the world, and certainly as fine a musical talent as this country has ever had. (Some unknown Negroes and whites have developed music even finer.) All the same, the movie is a crime. Not only is it horribly inept and unimaginative in everything that does not center on jazz; the jazz itself is too often cut short, or smothered as background for pictures which fail to carry it out; and as the ultimate triumph, jazz wins over a full-dress audience—which is a little as if St. Francis and his Fifty Thousand Feathered Friends became headliners at the Bronx Zoo.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA Victor has issued Bach's Suites Nos. 2 and 3 played by Koussevitzky with a small group from the Boston Symphony (Set 1123; \$5.85). Comparison with the Busch Chamber Players' performances in the old Victor sets is again inevitable. I have only one record of the Busch version of No. 3, containing the Bourré and Gigue played with grace and sensitive contours that are in extraordinary contrast with Koussevitzky's headlong pounding. If I remember correctly, Busch's solo performance of the famous Air is pallid and

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dull; but Koussevitzky's performance—silken in tone, leaden in pace—is inferior to Toscanini's (in the set of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony), with the continuity of impetus in its quiet flow, the life in its inflection. On the other hand, the Boston performance of No. 2 has clarity, grace, and good tempos (except for a stodgy Polonaise) which enable it to stand comparison with the Busch version—though the Busch remains superior (with things like Moyse's phrasing of the Bourré II, and the subtle accentuation of the accompaniment in the Badinerie and the middle section of the Polonaise). Some of the surfaces in my copy of the new set are noisy.

From London Decca comes a well-recorded performance of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 by the Boyd Neel Orchestra (Set ED-27; \$5). It is a good performance, certainly a better one than the Boston Symphony's, but without the qualities—the wonderful relaxation, lightness, and grace, clarity of texture, sensitiveness of rhythm and phrasing—that put the Busch version in a class by itself.

But then I should hate to be Adolf Busch and have the painful experience of listening to those Bach performances of his Chamber Players of a dozen years ago and then listening to the playing of his present-day Chamber Players, and in particular to the performances of Handel's twelve *Concerti Grossi* Opus 6 now issued by Columbia (Set 685; \$28.50). They are stiff and angular in rhythm and phrasing, coarse in sound (partly because of the recording), and rob the music of the attractiveness it has as performed with relaxed plasticity, sensitive inflection, and beauty of sound by Weingartner in the older Columbia sets, which I hope will continue to be available.

Other sets issued by RCA Victor for July: Schumann's Symphony No. 4, the most engaging of the group, played only moderately well by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony, and the performance recorded with lack of clarity in detail and poor balance (my copy has some poor surfaces) (Set 1124; \$3.85). And two symphonic poems of Franck—the lovely but repetitious "Psyché," and the uninteresting "Le Chasseur maudit"—well-performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony, and the performance recorded with enormous sonority and brilliance (Set 1122; \$4.85).

Balanchine, we were told, had turned

away from Europe; his interest now was entirely in America. And after unsatisfactory experiences with the ballet companies he wanted only what Ballet Society offered (what, indeed, one suspected it had been organized to provide): the opportunity to create and produce ballets with the young dancers he had developed in the School of American Ballet. And yet in mid-season he went off to work with the ballet of the Paris Opera—with disastrous consequences to the remaining programs of Ballet Society.

Its subscribers had been promised a new work of Balanchine, "The Minotaur," which would have carried Bolender's "Zodiac" and Dollar's "Highland Fling" on the third program. But what they got was a "Minotaur" that was the result of getting Taras in to do the job left undone by Balanchine—hardly an example of the "planned collaboration of independent easel-painters, progressive choreographers, and musicians" promised by Ballet Society's extravagantly generous prospectus—any more than "Zodiac" and "Highland Fling" were products of such planned collaboration by their choreographers with their composers and designers—nor were all three works even products of the thorough and complete preparation one expected from Ballet Society. As it happened, Taras's "Minotaur" was the one piece with some originality and interest in its choreographic invention, in which he had help from the strikingly original scenery and costumes of Joan Junyer but not, it seemed to me, from a score by Elliott Carter that was, I thought, completely irrelevant. But Taras's piece was not enough to carry the others, or to rate repetition on the last program, when a repetition instead of Balanchine's "Four Temperaments" would have compensated subscribers for Christensen's "Blackface" and Merce Cunningham's "The Seasons." In the end it was astonishing to see how much like other ballet companies this one had operated, even to the non-fulfillment of promises.

Mr. Hurok contributed the most outrageous instance of that. Having sold out the opening of his spring season at gala prices with the promise of Markova in "Giselle," he waited until the house lights were lowered to have Dolin announce she was ill and would not appear, when he must have known what I had learned accidentally the day before—that Markova had been in bed ill all that day.

But it was only a little less outrageous

for the Monte Carlo management to wait until the same time with its announcements of Danilova's illness. Two friends of mine who came to see her in "Coppelia" and were informed they were going to see Krassovska in "The Nutcracker" had paid not \$6 but only \$2.40 for their seats; but they had got up from bed after gripe and bronchitis to come.

It seems to me that ballet companies, no less than opera companies, owe the public complete and dependable information about casts.

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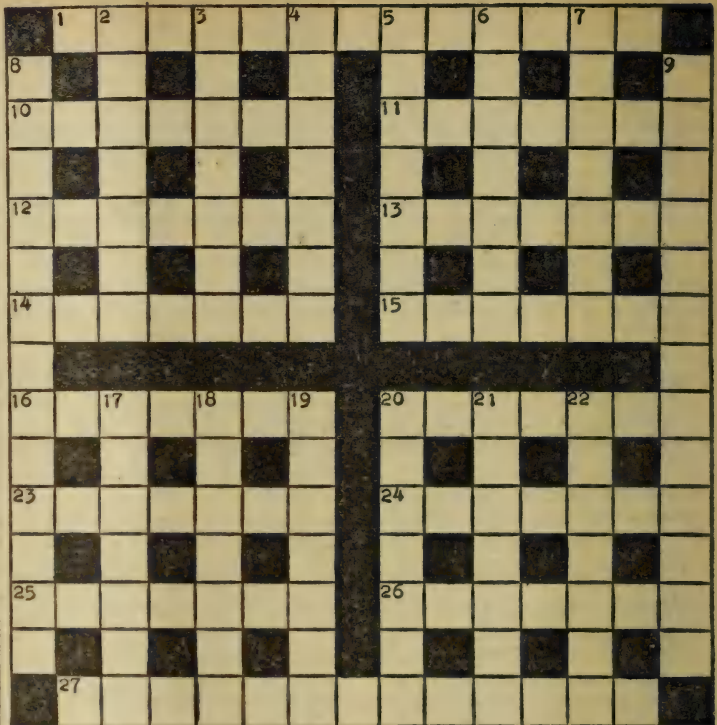
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- 1 Stag dies. Inter or he decomposes
- 10 Cut and run
- 11 Nature is late about the act of producing milk
- 12 Pal for Pauline
- 13 Big corporations reach out in this position
- 14 Shears five beardless boys
- 15 Transmitter about fifty finds slim pickin's
- 16 Just investigate death. O, it's out of the question whodunit!
- 20 Bombs one thousand in rule by *hoi polloi*
- 23 O, mi nose tells me it's offensive
- 24 Alexander's ragtime band started in the old country
- 25 Can one beast be routed by Krazy Kats?
- 26 The vain ran to oblivion
- 27 Nonunion men

- 6 Create a hundred and accumulate more
- 7 Empowered to be fit into the finale
- 8 Were you so merciful you could compose a saint
- 9 Lament a temper? You must be sensitive
- 17 Bible question in exegesis, to be brief
- 18 Five at the soirée found it rather wearing
- 19 When the SS hide in the trees it gets in your hair
- 20 To me, men are a souvenir
- 21 Carib ad makes a run go
- 22 Influx of soldiers caught in Selective Service act

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 221

ACROSS:—1 SCRAPE; ■ MARTINET; 10 COUPLET; 11 EXACTED; 12 AGILE; 13 MOT; 14 TRAIL; 15 EVENT; 17 EXPLORED; 21 COMPLETE; 23 KNIFE; 26 ACTOR; ■ WIT; 29 SHORE; ■ TACTICS; 31 GARLAND; 32 RELIEVES; 33 APPEAR.

DOWN:—1 SOCRATES; ■ ROUTINE; 3 PULSE; ■ ALERT; ■ TOAST; 7 NITRATE; ■ TODDLE; 9 STAMPEDE; 16 TIP; 18 PRESTIGE; 19 OAK; 20 DEFENDER; ■ OPTICAL; 24 ISOLATE; 25 MASTER; ■ RAISE; ■ WASTE; ■ STRIP.

DOWN

- 2 Inability to get going; i.e. in an uncoupled train
- 3 I suppose I am in an enigma
- 4 Golf ball wobbles on a tee rest
- 5 Kind of bird (probably one dead pigeon)

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The Shape of Things

THE SAGGING PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED Nations has been substantially bolstered by the quick action taken on the Indonesian war. For once, legalisms were swept aside and the Security Council asserted its right to intervene in order to end a breach of the peace. It is significant that the three other colonial powers—Britain, France, and Belgium—backed the delegate from the Netherlands when he questioned the jurisdiction of the Council in a matter which, in the opinion of the Dutch, is purely one of domestic interest. It is also significant that two former colonies, Australia and India, which have gained the status of nationhood, initiated the move to end a "senseless war" and effect a just settlement. We know that in the diplomatic circles of some of the greater powers there is deep concern lest the U. N.'s "precipitous action" has set "dangerous precedents." But in our opinion, what the United Nations needs more than anything else these days is a supranational audacity rather than polite deference to the sacred cows of national sovereignty, particularly colonial sovereignty. The U. N. action does not settle the Indonesian affair. But an important beginning has been made, and it is not a bad sign that the representatives of four old empires are viewing it with alarm.

★

GROMYKO'S VETO, KILLING THE AMERICAN proposal of a "semi-permanent" commission to watch the Greek frontier and try to prevent border incidents, was inevitable after his earlier criticism of the plan as a violation of the United Nations Charter. We take little stock in legalistic objections; constitutional interpretation, even in this well rooted democracy, too frequently follows the dominant political philosophy to allow us any illusions on that score. What is obvious as daylight is Russia's conviction that a U. N. border commission would serve as an adjunct to the American commission in Greece: both being predicated on the assumption that Russia is threatening Greek independence. This premise may or may not be correct, but in either case one could hardly expect Russia to endorse it by approving the commission. Far simpler to veto the plan, and to do so on

fairly plausible legal grounds, since the question of Russia's threat to Greece had not, of course, been injected into the discussion.

★

BUT ON THIS ISSUE, AS ON OTHERS, WE think Russia made its fight at the wrong time and with the wrong arguments. A commission keeping its eye on both sides of the Greek border could perform an excellent service for all concerned, even though it came into being as a result of alleged violations by the Balkan states alone. Everybody knows that the frontier has been threatened periodically by nationalistic Greeks as well as by Albanians and perennially disaffected Macedonians. Russia and its Balkan allies should, we believe, have ignored the fact that they stood accused—openly or tacitly—and demanded an international commission instructed to watch for, and act upon, violations from any source. And they should have made their fight on the first indication that the commission was taking orders from London or Washington rather than from Lake Success. Because they failed to do so, and because Russia resorted to the veto instead, their stand has been taken as a repudiation of the authority of the United Nations. As we go to press, the debate is again opening on Gromyko's counter-proposal, certain to be summarily rejected, and the Greek demand for action under Chapter VII of the Charter—the chapter invoked in the Indonesian case. If the United States backs this extreme position, it will do so knowing in advance that another Russian veto is sure. But other states too may hesitate to declare the existence of an outright breach of the peace on the Greek border, since obviously no overt aggression has taken place. The chances are that the question will be submitted in something like its original form to the General Assembly meeting in September.

★

WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION on Palestine, now in Geneva, works on its report for the September meeting of the Assembly, a mounting wave of violence threatens to wash out its best recommendations.

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In Palestine, terror feeds on terror and grows monstrous. The deportation to France of 4,500 Jewish refugees brought new attacks and new sweeping repressions. The hanging of three Irgunists involved in the jail delivery at Acre, delayed until the U. N. Commission had left the country, sent an impulse of horror through the whole Jewish population—horror accentuated by the boys' youth and the fact that no British lives were lost in the Acre coup. The brutal reprisal-murder of two young British sergeants by the Irgun touched off riots and counter-attacks on the part of the angry British troops. With each new outrage, a settlement based on conciliation becomes less possible. The United Nations, we believe, without waiting for the commission's report, should promptly undertake interim steps to end the rule of violence in Palestine, pending a final solution. International action is needed there, quite as urgently as in Indonesia. At the very least, Secretary-General Lie should again remind the "governments, peoples, and . . . inhabitants" of Palestine of the General Assembly's resolution calling upon them to refrain "from the threat or use of force or any other action" which might help prevent a settlement. The fate of the Holy Land can no longer be safely left in the hands of angry terrorists, in or out of uniform.

★

THE STEEL INDUSTRY'S MANY EXCUSES FOR boosting prices do not stand up too well under examination. It is true that labor, material, and service costs, such as freight charges, have increased considerably since the beginning of this year. But these increases have been offset, to a large extent, by the economies of capacity production. I. F. Stone has pointed out in *PM* that, in the first six months of 1947, United States Steel's labor and material costs per ton were far less than in the corresponding period of 1946. This comparison may be deemed invalid, owing to the effects of strikes last year. It seems fair enough to point out, however, that the corporation's ratio of labor costs to total sales was 3.6 per cent less in the first half of this year than in the first half of 1945. Big Steel has little to grumble at. For the industry as a whole, profits for the first six months of 1947 compare very favorably with those of any recent half-year, despite the alleged back-breaking burden of costs. In the case of the American Rolling Mill Company, which led the price-hoisting procession, half-year earnings of \$3.64 per share look pretty healthy when set against an *annual* average of \$3.23 in the six years, 1941-46. However, the steel companies complain that profits for the second quarter of this year were about 25 per cent lower than those for the first quarter. In view of the fact that the earlier period was one of the most lucrative in the history of the industry, this plaint amounts to an assertion that a wartime profit peak ought to become a plateau.

A NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT ISSUED BY the American Iron and Steel Institute seeks to make light of the price increases. They will make little difference to the costs of most steel users, it declares: they will add only \$11 to the cost of an automobile, 65 cents to that of a refrigerator, \$5 to that of a farm tractor, \$25 to that of a five- or six-room house. The suggestion seems to be that makers of most products containing steel might very well absorb the increased costs and so prevent any addition to the cost of living. Certainly, most consumer-goods manufacturers are making profits on a scale that would enable them to do this, but that isn't going to prevent a number of them from passing on the higher price of steel on a cost-plus basis. General Motors has already done so, with additions of \$58 to \$168 on various models. Obviously, such increases cannot be justified solely by reference to higher steel prices, and C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, cited rises in other materials and in wages when announcing his price boost. We note, however, that General Motors sales in the second quarter of this year were up 17 per cent compared with the first quarter, while profits rose 24 per cent. That means profit margins have expanded despite the April increase in wages. It appears that General Motors, like many another industrial concern, is basing its prices, not so much on costs, as on the good old principle of charging what the traffic will bear.

★

BEFORE CONGRESS ADJOURNED, SENATOR Glen Taylor treated his colleagues to a Will Rogers version of the Cataline oration. In a good-humored, joshing tone that dragged smiles even from the Republicans, he revealed that his junior colleague from Idaho, Henry Dworshak (a close friend of Hamilton Fish), had engaged in a cynical game to corrupt the state's press and flout the rules of Congress. Last year's La Follette-Monroney act gave every Senator an additional \$10,000 a year for staff assistance. Senator Dworshak decided that he could get along without the extra help and that the money could be better employed to subsidize junkets to Washington by friendly Idaho newspapermen. Naturally, their readers were not informed of this arrangement. They were told only that their editor "was spending a few weeks in Washington writing of national affairs," and that the man who bestrode the Capitol like the Washington Monument was none other than their own Henry Dworshak. Dworshak, the visiting editors discovered, was the Senate's most industrious budget-cutter; its most intelligent statesman, its hardest worker, its most fearless leader. The refrain never varied, although the writers changed every month. Finally, an invitation came to the editor of the *Statewide* of Boise. He did not answer by mail. He answered in his editorial column, and he denounced the scheme as "venal" and

"corrupt." Taylor read the editorial on the Senate floor, with interpolations of his own. It remains to be seen what an economy-minded Senate will do about Dworshak's ingenious misuse of public funds.

Atomic Progress Report

NOW, for the first time since the Lilienthal-Acheson report, we have before us a document—or, rather, a series of documents—on atomic control that gives us some reason to hope that a chance of international agreement remains open. The groups that have been quietly working away in Committee 2 of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission released last week a number of papers describing the progress made since the commission issued its first large report at the end of last year. The papers represent the work of individuals, rather than national representatives. But we have reason to believe that there is substantial agreement on the conclusions that have been reached. Unfortunately, the representatives of Russia and Poland took little, if any, part in the preparation of these reports. However, certain legitimate objections of Mr. Gromyko appear to have been met and some of his positive suggestions embodied.

What the collection of material gives us is a much clearer picture of what an operating international atomic-control agency would look like. The basic outlines of the Atomic Development Authority—as proposed in the original American plan—are not essentially changed, but a detailed discussion of its powers and functions goes a long way to dispel various misgivings held not only by Russia but by a number of other nations.

It is recognized that the international agency must possess wide rights of ownership, operation, and inspection in the field of nuclear energy. But it is also recognized that "the nations could not be expected to agree to give unlimited discretionary powers to the international agency." The agency would own the source of materials of atomic energy "after separation from its place of deposit in nature," but it would not own the mines. Nor would the agency determine the amounts of nuclear fuel to be developed in each country. Provisions to govern "the location, mining, production, distribution, and use of source material and nuclear fuel, as well as dangerous facilities," would be written into the treaty or convention. "It would then be the duty and responsibility of the international agency to implement these provisions in accordance with the terms of the treaty or convention." In regard to the assignment of quotas for the mining of uranium and thorium, it is recommended that the "treaty or convention should embody the principle that comparable national deposits throughout the world should be depleted proportionately."

Even in the matter of inspection, the international agency is not given a completely free hand. "It is obvious that no feeling of security could be established in the world if nations could reserve the right to prohibit access to certain parts of their territory. But exercise of the right to make full investigation would be subject to various procedures, according to the nature of the territory or the building inspected." The possible delay occasioned by the requirement of a warrant must be balanced against "the need for protecting the personal right of freedom from unreasonable search." The whole investigatory function—from the original and occasional surveys to locate deposits of uranium and thorium, through the inspection of mining, processing, and developing operations, to the inspections and surveys to detect clandestine activities—is gone into with great thoroughness. The nation and the individual are guaranteed against abuse of the power of the international agency, just as the private citizen of a democratic state is guaranteed against the abuse of police power.

One of the most interesting and imaginative papers deals with the question of research. It is a paper which will bring little comfort to those brass hats in Washington who want to give back to the army full control over atomic energy. After indicating the necessity of research being carried on by the international agency, as well as by national bodies, the report says:

The final test of the value of the international agency is that it should prevent national rivalries in atomic energy which would lead to war. National rivalries breed in secrecy. The success of the international agency will depend to a very large extent on its ability to open scientific knowledge in the field of atomic energy to the world, with a full, free, and constant exchange of scientific knowledge. . . . There are no limitations on human thought, hence there can be no secrets as far as ideas are concerned. It is by control of the actual materials, not by the prohibition of research, that their misuse can be prevented; the strict control of all potentially dangerous materials must be the central objective of the agency. Once this is fully achieved, the futility of secrecy would be evident, and there could be full publication of research and full international collaboration among the scientists.

We have become used to thinking of the atomic world as a prison. The best we hoped for was to have friendly and reliable wardens who would keep us safe if any of the other prisoners ran amuck. These Atomic Energy Commission reports suggest that our world may turn out to be not too dreary a place after all—with a ban on secrecy, a respect for individual rights, and the first prize given for the freest discussion of the brightest ideas. They even suggest values higher than security and that's more than most of us have dared to grasp at during the last two years, dating back from this August 6.

What Britain Faces

ABOUT the time this issue of *The Nation* appears, Prime Minister Attlee will be presenting to the House of Commons the British government's plans for meeting the rapidly developing financial crisis. Signs and portents of that crisis have been multiplying in recent weeks. Record drafts, totaling \$700,000,000, were made in July on the American loan, leaving a balance of only \$1,000,000,000. British exports are still expanding, but are hardly in sight of the point at which the deficit on international payments would be wiped out. Moreover, as Keith Hutchison points out on page 144, the growing scarcity of dollars is encouraging the widespread restriction of imports and hitting British as well as American goods. Coal production in Britain continues to lag, and it is increasingly unlikely that this year's target of 200,000,000 tons—the bare minimum for essential needs—will be met. On the London Stock Exchange, prices of industrial stocks and government bonds alike have slumped heavily.

Another factor in the situation is the dispersal of Congress without any plans for a special session in the fall. This has made it clear to Britain that, whatever the ultimate fate of the Marshall proposals, no new American contributions to European recovery can be counted upon before 1948. And by that time, barring drastic measures, the American and Canadian loans would be fully spent and a start made on the dissipation of Britain's last-ditch gold reserve.

It is interesting to note that some influential British commentators believe that postponement of hopes of further American assistance has a positive value. While such hopes lingered, they feel, neither the nation nor the government was ready to face squarely the grim facts of Britain's situation. Now there can be no further evasion; the tight belt must be pulled in several more notches. The government has been getting plenty of advice about how to achieve this end, both from its back-bench supporters and from the opposition. Particular stress is laid by the former on shrinkage of the armed forces, cutting down luxury imports, and deflationary fiscal measures such as taxation of capital gains. The Tories, who have been blowing hot and cold on austerity, agree that imports must be cut but are apt to object strongly to any particular cut. They are almost certain to oppose both worthwhile reductions in the armed forces and new taxes.

Facing the task of slicing overseas expenditure by 25 per cent, the government is likely to take leaves from both books. Mr. Attlee outlined his plans this week to a private meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party and, it is reported, fully satisfied his back-bench critics. That must mean that he has agreed, in part at least, to their

proposals for speeding up demobilization and sharply reducing garrisons abroad. As a result, some economies in the use of foreign exchange for the maintenance of foreign service troops will be possible and, what is more important, many men can be returned to production.

Action of this kind will have, of course, political as well as economic implications. What will be the effects of halving the British garrison in Germany, of withdrawing all British troops from Greece and Italy? What will happen if Britain fixes a date for pulling out of Palestine altogether? What will be the result if Britain declares its inability to contribute to the German food program which is eating heavily into its dollar resources? These are all questions that both the American government and the American people need to ponder deeply. Our policies have been based on the assumption that Britain could maintain itself as one of the Big Three. Now it has reached a position where commitments of that status are beyond its means.

Britain's sacrifice of international prestige and authority will certainly be accompanied by more imme-

diately painful sacrifices at home. Present imports must be slashed even though almost any cut will come near to the bone, for food and raw materials form the vast bulk of Britain's foreign purchases. Some luxury food-stuffs can be omitted, but they are a minor item. Film imports are likely to be drastically reduced. Foreign travel allotments are due for sharp trimming. But when these more obvious economies have been made, imports will still be too heavy for Britain's purse, and it is difficult to see how basic food supplies can be maintained at their present level. One way or another, the British seem destined to pass from a lean to a tender diet.

Will they take it, these people who have been patiently taking it in one form or another for so long? We believe that they will, subject to two provisos. The government must lay all its cards on the table, making it crystal clear just what the crisis means and how it can be overcome. The government must stick firmly to the principle of equality of sacrifice; it must not ask for abstinence from the British workers and allow the fruits of that abstinence to be reaped by private enterprise.

Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. Reconstruction and Progress

Warsaw, August 1

OF ALL the war-scarred countries of Europe, Poland has made the most remarkable recovery.

It is the more impressive because the destruction in Poland was greater than in any of the other occupied countries, with the exception of the occupied parts of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Poland has been "shifted" several hundred miles to the west, and has had to assimilate large new territories. The loss of the non-Polish territories in the east is not greatly regretted—except for Vilno and, especially, Lwow. Few Poles really felt that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands—the areas of the great estates—were an inalienable part of Poland. But Poles today are unanimous in agreeing on the excellence of the Oder-Neisse line. Poland "looks good on the map"; it forms almost a regular circle; it is compact and, with the loss of the eastern lands and the expulsion of the Germans from the west, it has no longer any of those minority problems which weakened Poland between the two wars. The westward shift has changed the whole basis of Poland's economy; it will no longer be a great grain-growing country. Instead, it will become one of the major dairy-farming, stock-breeding, industrial countries of the Continent; and it is felt that, in the balance, Poland will have gained.

The people have a sharp urge to make a success of their coherent and economically harmonious country. Six years of the most humiliating and brutal occupation have demoralized Poland less than almost any other nation in Europe, Russia not excepted. In France, the occupation, though shorter and less horrible, had a deeper and more pernicious effect. This Polish vitality and a sort of innate optimism are among the factors that explain Poland's recovery. Another is the indisputable efficiency of the government. Thirdly, UNRRA's \$500,000,000, and Swedish and other relief activities, have been important aids.

Not that the Poles were not demoralized, at first. When I was in Lublin in 1944, nearly everybody was leading as degrading a black-market, hand-to-mouth existence as during the occupation. I saw Poland again in the summer of 1945. The country was still in a state of deep political ferment and near economic chaos, though order was gradually beginning to take shape. But Warsaw was a heap of rubble; so also were Gdansk (Danzig), Poznan, and the newly acquired Wroclaw (Breslau); the railroads were almost entirely out of commission, due to the wrecking of bridges and the lines themselves, and the lack of rolling stock. Even the miners of Silesia were very poorly fed, not to mention the urban population generally. There was still a powerful underground, and little internal security. There was some banditry then,

even in the streets of Warsaw and Cracow, and the country was just beginning to face the baffling problem of what to do with the large western territories from which most of the Germans had been expelled. At that time, I saw the first Polish settlers on the Neisse; they had come from around Lwow, and with little or no cattle or inventory, they looked wretched and bewildered. All around them, for miles, there was nothing but abandoned German farms. Today, four million Poles have been settled there, and the area has become perhaps the greatest showpiece of post-war Europe. The ports of Gdynia and Gdansk, then completely wrecked, are now almost restored.

ALTOGETHER, the change in two years has been striking. Traffic of goods on the railways is greater than in pre-war Poland; though passenger carriages are still short, freight cars are more numerous than before 1939. Many of these are German, but many others—along with the locomotives—have been built by the great rolling-stock works at Wroclaw, the restoration of which was, somewhat in the Russian style, proclaimed to be the proudest achievement of Polish industry in 1946.

You see feverish reconstruction activity everywhere: the miners and railwaymen and textile workers have labored with immense devotion; land reform has passed off quite smoothly. There are still food shortages and, worse still, the after effects of past food shortages of the 1939-46 period. Seven per cent of Warsaw's population is tubercular. But though many people are living most miserably, especially in some of the large towns, Poland does not rank as one of the very hungry countries of Europe. (Even so, the State Department's decision to stop post-UNRRA relief is a severe blow.) And perhaps most important of all, there is today almost complete internal peace in Poland.

I traveled in a car all over Polish East Prussia and large parts of Byalystok province—areas which a year ago were considered highly dangerous. Now, seldom anything unpleasant happens there. The amnesty in February virtually ended the activity of the rightist bands—that underground which for a long time was being encouraged so foolishly by certain Allied diplomats in the name of "democracy." Nearly 60,000 men laid down their arms and went back to civilian life. The government believes that most of them have given up the struggle for good—though the police no doubt continue to keep an eye on some. The amnesty was decisive in putting a formal end to the bands, but their disintegration was already foreshadowed by the rapidly diminishing support they were receiving from the peasants, who had grown more and more tired of the civil-war atmosphere the bands were creating in many parts of Poland. There was also a growing consciousness among the peasantry, as among all other Poles, that the government was "get-

ting things done." Though the government may not be loved—indeed it is disliked by the greater part of the peasantry, the small shopkeepers, and, of course, the "disinherited" classes—it commands very great respect.

Some will say that Poland has recovered "in spite" of the people in power, but everyone knows that the organizing ability of the government and its clearness of vision have been just as important as the hard work done by the workers and peasants. A striking feature is also the relatively high efficiency of the bureaucracy. Poland's new planned economy has created many difficult problems, but the officials I interviewed never showed any signs of vague fumbling. They were precise, to the point, and produced facts and figures at a moment's notice. I was struck by this even in small-town cooperatives and among minor officials working under the *wojewoda* (provincial governor). Many of these were young men who had more or less wasted their time during the occupation. The Poles have a natural quickness, and intelligence well above the average. The Communists are particularly hard-working and efficient—on the whole, a good deal more so than their Russian opposite numbers.

And it must be said that Polish Communists give the impression of being Poles first and foremost, Communists only next, and pro-Russians last and sometimes not at all. Many say that they want Poland to acquire certain but by no means all of the features of Soviet economy. A large number of Poles are attracted to the P. P. R. (Communist Party) because it has the best organizing brains at its head. It is significant that many of the P. P. R. ministers were at first as eager as the others to respond favorably to the Bevin-Bidault invitation to come to the Paris conference on the Marshall plan. But that is another story.

Of course, the Polish Government is not strictly democratic, according to Western standards. Although no government spokesman will admit it, many a government supporter will confess that the election was not "quite straight." But he will use this argument: "It was a question of whether Poland was to rise from its ruins or not. Were we to leave the decision to a few million ignorant, priest-ridden peasants? Were we to have a Mikolajczyk government, followed before long by a completely reactionary government, which would have inevitably bred internal strife? There would have been no planning; there would have been chaos similar to what you have in Greece; and, in the end, the Russians, for their own protection, might have brought irresistible pressure to bear on Poland, if not actually occupied it. We had to seize the chance to show what we could do with Poland, and before very long we are going to be gratefully accepted by the majority of the people."

[Mr. Werth's next article will describe Poland's planned economy and the achievements of its Communist Minister of Industry, Hilary Minc.]

Hell, High Water, and the MVA

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

St. Louis, July 28

THE big street-cleaning trucks, moving along hub to hub, have washed the last reminders of the worst Missouri River flood since 1844 from the cobble-stoned levee at St. Louis. But above and below the city, for hundreds of miles, the corn fields are still covered by alluvial mud. Farmers are shoveling silt out of their homes and spraying houses and outbuildings with disinfectants. The ruined crops of their bottom lands are typical of the losses which, according to the United States Soil Conservation Service, ran to more than \$900,000,000 in the three states of Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois alone. This includes \$491,000,000 worth of topsoil washed out of America's bread-basket and sluiced into the Gulf of Mexico.

Exclusive of topsoil, floods have cost the Missouri Valley more than one billion dollars in the last forty-five years, according to the Weather Bureau and the Army Engineers. But excepting the 800 lives lost, it is the stripping away of the crop-producing soil that is the great tragedy. Nor is this of concern merely to remote posterity. A rich farming section can be destroyed in twenty-five years. Of this, there is evidence enough in the Missouri valley. The region long has been declining in productivity and population. With major floods now virtually an annual occurrence, it is time for a new approach to the harnessing of the Big Muddy, one that will stop this heavy drain on the resources of the nation.

That approach has been demonstrated in the valley of the Tennessee. Experienced engineers are sure that the TVA idea can be applied to the much larger Missouri basin. The valley's decline can be checked only by a regional authority, with full control over irrigation, flood prevention, power development, and the intelligent exploitation of natural resources. The late President Roosevelt was an ardent supporter of the MVA idea, but his successor has given it only lip-service. Even the latest floods were not enough to move him beyond that.

Mr. Truman spoke highly of the MVA idea at a recent press conference, but a few days later, when he asked Congress for increased appropriations for immediate work on the Missouri, he fell back upon the old pattern of divided authority which has been more successful in setting one federal agency against another than in solving the problems of the valley. He proposed a

ten-year program with an expenditure of \$250,000,000 in the next twelve months, urging that this be authorized without taking time to decide whether or not a valley authority should be created. That he dismissed as an administrative detail. It would be enough, he said, to allow the work to be taken over by such an authority some time in the future.

What the President urged on Congress is a stepping-up of the so-called Pick-Sloan plan. This sprang from a marriage of convenience, hastily contracted between the Army Engineers and the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation in 1944, whose purpose was to head off the first drive in Congress, by Senator Murray of Montana and the late Representative Cochran of Missouri, for the incorporation of a Missouri Valley Authority. Few have questioned the personal competence of the authors of this "plan," but any success they may have in coping with the Missouri will come in spite of the administrative hodge-podge in which they must work. Since the turn of the century, more than \$500,000,000 has been spent on the river, with little now to show for the money except the determination of the various agencies to maintain their interests in the stream and its valley. The Pick-Sloan plan has not put a stop to bickering between the navigation-minded Engineers and the irrigation-minded Bureau of Reclamation. The argument as to whether the Garrison Dam in North Dakota should be high or low is one example of the disagreements that crop up.

There are also other federal agencies, including the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Power Commission, and the Department of Commerce, which exercise some measure of authority in connection with the river. Differences are supposed to be worked out through the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, made up of representatives of the various agencies and the governors of the valley states. The rather infrequent meetings of the committee, however, are little more than debates. It has not the power to push a unified plan. There may even be differences within its constituent agencies, since these are not organized on a valley-wide basis. And, of course, all of these agencies are headed up, in Washington, by men with many other concerns beside those of the Missouri valley. Simply to contrast this divided, inefficient set-up with that of the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville, is to emphasize TVA's superiority. The Missouri Valley needs a similar agency, located in the valley, working with the people of the valley for a common solution of the problems of the valley.

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The chief opponents of the MVA idea are the private power interests, the railroads, cattlemen with their eyes on public lands, and such old-line pressure groups as the Mississippi Valley Association, the National Reclamation Association, and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. These are always ready to defend their favorites among the established agencies. In doing so, they defend their own pork-barrel interests up and down the river. Their chief stocks in trade are (a) the silly argument that MVA is "communitistic"—though even the *New York Daily News* favors it; (b) that methods successful in the Tennessee Valley cannot be used in that of the Missouri; and (c) that there *is* no MVA plan, so that the choice between this idea and the Pick-Sloan plan is a choice between a pipe dream and a blueprint. The knowledge is spreading through the valley, however, that these propagandists are less devoted to the Pick-Sloan plan than they are opposed to MVA. There have been hints that they are ready to drop the one as soon as they can be sure that the threat of the other has been eliminated.

These facts—plus the mounting toll of an uncontrolled river—is gradually building up substantial support for MVA in the valley. The idea is also gaining distinguished editorial support throughout the United States. The *Washington Post* recently pointed out that

the bill for the Midwest's rampaging rivers in a single season is almost as great as the total cost of the TVA; the paper emphasized that, through the sale of power, TVA pays an annual dividend of about \$10,000,000 into the Treasury, in addition to its other benefits. So the *Post* concluded that the time has come to apply the same principles to the Missouri, instead of leaving it to the haphazard patchwork of the past which often has controlled the river at one point only to make it more dangerous at another.

This argument, pointing as it does to better crops and more factories for the valley, seems so logical that it is a little difficult to understand how even the current Republican Congress can resist it. But the resistance is as real as the flood damage, real enough apparently to convince the President that this is not the year to put up a fight for MVA. Still, as one watches a third Murray bill gathering dust, one recalls that it took the late Senator Norris fifteen years—from 1918 to 1933—to win his campaign for a TVA. Each time the flood waters rise in the valley of the Missouri they teach their lesson more explicitly and more expensively. It is inconceivable that it should be indefinitely ignored. With ever wider understanding of the promise of a Missouri Valley Authority, surely the American people will not let their bread-basket be turned into a desert.

The Audacity of Aneurin Bevan

BY ROBERT T. MCKENZIE

NO FIGURE better represents the vigorous sincerity of British socialism than Aneurin (pronounced "A-nye-rin") Bevan, Minister of Health, who is also responsible for the government's housing program. Till 1945, his seemed to be the stormy career of the permanent dissenter. A pure proletarian type, he emerged from the pits of Wales to become a hero of the intellectual left. Expelled from the Labor Party in 1939 for his advocacy, in defiance of the party executive, of a popular front against Chamberlain, he spent most of his energies during the war years assailing the Churchill coalition for its refusal to overthrow vested interests in the prosecution of the war and for its willingness to override British liberties in the name of national unity. Churchill, in turn, coined

some of his most searing phrases in his repeated denunciations of the irreconcilable Bevan, referring to him as "this squalid nuisance" and "the chief architect of disloyalty in war time."

As a member of the Labor government, Bevan has developed into a brilliant Socialist administrator and parliamentarian. Commenting on the speech in which he presented his National Health bill to the Commons, the *Manchester Guardian* conceded that he was the ablest orator in the House, Mr. Churchill not excluded. The authoritative and well-informed *Economist*, in reviewing the first year of the government's work, acknowledged that Bevan's reputation had risen more rapidly than that of any other Cabinet minister except perhaps Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

These tributes are the more surprising when one recalls that Bevan, the son of a coal miner, was a shy, bookish boy troubled by a severe stammer. He is the youngest member of the government, having been born in 1897. At thirteen, he left school to work in the pits, but he always read voraciously, particularly in the field of philosophy. He might almost have been the prototype

ROBERT T. MCKENZIE has recently returned to Canada after two years in England, during which time he acquired first-hand information about the British Labor movement and its leaders. He is now assistant director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

of the young hero in Emlyn Williams's "The Corn Is Green," for his earliest opportunity for self-education came through the interest taken in his intellectual development by the librarian of the Tredegar public library. He gradually overcame his stammer by throwing himself with Welsh enthusiasm into street-corner debates.

While he was still in his 'teens, Bevan left the pits to study at the Central Labor College. When only nineteen, he was elected chairman of one of the largest miners' lodges in South Wales. After some years as a union agent, he was elected, at thirty-two, to the House of Commons. With this working-class background, he might have been expected to become a leader among the trade-union members, who form the conservative wing of the party. Instead, they soon came to look on him as a rather dangerous firebrand, never restrained by party or union loyalties from attacking ineptitude or fatuity wherever he found it. For some years, he edited the *Tribune*, a London weekly which under his direction became the most forthright Socialist critic of the Churchill coalition.

After the Communist Party had pursued its revolutionary defeatist line through the winter of the blitz in 1940-41, and the popular front had become a dead issue, Bevan reapplied for readmission to the Labor Party. He had the wit to realize that however irksome the requirements of party loyalty, a British Socialist had no future outside the party. When the cautious Attlee, long the butt of Bevan's assaults, came to form his government, everyone was eager to see how he would handle the party's brilliant Welsh problem child. Would Clem leave "Nye" Bevan outside the Cabinet and run the risk of his becoming a dangerously effective critic, or would he take him into the government and risk his becoming a belligerent and perhaps irreconcilable member of the team? Attlee, with more audacity than most people

expected, not only put Bevan in the important post of Minister of Health but gave him in addition the vital and enormously difficult job of heading the housing drive.

As Minister of Health, Bevan had the delicate task of reconciling the widespread popular demand for a full program of state medicine with the deep suspicion and hostility of the British

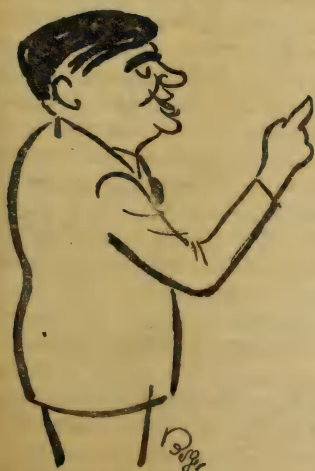
Medical Association to such a proposal. His success to date has startled his most devoted admirers. He has piloted through the Commons with consummate skill a bill to promote what is probably the most comprehensive system of virtually free public medicine that has ever been established in a democratic society.

The National Health Service Act, which goes into effect in July of 1948, establishes a universal health service—under the National Insurance plan but subject to no limitations in benefits. This service includes general practitioner and specialist treatment, hospitalization, drugs and medicine, eye examinations and spectacles, dental treatment and dentures, hearing aids, and ambulance service. All the present voluntary and public hospitals will be reorganized into a publicly owned hospital system to be administered by regional hospital boards. The doctors are to be permitted to decide whether or not they wish to practice under the act, and patients may choose their own "family doctor." Doctors entering this scheme will be remunerated by a combination of flat basic salary and "capitation fees" based on the number of patients who voluntarily register with the doctor.

The British Medical Association, representing by far the largest body of organized medical practitioners, long claimed that the scheme would do irreparable damage to the existing doctor-patient relationship and that arbitrary powers would be left in the hands of the Minister of Health. During December, 1946, the association took a poll of its members on the question whether it should enter into negotiations with the Minister regarding the implementation of the act. Forty-four per cent voted in favor of negotiations and 56 per cent against. But in January, the B. M. A. resoundingly reversed itself, by a vote of 252 to 17, and agreed to negotiate with the Minister "on condition that the possibility of fresh legislation was not excluded."

As head of the housing drive, Bevan must deal with the toughest domestic problem the government faces. Of the 13,000,000 dwellings in Britain at the outbreak of war, 210,000 were totally destroyed, 250,000 rendered uninhabitable, and almost 4,500,000 damaged. In addition, of course, repair and replacement, and the long overdue slum clearance which might have been carried out in the past seven years, were left undone. And the housing drive must be undertaken in the face of acute shortages of man-power and housing materials. All parties have agreed on an immediate target of 750,000 houses which must be built quickly.

The most recent figures—to May 30, 1947—show that 210,874 new houses have been provided, of which 89,131 are permanent and 110,029 are temporary—that is, aluminum or other structures intended to last for not more than ten years. About 10,000 war-damaged dwellings have been completely rebuilt and some emergency huts provided for government workers and others. No



Aneurin Bevan

one, not even Bevan himself, is completely satisfied with these figures. The Conservatives assert that Bevan, out of doctrinal prejudice, has hamstrung the work of private builders. Bevan replies that his first concern is for the less well-to-do sections of the population, in whom the private builder is not particularly interested; consequently, he has given every encouragement to the local authorities to plan permanent houses to rent to the working classes. So far, the only claim Bevan makes is that he "will wager any amount" housing will not be a major issue when the government comes up for reelection in 1950. No one in the Labor Party has suggested that anyone else would have tackled the problem with more vigor and imagination or less respect for vested interests.

In temperament, Bevan is robust, full of good humor and the most spontaneous friendliness. Few public men are so little awed by rank or pretensions or so genuinely interested in the activities of the most humble. As for his home life, he has literally found that in politics, for he has married one of Britain's most brilliant women M. P.'s, Miss Jennie Lee—no one dares call her Mrs. Bevan. Miss Lee had a political career well under way when she married "Nye," and on her return

to the Commons in 1945, she regained, on a completely independent basis, her role as one of the most vigorous and forthright Socialists on the back benches. It may not be altogether an accident that "Nye" is widely considered to be the voice of the back benches within the government.

Like many another Welshman, Bevan has been a frequent victim of his own sharp tongue and his ability to coin a bitter phrase. In a warm personal discussion, he frequently talks himself into the most impossible positions or delivers himself of quite unforgivable denunciations of those with whom he disagrees. In the House, he has of late largely overcome this habit. As a minister, he increasingly relies on a closely reasoned argument or trenchant refutation of his political enemy's case.

If the government runs into really deep water with any of its nationalization proposals, and appears to falter in its intentions, then watch "Nye" Bevan. He is the natural popular leader of the party in a crisis. Should "MacDonaldisim" ever show its head in the Cabinet, Bevan, yesterday's firebrand, might be tomorrow's Prime Minister. After all, he still has twenty or twenty-five years of political life ahead.

Who's a Nazi in Bavaria?

BY MELTON S. DAVIS

HERBERT GESSNER was a commentator on Radio Munich, which is operated by the U. S. Office of Military Government for Bavaria. Being young, ardently anti-Nazi, and an excellent legman, he dug up all sorts of facts and figures which, to put it mildly, did not always reflect well on the C. S. U. (the Christian Social Union).

One of his targets was Dr. Anton Pfeiffer, chief of the Special Ministry (for denazification) of Bavaria. The former chief, a Communist, had been eased out of the job for several reasons. No one denied his zeal or his honesty, but his ineptitude in administration, his inability to persuade Bavarians to convict their own people, and the increasing strength of the C. S. U. vote forced the issue. Pfeiffer, a strong C. S. U. man, took over the job. He was an able administrator, but according to Gessner—and others—his zeal was a little open to question. Gessner charged that the Pfeiffer family had been quite comfortable under the Nazis; in fact, one of the boys had belonged to the S. A.

Denazification Minister Pfeiffer, said the commentator, had dismissed anti-Nazis from government posi-

tions but had kept party members on the pay roll. One of his key prosecutors used to do the same kind of work for the Nazis in Berlin.

In one internment camp run by Pfeiffer, members of the denazification court and the inmates they were trying lived together. Nazis and men who might be called neutral Germans, neither pro- nor anti-Nazi, sat on most of the denazification boards, though the Law for Liberation from National Socialism specified that cases were to be heard by *anti-fascist* Germans.

Finally, Gessner, in a burst of indignation, threatened to resign if Pfeiffer did not. Thereupon the entire German Cabinet of Bavaria, sensitive souls all, sent in their resignations. But in a supposed attempt to bolster self-government in Bavaria, Military Government accepted Gessner's resignation and refused the others. Brigadier General Walter J. Muller, head of M. G. in Bavaria, told the Cabinet that they would have to get used to press and radio criticism.

It was about this time that General Clay made his statement about the disgraceful handling of denazification after it had been turned over to the Germans. Württemberg-Baden was satisfactory; Greater Hesse was not too bad; this obviously left Bavaria and Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer admitted that from 60 to 80 per cent of the sentences were far too light. As a matter of fact, the

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American Military Government's quite lenient policy on denazification was 76 per cent too harsh for the Bavarians. They completely exonerated more than three out of every four public officials cited by the United States as having been such thorough Nazis that they must immediately be removed from office.

The International Committee for the Study of European Questions reported in February of this year that in Bavaria, "out of nearly a million dossiers drawn up against the Nazis, nearly 950,000 had not been examined at the beginning of the autumn of 1946." The subjects of most of the others had either been acquitted or had served their light prison sentences by that time.

A flurry of activity followed the issuance of the report. Men who had been staunch Nazi Party members, even S. S. members, were put in the mild "follower" classification and fined 500 or 600 marks (\$50 or \$60).

FOLLOWING its victory at the polls, the Christian Social Union held a party conference. Dr. Josef Müller, who had been ordered before a denazification board, was reelected head of the party. Pfeiffer was chosen as C. S. U. candidate for the office of Minister President, but refused to run. Müller was then nominated but failed to get a majority. Finally, the fifty-nine-year-old Hans Ehard, a moderate C. S. U. member, was elected.

Dr. Ehard has an interesting background. During most of the Hitler regime, he was president of the *Erbohofgericht*, a court which handles entailed estates, and senate president of the *Oberlandgericht* of Munich, all under Nazi supervision. He was elected with the help of the Economic Reconstruction Party (*Wirtschaftliche Aufbau Vereinung*) of Dr. Alfred Loritz.

This group, which is rapidly taking on a bully-boy coloring, was characterized by Delbert Clark in the *New York Times* for June 1 as a "fascist-spirited collection of malcontents surprisingly reminiscent of Hitler's original crew . . . whose announced program includes most of the fundamental principles on which fascist governments are based." At one of their meetings, a press-association photographer was barred and members attempted forcibly to take his camera away. Loritz said, "The almighty power of the press must be broken."

Yet Loritz was appointed Denazification Minister by Ehard; Loritz, whom a Reuter dispatch *last year* (November 12) called "Bavaria's new Führer." Almost immediately, he filed a number of indictments against widows. Among them were Frau Siegfried Wagner, whose husband was director of the Bayreuth opera, Frau Erich von Ludendorff, Frau Himmler, Frau Göring, Frau Fritz Sauckel, Frau Wilhelm Frick, and Frau Hans Frank. Two wives of imprisoned Nazis were also on this list, Frau Baldur von Schirach and Frau Funk,

wife of the former Economics Minister, Walther Funk. Emmy Göring is too ill to walk, let alone appear. Frau Himmler is in an insane asylum. However, Frau Sauckel was tried. She was fined 1,000 marks, the black-market price of a carton of Lucky Strikes.

The four civilian internment camps, which were turned over to the Germans in March, have been under Loritz's supervision. As soon as Bavarians were in charge, the number of escapes shot up. At Regensburg, there were twenty-six escapes in thirty-seven days. Under the United States army, there had been not a single one. The Regensburg camp has been called a "Nazi paradise." An investigation by the Bavarian government revealed that the adviser to the camp denazification board was a former major general in the S. S. The people interned there—former Nazi big shots and members of the nobility—were running the camp, and ordering around the Germans who were supposed to be supervising them. The latter were paid in American cigarettes. Large-scale smuggling, bribery, and counterfeiting of American occupation scrip, ration cards, and passports went gaily on. The *Berlin Telegraph*, a Socialist paper, sarcastically noted, "You have to admit that the Nazis have good connections."

One of Loritz's assistants, since resigned, recently admitted that hundreds of thousands of amnesty certificates had been issued to persons not entitled to them.

On June 1, the International Committee for the Study of European Questions issued another report on the Nazis in Germany. Again, Bavaria was singled out for censure. Though the situation had not stirred Military Government to action, it proved too much for Loritz's own followers to swallow. On June 21, they moved to oust him from the chairmanship of his Economic Reconstruction Party. Three days later, Minister President Ehard finally fired him.

The International Committee's report charged that the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture alone had five former members of the Nazi Party in key posts. The Minister of Economics, Dr. Zorn, courageously defended his people by putting the blame on the D. P.'s, whom he called "the most vicious of the insects that infest the German body." Another member of the democratic Bavarian Cabinet is Dr. Alois Hundhammer, leader of the monarchist and separatist groups in the C. S. U. As Minister of Education, he has just reintroduced the caning of school children.

Munich's cafes are full of unemployed. In the Cafe Rheinland, an active black market is carried on at about half the tables. Young men in their twenties frequent the cafe, and if you listened you might hear them talking about Hugo Männer, whose body, wrapped in a gunny sack, was recently found in the Isar Canal. He had had the temerity to testify against some of Bavaria's Nazis.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Latin American Trade Troubles

IT IS not only United States trade with Europe that is threatened by scarcity of dollars. Our Latin American neighbors, who have enormously increased their purchases from this country since the war ended, are beginning to eye their diminishing reserves of gold and foreign exchange with some alarm, and are taking steps to reduce the demands on them. Thus, within the past three months, Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico have all moved to cut down imports of foreign goods.

Yet in contrast to Europe, Latin America as a whole was able greatly to improve its financial position during the war. Its minerals and other raw materials were in almost unlimited demand at high prices and, in some countries, the United States spent large sums directly on the construction and maintenance of airfields. At the same time, imports were held down since, with American and British factories concentrated on war production, the manufactured goods which Latin America normally imports were simply not available. Consequently, most nations south of the border enjoyed "favorable" trade balances and were able to build up their reserves of gold and foreign currencies, including dollars.

The wartime boom in Latin American exports, however, had its unhealthy aspects. It led to a great expansion of incomes and currency circulation at a time when supplies of goods, and particularly imported articles, were very short. The natural result was an inflationary rise in prices.

By V-J Day, Latin Americans were relatively well supplied with cash and eager to spend it. The new rich, who had profited from the war boom, were eager customers for American automobiles and refrigerators; workers wanted textiles, foodstuffs, and pots and pans; industrialists were in urgent need of tools, steel, chemicals, and so forth. During the war years, factory and transportation equipment had been worn out or become obsolete. Moreover, the economic difficulties arising from the conflict had stimulated the desire for greater industrialization, and nearly all Latin American countries had plans for the fuller development of their resources.

When civilian goods began once again to roll off our production lines, Latin American buyers crowded the sales office. In a very short time, a complete shift in the wartime pattern of trade had occurred. In 1945, our purchases from Latin America still overbalanced shipments by \$360,000,000; in 1946, we had an export surplus of \$340,000,000. But this was only a beginning, for, in the first three months of this year, our exports to Latin America exceeded imports from there by no less than \$402,000,000. Should this deficit continue at the same rate throughout the year, it would mean a draft on Latin American reserves of \$1,608,000,000. Since, at the beginning of 1947, these reserves amounted only to some \$5,000,000,000, it is clear that the current rate of exhaustion cannot safely be maintained.

The situation is all the more serious, from the point of view of most Latin American governments, because they have been exchanging their assets for consumer goods, rather than for the capital items they require to strengthen their national economies. Of course, all the world is clamoring for goods of the same kind—steel, freight cars and locomotives, power-house equipment, pipe, machinery of every sort. Domestic needs are far from being filled and only a trickle has been available for Europe. According to Washington officials, Latin America has, in fact, been given preferential treatment in export allotments. Be that as it may, the supply of capital goods has fallen far short of demand, while United States exporters have been able to offer increasing quantities of automobiles, electrical appliances, textiles, cosmetics, drugs, and other consumer goods.

Latin American planners have thus some reason to fear that, by the time it becomes possible to procure machinery without difficulty, their resources may be dissipated. That is why a number of countries have recently placed embargoes on some non-essential imports, or limited the amount of foreign exchange made available for their purchase. Brazil, which is following the second of these techniques, gives priority exchange-licenses to machinery, raw materials, and other industrial goods, and forces importers of less urgent items to wait their turn. Argentina has banned automobile imports until the end of the year. Mexico has embargoed foreign automobiles, radios, refrigerators, fine fabrics, jewelry, cosmetics, and furs, and raised tariffs on canned fish, rayon, flashlights, buttons, and a number of other articles.

While some of these measures may have been inspired by the desire of local manufacturers for increased protection, they are, in the main, justified by the yawning gap between exports to and imports from the United States—a gap which must be reduced if a real financial crisis is to be avoided. The most satisfactory way of achieving this end would be an expansion of Latin American exports. But while sales to this country have improved somewhat in the first five months of 1947, there seems little hope of an increase comparable to the increase in imports. Moreover, two measures just passed by Congress tend to discourage Latin American exports. The sugar bill, which I discussed last week, is certainly going to reduce Cuban purchasing power, while continuation of subsidies to low-grade mines is likely to diminish somewhat the demand for Latin American metals.

What about increases in exports to other parts of the world? Is it possible for Latin America to earn additional dollars by greater sales to Europe? Unfortunately, most European countries are being forced to cut imports to the bone and many of them, in any case, can only pay in currencies which cannot be converted into dollars. Besides, the steps taken to block off North American imports serve equally to restrict imports from Europe. For instance, if Chile bans our automobiles, it must also—in order to avoid discrimination—refuse to buy British and French models. This, in turn, reduces British and French ability to purchase Chilean copper and nitrates. In the present lop-sided state of the world economy, the principle of equal commercial treatment for all nations, desirable as it is in normal times, may tend to reduce the total volume of international trade rather than to increase it.

Del Vayo—Why Molotov Went Home

IN MY last article, I said that the only alternative to the present disastrous two-worlds policy was to refer to the United Nations the problem of reviewing Europe's economy, which should never have been removed from its jurisdiction. This proposal makes sense only if we assume that Russia is prepared to cooperate in the reconstruction of Europe. If, on the contrary, we believe Moscow has no intention of cooperating under any circumstances, United Nations action is meaningless—but in that case, Bidault might have spared himself the trouble of inviting Molotov to Paris.

Contrary to the theory that Molotov came to the conference determined in advance to say no, I suggest he was inclined rather to say yes, and that an agreement "in principle" to a joint effort for Europe's rehabilitation had been approved in Moscow. I cannot identify the source of my information, but I think I can reconstruct what happened in Paris on July 1 and explain why Molotov packed his bags, after a telephone conversation with Moscow, and quit Paris, along with his eighty-odd experts.

So far, the public has been offered two reasons why Molotov went home. The first blames Bevin for having failed to include the Russians in his exploratory discussions with France. The British Foreign Minister changed his tactics only after Bidault informed him France would not join in calling the Economic Conference unless the Soviet Union were invited to participate from the start. The British attitude was hardly calculated to win initial Russian good-will. The second reason has to do with the question of inventories: an important aim of the Paris conference was to obtain from all the member countries a list of the resources at their disposal for fulfilment of the Marshall plan. The Soviet Union was reluctant, it is said, to make public its whole economic situation at the possible cost of its bargaining position.

But there is still a third explanation, the most important one—Germany. If my information is correct, what happened was this: the Soviet Foreign Minister discovered that Washington had already, in advance of the meeting, drawn its plans for the "leveling-up" of German production. He learned that Marshall was resolved to make Germany the keystone of his whole program. All this without consulting any of his allies except the British.

Of course, Molotov had known all along that an influential sector of official Washington saw eye to eye with General Clay, who favored putting the Western zone on its feet again regardless of previous agreements among the occupation powers. As far back as last summer in Moscow, I heard Russian officials discussing Clay's intention. The Americans, I was told, apparently looked upon Germans as potential allies and were ready to use all sorts—the list of *persona grata* ranged from wily old crooks like Schacht to exalted Socialist patriots like Schumacher. Molotov didn't need to travel to Paris to learn that the ace card of the stop-Russia strategists was a strong Germany.

However, it was possible for him to hope that, since the German settlement was scheduled for discussion at the For-

eign Ministers' conference in London next November, it would not be incorporated into the Marshall plan without discussion. Nor did he expect that the rebuilding of Germany would take precedence over that of the nations Germany had destroyed. His discovery that the plan of European economic cooperation was predicated upon the Clay directive made Molotov decide to pull out, even at the risk of having to accept responsibility for "splitting Europe." In the light of Russian tactics ever since San Francisco, his abrupt departure was for most observers an inexplicable *volte-face*. The solemn Paris *Monde* noted with surprise that "for the first time, Soviet diplomacy has been lacking in suppleness." Molotov chose to be inflexible rather than to proceed on the basis of an accomplished fact which carried with it the danger of assisting in the revival of a Junker-fascist Germany.

That Molotov was not merely seeing ghosts in Paris is confirmed by the words of former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, in the *Herald Tribune* of July 29:

A few days ago, the State, War, and Navy Departments issued a directive to our military commander in Germany to carry out a new plan that would raise industrial capacity in the American and British occupation zones far above the limits set by the Potsdam agreement. It was only after the French government had protested vehemently, and after the British had indicated their reluctance, that the State Department instructed General Clay to postpone enforcement of the industrial plan until the Paris conference had rendered its final report.

In this atmosphere of multilateral distrust, only the United Nations could prevent an early rupture over the question of aid to Europe. Yet the world organization was ignored, first in the Truman Doctrine, second in the Marshall plan, and third in the directive to General Clay. Clark M. Eichelberger, speaking for the American Association of the United Nations, proposes that the Marshall plan be administered by the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe. That is where it properly belongs.

Some have argued that it would take months for the Economic Commission to set up adequate aid machinery; that not a single day can be lost when, to quote Mr. Bevin, Europe lies "bleeding to death." But the most optimistic forecasts do not set the date for Congressional action on the Marshall plan much before February of next year.

Some have argued that the United Nations is too weak, that the job requires determination and aggressiveness. To them, I repeat what I used to tell critics of the League of Nations: a world organization can only be as strong as its parts. Weakened by the crisis of 1938, the League could still have rallied and stopped Hitler had England and France chosen to make use of its machinery. Instead, they went to Munich. By-passed until now, the United Nations can serve to restore Europe without dividing it. If the primary aim of the Marshall plan is to defeat Russia without going to war, the United Nations is of no use. If its aim is to rebuild Europe, the United Nations is the proper instrument.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Sartre's Research

THE AGE OF REASON. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Eric Sutton. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

THE AGE OF REASON is the first novel in a projected trilogy, "Roads to Freedom," by the leader of the French Existentialists; the second, already published in France, is promised in English translation later this year. What Sartre gives us, so far, is a canvas of the forlornness—to use a term we frequently encounter in the writing of the Existentialists—of modern man. Huddled together in the Paris of 1938, on the eve of the war, is a group of middle-class bohemians committed to nothing and connected with nothing in life—Mathieu, a professor of philosophy; Marcelle, his self-invalidated mistress; Daniel, a tortured homosexual; Boris and Ivitch, brother and sister, devotees of infantilism; Lola, an aging café singer and drug addict. This central circle of "The Age of Reason" is touched by another series of modern types—Jacques, Mathieu's fascist-minded bourgeois brother; Brunet, a Communist; Sarah, a maternal Jewess who takes too much pleasure in helping her troubled friends.

None of these people is heroic; each is the victim rather than the master of his fate. Only Brunet is firmly organized around a purpose, and only Mathieu suggests the possibility of a significant moral change in the future. In this first volume of his trilogy, that is, Sartre has done no more than lead his patients into the theater and describe their symptoms. He has convinced us that his world is very sick, but he has not yet prescribed a cure. For this, we must either await the succeeding volumes or refer to his other work.

We have been told that Sartre's fictional method has been influenced by Dos Passos. But even a summary listing of the characters in "The Age of Reason" should indicate the unsoundness of pressing the connection. Dos Passos's social canvas is obviously much broader than Sartre's. Dos Passos also commands a much higher vantage in relation to his characters. Then, too, there is much more *event* in Dos

Passos's novels than in this book of Sartre's, the whole of whose external action hangs upon the fact that Mathieu's mistress has become pregnant and must either be allowed to bear her child or be provided with the money for an abortion. "The Age of Reason" is, indeed, claustrophobic in its limitation of movement and action: we recognize that this mood expresses Sartre's belief that only an understanding of the true meaning of freedom allows man to escape the increasing pressures of life. The characters in "The Age of Reason" talk obsessively about freedom. They may mean anything from a refusal of the responsibility of marriage, to political quietism, to Gide's *acte gratuit*. From Sartre's other work, not from anything he tells us in this book, we know that these are all false interpretations and that by "freedom" he means the taking of a full responsibility for our own lives, and that his notion of responsibility goes so far as to reach the categorical imperative of Kant: we must always act as if our choice should be the rule for mankind.

Much closer than any resemblance of Sartre's method to that of Dos Passos is, I think, its resemblance to the microcosmic method of the early Aldous Huxley, where the miseries of a small, especially exacerbated segment of society—the society, roughly, of the author himself—is taken to stand for the whole modern dilemma. And this is not the sole respect in which "The Age of Reason" brings Huxley to mind.

Behind Huxley's present religious position there stretches, of course, the history of a long search for an authority in life. It is only in his last novels that Huxley has openly personified this authority in a strong father-figure, who is a sort of earthly liaison to God. But it has always been clear that his need of a *something* to which man might cling was actually the need for a *someone*; and what we have watched, as his ideas have evolved, is the process by which the real physical parent-person has been transformed into an ideal parent-person, the alchemy by which parental flesh has been changed to parental spirit. Before Huxley could

permit any authority to the father, he had to rid him of body. The sexual disgust and confusion from which his characters have always suffered is primarily a disgust with the sexual parent; it is only resultingly a disgust with themselves.

One must be struck by the similarity between the sexual atmosphere of "The Age of Reason" and that of Huxley's novels. None of Sartre's bohemians is sexually at peace, each fights his sexual impulses. It is in the sexual sphere, in other words, that Sartre centers the conflict between good and evil in life. Like Huxley's books, "The Age of Reason" is heavy with unpleasant reminders—bad tastes in the mouth, self-inflicted bleedings, vomit, body odors—of the kind of dominion the body can exercise over the spirit. And all the characters are concerned in some unsatisfactory child-parent relationship: Boris, Ivitch, Daniel all look to Mathieu as to a father; Mathieu's own crisis has to do with his fear of parenthood; Daniel "solves" his homosexual problem by assuming the incongruous role of father to Mathieu's child. The deep sense of separateness from which these people suffer is actually an alienation from the parents in whom they could once have placed full confidence, an alienation which we are given evidence to believe has a sexual source.

Here the analogy to Huxley must sharply end. Where Huxley goes on to replace the authority of the physical father with the authority of God the Father, and His saintly representative on earth, Sartre remains rigorously atheistic and—as we know from his other writings—incorporates all authority into the individual himself. Where Huxley's philosophy ensues in passivity, the Existential philosophy insists upon man's involvement with his time.

And yet, there seems to me to be a large suggestiveness in the common emotional ground from which the two take off—the fact that Sartre, like Huxley, is so concerned to destroy the parental figure of authority. Huxley has found another authority to substitute for it; might it not be possible that Sartre will need to do the same? While one

hesitates to conjecture that perhaps the very fierceness of the Existentialist protest against authority disguises a longing for it, we recall that Heidegger, the German Existentialist, became a Nazi, and we take note of the fact that the Communist Brunet in "The Age of Reason" is given, almost all unconsciously, a quite different moral quality from the other characters. Huxley chose God; might not the Existentialist choose the State—the proletarian dictatorship, say, though not the fascist dictatorship? Might not the final act of freedom be the free choice to give up all purely personal freedom?

In his little volume, "Existentialism," Sartre acknowledges his "distress" that God does not exist to give man "essence," and thus his inescapable moral values. "Everything is permissible if God does not exist," he quotes from Dostoevski. But we need be neither theists nor without moral principle to refuse to erect ourselves, with Sartre, into the first, final, and only source and repository of all values. For to do this is surely to place an insupportable burden of responsibility upon ourselves as individuals and to be tempted, as experience teaches us that the overburdened individual is always tempted, to seek some external organization, theological or political, which will take the weight from us—this, or else to be entirely incapacitated for action.

As an artistic performance, "The Age of Reason" is rather more than competent. I especially like its relaxed command of language, its easy movement between the colloquial and the educated idiom. Its chief interest, however, is as a document in an extraordinarily interesting moral research.

DIANA TRILLING

Men Overboard

THE DARK SHIP. By Richard O. Boyer. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

THE MANY AND THE FEW. By Henry Kraus. The Plantin Press, Los Angeles. \$2.50.

BOTH of these books purport to fill the very real need for honest, close-up writing about American trade unions and their members. Boyer's volume is subtitled "an account of the life and times of a sea-going trade union, of the

pioneers who built it and the men who maintain it on the globe's seven seas." George F. Addes and R. J. Thomas sign a preface to Kraus's book in which they call it "a simple story of simple people." In both cases, the blurbs are deceptive. Both authors—Kraus to a lesser degree than Boyer—have written tracts that are about as persuasively realistic as the hostile pictures of trade unionism distributed by the National Association of Manufacturers. Kraus is infinitely less artful than Boyer. But it is Boyer, because of an unhappy accident of history, who gives the show away.

The occupational hazards confronting a journalist who follows the Communist Party line have been frequently and painfully revealed. Few recent cases are as gruesome as that of the author of "The Dark Ship." Some readers may recall that, not many months ago, Mr. Boyer, who splits his personality between the whimsical headquarters of the *New Yorker* and the orthodox office of the *New Masses*, contributed a profile of Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, to the *New Yorker*. It was an ardently affectionate work, a labor of proletarian love. These pieces, it develops, formed the basis for a large section of the book on the maritime union which Mr. Boyer has now published. But disaster struck at just about the time the book was going to press. Curran became a "renegade." He turned and bit the Communist hands that fed him and proclaimed that the Communist Party was practicing its familiar strategy of "rule-or-ruin" in the N. M. U.

Mr. Boyer's dilemma probably calls for pity rather than polemics. He had valiantly attempted to present the N. M. U. as the creation of a bunch of ordinary working stiff, with poetry in their souls, politics on their minds, and simple devotion to their fellow men in their hearts. According to this romantic tale, Joe Curran was nature's nobleman, around whom all this virtuous business revolved. But suddenly, in the closing pages, the tone shifts. Harry Bridges, who has remained devout, emerges as the hero of all maritime endeavor. As for Curran, Mr. Boyer suggests strong doubt that the build-up in the preceding pages was justified. On page 299 he writes:

Some months later this unity of the seven maritime unions that had paid off so handsomely in increased wages was faced with dissolution as a result of Curran's charge that the coalition was dominated by Reds. In the serious union struggle that followed, charges of "Red" and "agent of the bosses" were hurled with an abandon which could only please N. M. U.'s enemies. But the N. M. U. is a democratic union and the rank-and-file, in the last analysis, will decide whether the unity gained after such a long struggle was profitable or harmful. It is the rank-and-file which will decide in their own good time whether the unity that gained them the largest raise in the history of the industry was a Moscow plot or action in the best interest of the membership.

So this saga of the sea ends in a swamp of party-line gibberish. The man overboard is named Curran. Needless to say, Boyer makes no attempt to examine the nature of Curran's charges against his former Communist associates or to explain why "Big Joe" finally lost patience. The whole performance gives the book something of the quality of a trick mystery story, for the villain turns out to be the guy nobody could have suspected in the first two hundred pages.

Kraus' ideological paralysis is more candid. His subject is the historic General Motors sitdown strike of 1937. But in his own author's introduction, he writes:

The question of interpretation rose most sharply perhaps in the treatment of such an individual as John L. Lewis. The author would certainly not excuse the conduct of this man during the war nor his surrender of principles which he did much to energize in the early days of the C. I. O. Yet he does not regard the outstanding role played by Lewis in this narrative, based as it is on incontestable fact, as a contradiction. It is his firm conviction that the social entity rather than the individual is the determining factor in history. . . .

Whatever this means, it probably explains the wooden, lifeless representation of the struggle at Flint which Kraus offers. Unlike Boyer, Kraus makes a genuine, if awkward, effort to avoid flagrant factionalism in choosing his favorites. But the "people" to whom the book is ostensibly dedicated are totally overshadowed by his passionate desire to write a "pro-union" book,

dramatizing the glories of "unity" in the labor movement. The lives of trade unions and their members are unhappily more varied and complex than Kraus is prepared to admit in public. And his story throws strangely little illumination on the sad internal struggles that have followed the United Automobile Workers' bright hours of triumph. It is an unrevealing chronicle, like a collection of newspaper clips adorned with a few intimate scenes of young unionists at the barricades.

The literature of contemporary labor battles remains meagre and unsatisfying. But it can only be written by men whose imaginations transcend party lines and house-organ stereotypes.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

Security and Stimulation

CHILDREN OF THE CUMBERLAND. By Claudia Lewis. Columbia University Press. \$2.75.

THIS book is a significant contribution to the study of child development. Its title is misleading. It is a regional study, and an extremely interesting one, but it is a great deal more. It is an analysis of the effects of two vastly different environments upon young children—that of Sommerville (the name is fictitious) in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee, and that of Greenwich Village in New York City.

The general approach of the book is clearly stated by the author when she says in the introduction that it is for those "who like to speculate on the sources of human personality and behavior." Results are not final; the methods of study used are not those of pure science. In this fact lies one of its distinctive values. An examination of children, not in offices or other "controlled" surroundings, but in their natural habitat, has certain definite advantages. And a presentation of them, not as series of reactions, but as living, breathing human beings, also has advantages. Subjective interpretations of human behavior may be as valid as objective interpretations. And Miss Lewis combines rare sensitiveness and deep insight with considerable literary skill.

She grapples here with one of the most fundamental and baffling questions facing educators today, the rela-

tive value for children of emotional security—of love and a sense of belonging—as opposed to an environment conducive to achievement, to learning. On the whole, the Sommerville children had security but very little else. They were loved. They did everything—from driving the cows home to attending funerals—with their parents. Each child was sure of his place in the group; he had no need to feel jealous of the others. But their homes were ugly, crowded cabins, barren of elements that stimulate curiosity or the urge to do or to make, that develop a sense of beauty, or that make demands on powers of adaptation.

The Greenwich Village children had what the Sommerville children lacked—stimulus, variety, relatively rapid change, and the need to make adjustments. But many of their parents were too taken up with their own affairs to give them the time and attention they needed. Nor were they given sufficient chance to become active participants in the life of the home.

The Sommerville children were relatively easy to handle in the nursery school; they were compliant and offered a minimum of rebellion against adult authority. The Village children were high-strung and more difficult, but they were also more eager, more alive, more responsive. They were both more aggressive and more creative.

Making allowances for complicating factors, Miss Lewis concludes that if city children could know more of the security of the Cumberland children, theirs would be the better environment, since it would do more to develop latent capacity and to stimulate adjustment on a high level.

I myself would question whether the Cumberland parents—living on a bare subsistence level, many of them on relief—really gave their children security. And for this reason, I think Miss Lewis may have overestimated the negative influence of the lack of stimulation in the rural environment. But despite this and other limitations, the value of the book is unquestionable. Educators tend to place too much emphasis on programs and to slight the importance of human relations in the classroom; psychologists are prone to minimize the place of achievement and to lean too heavily on the factor of emotional se-

curity. This is one of the few books which seek to give due consideration to both factors.

AGNES E. BENEDICT

"Factism"

FREEDOM OF THE MOVIES. By Ruth A. Inglis. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.

THIS doctor's thesis, sponsored by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, is a significant achievement: it manages to keep the fascinating subject of movie censorship completely submerged under a flood of facts and homilies which are, in some mysterious way—I grant the author—related to the question of movie censorship. Sociological "Factism" here creates new values in the middle strata of meaninglessness. The technique for devoting eight years to research, and ending up with little more consciousness than was contained in the material of research itself, is as follows: a) always assume that a new idea is wrong; b) when it is obviously correct, treat it as a presumption. When it is no longer possible to maintain the fiction that the other fellow's point of view may be right, forget about right. But whatever happens, *never be subjective!* Subjectivity, not money, is the root of all evil. And if it is also the root of all good—well, one makes sacrifices.

"The problem as regards the movies is only an individual instance of the general question which has puzzled philosophers and statesmen for centuries: How can the public will prevail and order be maintained and, at the same time, dissident minorities have their proper influence for change? (Two other publications of the Commission . . . discuss the problem in general terms.) The problem is one of devising social mechanisms for achieving these results."—This is sociological factism in its naked essence: the notion that "mechanisms" are capable of achieving "results." It is subjective will that achieves—*anything*. Mechanisms achieve only themselves. One is either identified with the public will that "prevails," or with a "dissident minority." This is the entire point, this identification. Miss Inglis thinks it presumptuous or superfluous to take sides, so she has written a book that is competent, but dull.

However, the book contains numerous facts; and one of the most interesting is that the formula that lies at the core of the motion picture Production Code (which was written by a Jesuit) is one of "compensating moral values." That is, a bad lawyer is balanced by a good lawyer; if an unhappy marriage is presented there must also be a happy one; guilt, suffering, punishment must follow upon the commission of any unconventional sexual or aggressive act. In this way, the conservative morality buttressing the status quo is preserved, without ignoring modern life-experience. But, naturally, both morality and life take on a fundamental ambiguity. The Code adheres not to the truth of life but to "morality." What is this morality which admittedly contradicts reality? It seems clear that it is nothing but the unnailed sword.

When morality no longer grows out of the necessities of life, that morality is something no self-respecting person will respect.

DAVID T. BAZELON

Nazi Economics

PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN A CONTROLLED ECONOMY: Germany, 1933-1939. By Samuel Lurié. Columbia University Press. \$3.

ONE of the most powerful pieces of Nazi propaganda, which achieved great public acceptance in the pre-war period, was the picture presented of its economic miracle. The Germans boasted that they had achieved a "crisis-proof" full-employment economy. Mounting indices of production and apparent increases in wages were used to advertise the regime. Dr. Lurié, in his crisp, lucid study of the investment pattern, exposes these claims. Real wages, he shows, were kept down by freezing wage rates at the level of the 1933 depression. The long-run pattern of the German economy, he concludes, had to find outlet in war, which "was an inevitable stage in the dynamic evolution of the 'New Economic Order'."

The Germans, while abandoning the automatic regulatory function of the market, retained to a very large extent the free enterprise pattern of ownership and motivation. The basic pattern allowed for control over prices, the

wages and mobility of labor, the supply of money and credit, and, finally, over the forms of industrial organization. In this last sphere, in fact, some entrepreneurial organizations were mere extensions of state administrative control. Cartelization was fostered, and in some cases compelled.

The direction of investment was achieved through control of capital formation, and by keeping a close rein on the credit and banking facilities which were, in time, aligned with the economic objectives of the system. Initially, the Reichsbank was used as the source of public credit, and as the springboard of investment control. A distinctive feature of the system was the self-financing of business enterprises which were allowed to accumulate funds of capital in the form of hidden reserves, by means of excessive depreciation allowances or other accounting fictions. These were variously applied according to the needs served by the given business in the national plan.

The question has often been argued whether or not the Nazi economic system, as it developed, meant the destruction of the capitalist ownership of industry. According to Dr. Lurié, the system of free enterprise was kept largely intact. Indirect "steering controls" were employed, but "coercive measures played a relatively minor role . . . the carrying out of public policies was done primarily through the channels of private economic motivation." This implementation of state programs, moreover, was "frequently associated with substantial profits to the private interests involved."

Though Dr. Lurié's style is a trifle turgid at times, his study is well documented from original sources, cohe-

rently organized, and carefully presented. It deals with an important subject which ought to be of interest to the layman as well as the professional economist.

R. RICHARD WOHL

American Pattern

THE MARCH OF FREEDOM. By William Harlan Hale. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

CONFESSING that he had forgotten most of the American history he had once learned, Mr. Hale asked his publisher to let him "start at the beginning, at the bottom of the class, and write the story of what I find out." This "layman's history of the American People" is proof that he did his homework diligently and enjoyed himself thoroughly into the bargain. It shows evidence of extensive and varied reading and it is written with a gusto that communicates itself easily to the reader. As a refresher course in American history, I can recommend it enthusiastically.

Mr. Hale is a pragmatic liberal whose acid test of government is its responsiveness to the popular will. In the American march of freedom, as he sees it, there have been many halts, retreats, and wrong turnings. "Sometimes," he writes, "the people triumphed and at other times they failed and receded, and then the next generation had to pick up the pieces and start all over from there. And they did pick up the pieces: that struck me as one of the great patterns of American life." This is a cheering message for the dog-days of reaction provided, as the author says, that the American past is regarded "not as a benign recollection but as a precept to renewed action."

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ADDITIONAL London Decca recordings I have heard include one of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony performed by de Sabata with the London Philharmonic (Set ED-19; \$15). From it I have learned more about de Sabata as a musician—that he is capable, as Toscanini is not, of occasional eccentricity or perversity, like the incredibly slow pace of the first movement; but also that he is able to maintain in the music, even at that pace, the sustained continuity it must have. After the first movement there is just a very fine performance in the usual tempos (there are, I must add, some discontinuities of pace at the breaks of the records). The recorded sound is dull, and the winds are much too weak.

As far as I am concerned there has been only one reason for listening to Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé"; and that has been Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony. But now I have heard a performance by Münch with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra which I judge—from what it sounds like as it comes off the London Decca records (Set ED-29; \$7)—to be fully the equal of the Boston. That is, as it

comes off the records it has all the miraculous refinement and subtlety of coloring of the Boston performance in Carnegie Hall (which the Boston doesn't have on the recent Victor records). In other words, it is marvelously recorded, with only a slight edge to the violins and a little high-frequency distortion at climaxes.

The first movement of Brahms's Third Symphony, as performed by van Beinum with the London Philharmonic (Set ED-22; \$11) is too stolid, the finale over-deliberate; and the second movement, which begins as the *Andante* it should be, is spoiled by too many changes of pace. The recorded sound is clear but not lustrous with the wide-range Brush pickup, and best with one of limited range like the Zenith.

Some of the fine Tchaikovsky music that we hear in American performances of "Swan Lake" (the introduction, the swan queen's solo, the dance of the four cygnets), together with some that we don't, is well-performed by the National Symphony under Sidney Beer; and the recorded sound is very good except for a slight edge to the violins (Set ED-11; \$5). Also, some of the music from Tchaikovsky's "Sleeping Beauty" that we have heard in performances of "Aurora's Wedding" and "Princess Aurora" (the introduction, the Bluebird), together with some fine music that we haven't, is well-performed by

the B. B. C. Theater Orchestra under Stanford Robinson; but this time the recorded sound, though good on a limited-range machine, is dull with bad distortion in loud passages on a machine of wide range (Set ED-18; \$5).

Schubert's Piano Sonata Opus 122, one of the earlier members of the series, and of smaller stature than the later ones, has nevertheless its moments of power in addition to the characteristic Schubert loveliness. And even this loveliness requires some sharpness of contour in its phrases—of which there is none in Kathleen Long's smooth, pallid performance. The sound of the piano has the usual London Decca dullness and weakness of treble (Set ED-26; \$7).

On London Decca single records: Berlioz's delightful "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture, well played by Sargent with the National Symphony, and superbly recorded, with only a slight edge to the violins and a little high-frequency distortion in loud passages (K-1416; \$2). The Overture and Pastoral Symphony from Handel's "Messiah," well-played by Sargent with the London Symphony, and well-recorded (K-1499). Mendelssohn's fine "Hebrides" or "Fingal's Cave" Overture, well-played by Unger with the National Symphony, and well-recorded except for violins that are lusterless and edged on a wide, but not on a limited-range machine (K-1120). Weber's "Freischütz" Over-

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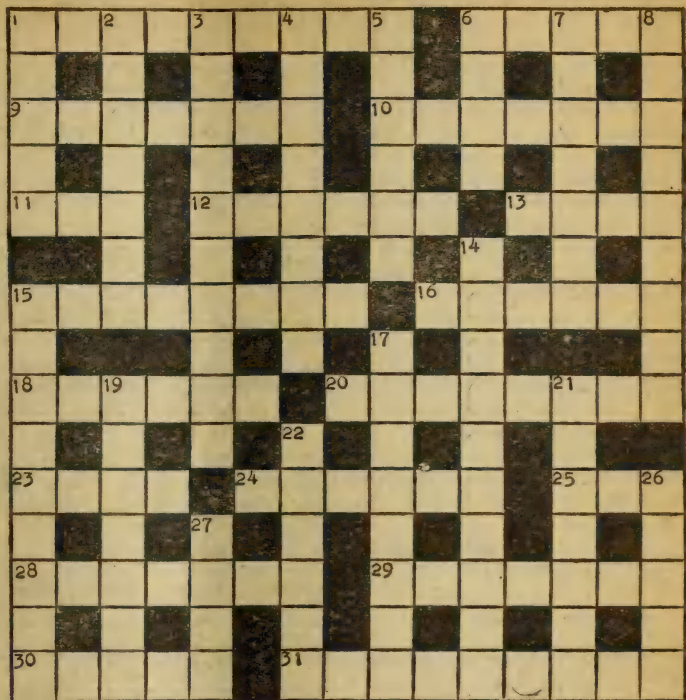
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ture, well-played by Leinsdorf with the London Philharmonic, the violins in loud passages weak and veiled on a wide-range, muffled on a limited-range machine (K-1589). "O Rest in the Lord" and "Woe Unto Them" from Mendelssohn's "Elijah," music I don't care for, beautifully sung by Katherine Ferrier, contralto (K-1556). A Chopin Mazurka in F minor and his Valse Brillante Opus 34 No. 3, well-played by Nicolas Orloff, and the Impromptu Opus 29 with its middle section distorted by the usual exaggerated rubato—the sound of the piano again being weak in treble (K-1424). And on a Parlophone single (R-20444; \$2) the tenor arias from "Don Giovanni" sung with beauty of voice by Tauber—*Il mio tesoro* with a vitality that gets explosive, *Dalla sua pace* occasionally with the mannered phrasing of the operetta style.

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 223 By MR. Y.



Letters to the Editors

The Case of "Father" Duncan

Dear Sirs: I have read with much interest Mr. Neuberger's excellent article in your issue of July 19, about the Metlakatla Indians. It does not, however, tell the whole story.

There can be no doubt about the value of the work of "Father" Duncan. He was a devoted person. But he had personal characteristics which embroiled him, first with the Canadian authorities, and, in his old age, with the American authorities. Incidentally, the story of his quarrel with Bishop Ridley, as I heard it a good many years ago, was not one of jealousy on the part of the Bishop, but of a rather profound difference of opinion as to the service of the Church of England. I was told that Mr. Duncan, whose popular appellation of "Father" was said to have been distasteful to him, objected to the communion service reminding his charges of their earlier cannibalism.

However that may be, at the time of Duncan's death, the cannery and saw-mill to which Mr. Neuberger alludes were no longer in operation and the settlement was at a low ebb. Its rehabilitation was under the influence and guidance of the Department of the Interior.

The settlement on Annette Island was, as Mr. Neuberger says, in pursuance of an order by President Cleveland. But the President's authority to make the order was challenged and Con-

[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the first of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y., in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Wagers with a Greek. (9)
- 6 Steam comes out of them. (5)
- 9 Gold animals collide and have something in common. (7)
- 10 11 across confuses Tabbies. (7)
- 11 Shake! It sounds like a third of a game. (3)
- 12 Old England is barely disturbed by its lack of color. (6)
- 13 It's painful for the God to return. (4)
- 15 Are they sent from a maiden to a saintless place? (8)
- 16 Must one profess to be so minded? (6)
- 18 One has a hat on his head with a blemish on his cheek. (6)
- 20 Such crimes go unpunished. (8)
- 23 Young blade of Treasure Island. (4)
- 24 Rub the wrong way with a French drink. (6)
- 25 Scratch the back of this animal. (8)
- 28 There's a point to them, so they're not quite unnecessary. (7)
- 29 There's a purpose in what some apartment-dwellers pay for clothes. (7)
- 30 This also has a purpose, to a degree. (5)
- 31 And in Germany, it's found in a colorful insect. (9)

DOWN

- 1 This is the limit! (5)
- 2 Friendly pilots? (7)

- 3 I'm not in, as a result of making Popeye photogenic. (10)
- 4 How would you like to be Nelson for a change? (8)
- 5 They're smooth as upside-down containers. (6)
- 6 A spicy club came here. (4)
- 7 I take the proper attitude, after short notice. (7)
- 8 The butler is usually this at first. (9)
- 14 Is this the seaman's answer? (10)
- 15 6 down is the head of this country. (9)
- 17 Buried among Communists? (8)
- 19 A sudden riser gets the raven up. (7)
- 21 Take 19, but not up, and be in addition a flower. (7)
- 22 Brothers of the D.A.R. replace the water in 24. (6)
- 26 French word and a song. (5)
- 27 Where the flea found a flaw? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 222

ACROSS:—1 DISINTEGRATES; 10 OPERATE; 11 LACTATE; 12 PETRINE; 13 OVERLAP; 14 SHAVERS; 15 SLENDER; 16 INQUEST; 20 MORBID; 23 NOISOME; 24 MACEDON; 25 TABBIES; 31 NIRVANA; 32 SECESSIONISTS.

DOWN:—2 INERTIA; 3 IMAGINE; 4 TEETERS; 5 GALLOWES; 6 ACCRETE; 7 ENABLED; 8 COMPASSIONATE; 9 TEMPERAMENTAL; 17 QUIBBLE; 18 EROSIVE; 19 TRESSES; 20 MEMENTO; 21 BACARDI; 22 INDRAFT.

gressional action followed, in 1891, to put the matter beyond question. It was provided that the affairs of the Metlakatlahs should be subject to the regulation of the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Education for the natives in Alaska.

Years later, the possibility of rehabilitation of the settlement was threatened by encroachment of the great fishing companies upon the waters surrounding the island. President Wilson intervened with an executive order, and then the firm action of the Department of Justice made the situation secure. See *Alaska Pacific Fisheries Co. v. United States*, 248 U. S. 78, in which I had the fortune to appear for the government in the Supreme Court. For this interference with "free enterprise," the Administration was, in some circles, roundly denounced. The fish supply for the rebuilt cannery was, however, secured, and the experiment in "planned economy" went on with the happy results which Mr. Neuberger describes.

LA RUE BROWN

Boston, July 20

A Tree for Goudy

Dear Sirs: I invite all those who have admired the late Frederic W. Goudy to make a parting gesture of respect for this native American genius, by subscribing \$1.50 each to the planting of a tree in his memory, in Palestine.

It is my hope to collect enough to enable us to plant an entire grove of trees, as has been done in memory of other world-famous non-Jewish personalities of all countries. (There are, for instance, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln forests, as well as the groves.) If you think well of this plan, won't you please send me your check? Please address me at 216 East Forty-fifth Street, New York 17, N. Y., eighth floor.

ALBERT SCHILLER

New York, July 24

Cape, Not Oxford

Dear Sirs: While we were reading (with pleasure) Rolfe Humphries's review of C. Day Lewis's translation of "The Georgics of Virgil" in *The Nation* of July 5, we noticed a slight error. Mr. Humphries says that "an English edition was published by the present publishers, the Oxford University Press." As a matter of fact, the English edition was put out by Jonathan Cape.

ALISON LURIE,

Oxford University Press
New York, July 8

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE 1948 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN GOT OFF to a lying start in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building, under the painfully thin guise of an investigation of war contracts. Through the miasma of perjury and peanut politics generated by the Ferguson-Brewster committee, a few broad observations can be made. The Republicans, drugged by four straight knockdowns, go right on fighting Roosevelt, by reflex, as though he were still in the ring. This is evident in the prompt and enthusiastic choice of son Elliott as a major target, even if we ignore the sworn testimony of one witness that the committee's assistant counsel had privately remarked: "We are not using a shotgun; we are shooting at him [Elliott] with a cannon." It is just as apparent, from his own admissions, that the President's son had been characteristically indiscreet enough to give the investigators a little ammunition, though it was grapeshot rather than cannonball. Nor can anything be said in defense of the transaction whereby plane-manufacturer Howard Hughes retained, for \$10,000, the committee's former counsel, Hugh Fulton. All this is small stuff, however, with no fraud even alleged thus far—only a minor lobbying operation, hardly to be compared with the expansive activity of greater corporations in search of larger war contracts.

✱

THIS PICAYUNE INQUIRY, NOW SUSPENDED, is a burlesque of the great Senatorial probes of the past, such as the Walsh-Wheeler performance that sank the Harding Administration and sent some of its top officials to jail. Unfortunately for the political hopes of the Republicans, Brewster and Ferguson appear to have no comparable targets. What is more, Brewster himself, long regarded as a Washington errand-boy for Pan American Airways, is as vulnerable as the victims of his subpoenas. No one can picture old Tom Walsh squirming in the witness chair before his own committee, charged, as Brewster was charged by Hughes, with offering to squash an investigation if the suspect would agree to merge his concern with a corporation favored by the Senator. Still less can one imagine Walsh and his accuser calling each other liars one day and agreeing to drop their respective charges the next. The sudden adjournment of the hearings until November may indicate that the G. O. P. realized it would have to find more noisome

scandals than this if it were to make hay while the August sun shone—and better investigators to expose them.

✱

WHAT CONSTANTINE POULOS PREDICTED IN *The Nation* of June 28 has already begun to happen. On the eve of Administrator Griswold's arrival in Greece, Poulos wrote: "The Greeks in power will use us for all we are worth. . . . They'll take the dollars, they'll make some revisions in their economic and political policies to please us, and sooner or later they'll ask for more money." The Greek government has not yet asked for more money; it could hardly raise the ante while the first jeeps and trucks and guns are still being unloaded in the Piraeus. But last week, Premier Maximos dispatched a note to Mr. Griswold and to Washington requesting the revision "in favor of the army" of the present plan to spend half the American aid funds on the Greek military establishment and half on the civilian economy. The note also hinted at the probable eventual need of American armed forces to clean up the guerrillas. That is the start. Watch closely, fellow-citizens, as the weeks pass, and see whether the guerrilla forces don't grow and grow, and banditry increase, and the Communist threat mount. Watch what sorts of goods go to Greece from America. Watch your dollars, voted by a panicky Congress; find out, if you can, into whose pockets they ultimately find their way. The implementation of the Truman doctrine has only begun.

✱

THE SOVIET DELEGATE'S ZEAL IN BACKING the candidacy of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary for membership in the United Nations led him onto rather thin ideological ice last week. His argument before the Security Council's Committee on New Members was not exactly strengthened by an elaborate denunciation of American ideas of human rights in general, and on the new labor law and the loyalty check-up in particular. *The Nation* doesn't like those measures any better than Mr. Krasilnikov does, but we seem to recall that the Soviet government also goes in for loyalty tests on rather a massive scale. The Russian representative would probably remind us that the Soviet Union is a revolutionary state which makes no pretense of applying democratic safeguards to opposition groups. But this thesis has been weakened, we think, by Russia's repeated insistence that

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it is, indeed, a democracy, after its fashion. Anyhow, we are sure Mr. Krasilnikov will do better for his Balkan clients if he sticks to the considerable merits of their case, and foregoes the satisfaction of exposing American "hypocrisy" in the area of human rights.

★

NOW THAT SENORA PERON HAS PEDDLED the glories of her husband's dictatorship through Western Europe, the Argentine regime is laying plans to break down sales resistance in the United States. Peter Edson, the Scripps-Howard columnist, reported last week that a contract had been drawn up between the Perón government and Edward S. Fenton of New York for a propaganda campaign in this country. Questioning Mr. Fenton directly, we got not only confirmation of the contract story but a good indication of the approach he has in mind. He says that Perón is thoroughly anti-communist and has always been just as thoroughly pro-American. Little in the way of public relations will be required to establish the first point, though Perón did have a brief flirtation with the Communists last year, and they with him. But it should take even more than the \$5,000,000 supposedly allotted for the campaign to put over point number two. Mr. Fenton will have to black out the public memory of Perón's intimate connections with Axis emissaries throughout the war, and of his galling declaration of war against Germany only after Hitler had already taken to the bunker that was to be his crematory. If this is to be a successful promotion venture, Mr. Fenton will have to get more cooperation from Buenos Aires than we think can be counted on from the current exchange of diplomatic amenities. In his position, we would ask for more than verbal gestures at the coming Rio conference. We might also ask the Argentine to stop profiteering on misery by selling wheat to a starved world at \$5.50 a bushel, roughly twice the price exacted by those bloated *Yanqui* imperialists who are Perón's favorite whipping boys.

The Dollar Crisis

THE British government's program for meeting the dollar crisis, drastic as it appears, is less severe than many commentators expected. Yet there was nothing in the various ministerial speeches in the House of Commons to suggest that the critical nature of the situation had in any way been exaggerated. Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out that the existing gap between international payments and receipts meant exhaustion of the American loan before the end of this year. Nor are the sharp import cuts, now to be imposed, likely to solve the problem, even with the help of expanded exports, which reached a higher level in 1946 than in 1938, as Mr. Attlee pointed out in his

speech to the nation last Sunday. Under the best of circumstances, it is difficult to see how Britain can avoid heavy drafts on its limited gold reserve in 1948 unless the Marshall plan produces substantial new aid. Consequently, it is not surprising that the Attlee program has had an unfavorable reception.

Tory criticism was, of course, to be expected under any circumstances. It has been violent but largely rhetorical. If the opposition has any alternative plan to offer, it has yet to make it public. A group of Labor left-wingers, on the other hand, has been very specific in its attacks on the inadequacy of the Attlee proposals which, indeed, appear to have been diluted since the Prime Minister outlined them at a private party meeting on July 30. In particular, they complain that proposed cuts in the armed forces are insufficient. They would like to see a definite date set for withdrawal of all British troops from Palestine, and they fail to see the necessity of maintaining a home establishment far above prewar strength.

Again, the Labor back-benchers are not satisfied that the government has adhered to the principle of equality of sacrifice in its new measures to hold down consumption and boost production. They point out that workers are being asked to work longer hours on a slimmer diet, to submit to partial restoration of wartime "direction of labor," and to refrain from demanding higher wages. Industry is also asked not to increase dividends, but a similar appeal a year ago was ignored. The left-wing critics believe that additional profit-taxes should be imposed now so as to check expenditures from unearned incomes.

Another left-wing proposal is of particular interest to this country. It is a suggestion that the British government forthwith notify Washington that it can no longer be bound by Article 9 of the loan agreement. Actually, while unwilling to take unilateral action, Mr. Attlee has asked the United States to suspend both this clause, which prohibits discrimination in purchasing imports, and also the clause providing for full convertibility of current sterling. The latter provision, when it became effective July 15, assisted an unexpected flight from the pound, adding greatly to British difficulties. It has also backfired on some American interests. Arguing, reasonably enough, that it cannot afford dollars for films when it lacks dollars for food, the British government has staggered Hollywood by a prohibitive import tax on foreign movies. The alternative, a much more agreeable one to American film makers, was to block all but a limited amount of foreign movie earnings in Britain. But this step would have violated the convertibility clause of the loan agreement.

The anti-discrimination clause makes it impossible for Britain to buy commodities for which it can pay in sterling while excluding those which can only be paid for in dollars. Thus it cannot, for instance, buy South

American oranges unless it is also prepared to buy California ones offered at the same price. This ban on discrimination is very near to the heart of the State Department, for it is an integral part of the campaign to re-establish multilateral international trade. Yet, as long as the overpowering American trade surplus dominates the world-trade picture, strictly multilateral trading is most unlikely. Non-discrimination requires that restrictions of imports from the United States must apply equally to imports from other countries. As a result, the dollar shortage may force the British to reduce their meager cheese ration, while Italy, perhaps, is unable to dispose of her surplus cheese.

Absurdities of this kind are bringing the principle of multilateralism into disrepute. When countries lack the means to buy from us, we cannot expect them to starve quietly if their situation can be improved by barter deals. *The Nation* has supported the Administration's trade program, but until a more balanced international economy has been achieved, its full adoption is obviously impracticable. We hope, therefore, that Britain will be relieved of those loan conditions which are throttling it.

A New Spanish Upset

THE resignation of the Llopi's Cabinet had long been expected by those familiar with the problems of the Spanish emigration, but the circumstances in which it took place are none the less disquieting. When the Llopi's government was formed by President Martinez Barrio in Paris last February, after the resignation of Prime Minister Giral, it met with indifference or outright hostility among most Spanish Republicans, who simply could not understand why the Republican cause had been entrusted to so weak a group of men. Within a few months, the regime was virtually moribund. Señor Llopi's had failed to advance by an inch his double purpose—to win the support of the British Labor government and to reach an understanding with the Spanish Monarchists.

Llopi's visit to London last spring was a bitter disappointment. He found Mr. Bevin in no mood to discuss a change of regime in Spain; in fact, the British monetary accord with Franco was signed under the very nose of the Spanish Republican Premier. The Monarchists proved no more disposed to negotiate with his feeble Cabinet. Smarting under this double rebuff, Llopi's chose the only remaining alternative; he began to pose as an uncompromising "resistant" who rejected any deal with rightist groups. In his new role, the Premier not only failed to convince rank-and-file Republicans, but created an untenable situation inside his own Socialist group. The group is composed of two chief elements, followers of Indalecio Prieto and those of the late Francisco Largo Caballero. After the death of Caballero, who had always

enjoyed tremendous prestige among the workers, no realistic politician would have thought of challenging Prieto's claim to leadership of the group. Three weeks ago, Prieto moved in from Mexico and took command.

On July 25, the Prieto Socialists held a strategy conference at Toulouse, their headquarters. The chief question was whether the Llopi's government should continue, despite its record, or should give place to a new *junta* representing the Prieto policy. In this debate, Llopi's naively imagined that he could hold his own against the real boss. But the moment the wily old leader began to speak, he swept the assembly along with him. The Toulouse Socialists have always favored a compromise with all non-Communist elements, including the Monarchists, and have minimized the question of restoring the Republic. They are ready for any kind of arrangement that will eliminate Franco, and their chief recommendation was to liquidate the government and force through the plans for a plebiscite. On this, Prieto was sure of a majority against the "resistant" Llopi's. Repudiated by his own group, Llopi's was, in effect, finished, but he tried to stave off the inevitable. It was the withdrawal of the Communists that finally forced him to resign.

The Toulouse assembly endorsed Prieto's proposal to create a "Spanish Brotherhood"—a conglomeration of factions excluding only Franco's followers and the Communists. Prieto justifies his intervention on the grounds that it was essential, before the meeting of the General

Assembly of the United Nations five weeks from now, to create an instrument capable of opening the way for the kind of "democratic" government London and Washington would like to see.

Prieto's organization will not be as inclusive as he pretends. Among those who oppose his plan are the leaders of the old Socialist Party, Dr. Juan Negrin, Alvarez del Vayo, and Gonzalez Peña, chairman of the U. G. T. (General Workers' Union); and several prominent Republicans who were formerly associated with Prieto but who reject his present position. Speaking for this group recently, Señor Albornoz, Minister of Justice in the Giral government, said pointedly: "Monarchy, no. Russian satellite, no. But Dominion—also no!" Against Prieto are also the majority of the U. G. T., sections of the anarchist movement, and the Catalan and Basque parties who consider the monarchy the bitterest enemy of regional autonomy.

Consequently, Martinez Barrio has enough elements at hand to build a genuine Republican government, from which only Prieto would be excluded—by his own will. But the President will forfeit this chance if he chooses another weak figure as Prime Minister or, in order to avoid political complications, sets up a mere skeleton Cabinet. In either case, he will present victory to Prieto, who would like nothing so much as to see the government-in-exile evaporate, leaving the field to his still unborn "Brotherhood."

PALESTINE: RULE BY RIOT

Jews and Soldiers

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Jerusalem, August 10

THE arrest of the three mayors, L. Rokach of Tel Aviv, O Ben Ami of Nathanya, and A. Krinicki, chairman of the Ramat Gan local council—locked up on August 5 and, by the time this appears in print, probably released—is a blundering incident in a game designed to permit Britain to remain in power, whatever the ultimate recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee of Inquiry. To achieve this purpose, the British are prepared to provoke incidents which will enable the military to move forward in force, trample down Jewish settlements and other communities, and destroy the unity of the Yishuv. The precipitate execution, on July 29, of the three young Jews, Yaacov Weiss, Meir Nakar, and Avshalom Habib, was a step in this direction. The execution was ordered by the General Officer Commanding, over the objections of the High Commissioner and in the face of the announcement that the two British ser-

geants captured by the Irgun would pay with their lives. The order was carried out despite the fact that, given five or six days more, the Haganah would surely have found the hideaway of the sergeants.

The hanging of the British sergeants was to have been the signal for the most rigid measures against the Jewish community. Mrs. Goldie Meyerson, acting head of the Jewish Agency Executive, had been warned to expect this. The action may have been delayed by the horror of the Jewish community over the deaths of Pace and Martin, the subsequent attacks on Tel Aviv, in which five Jews were killed and sixteen injured, and then the attack on the funeral cortège. For three weeks, the country has been filled with rumors of impending martial law and the closing down of the Jewish Agency. The arrest of the three mayors, the outlawing of the Brith Trumpeldor, one of the older revisionist groups, suspected of having made an alliance with the terrorists, and the arrests of some thirty-five leaders of the Revisionist Party are comparatively light measures.

Officially, the Jewish Agency has protested the arrests and is expected to be able to effect the release of Rokach,

Ben Ami, and Krinizki. Privately, there is not too much sadness over the arrest of these three, known to be anti-labor and opposed to the Haganah on the one hand, and, on the other, in contact with the rightist terrorist organizations as well as most cooperative in their associations with the British. The more cynical even explain the arrest of Rokach as a complex British maneuver to secure some popularity for Rokach and insure his election to the post to which they appointed him. The general strike of August 7 was a protest, not simply against the most recent arrests, but against a policy which has turned Palestine into a police state under the absolute control of the military.

This control is visible to all. British military camps dot every main road; armored cars and truckloads of soldiers with fixed bayonets race up and down every highway; at every turn and crossing, vehicles are stopped, passengers unloaded, cars searched, license numbers noted. All inhabitants of the country are required, under threat of arrest, to possess identity cards and to show them to any passing soldier who asks for them. All interurban or urban communication, except by telephone, shuts down at 7 every evening. When the road curfew begins, any violation places one in danger of arrest or even death; the nervous soldiers are instructed to fire on cars and pedestrians who do not halt.

In Jerusalem, the curfew imposed three weeks ago still operates. The section of the city where some 9,000 of its 10,000 Jews live is closed tight at 7 o'clock. Only working newspaper correspondents on necessary errands are about, though a number of other people have curfew passes. The silence of the streets is broken only by the tramp of soldiers' feet or the exchange of orders from the walkie-talkies. Such cars as venture abroad must have a driver's curfew pass and travel with lights on. There is always the danger some trigger-happy nineteen-year-old British soldier will shoot out of fear. Searches of people and vehicles are commonplace, even during the day. Admission to the three protected zones in which British personnel is housed is only by special order. At the slightest provocation, sirens sound, halting all vehicular traffic and, in some instances, pedestrian traffic as well.

An incident involving one of the most distinguished personalities in the Jewish community, M. Novomeisky, illustrates the tension. On August 1, the siren sounded at about 2 p.m. Later it became known that, at this moment, three terrorists had stormed a sentry box in the vicinity of the Jewish Agency offices, one of them being killed and two arrested. M. Novomeisky, a man in his early seventies, decided to escort his two secretaries to their homes. On the street, a soldier ordered him to return to his office. When Novomeisky refused, on the score that pedestrian traffic was allowed, the soldier said: "Go back or I'll shoot." Novomeisky went to his office

and telephoned the chief of police, a friend. The latter advised him to stay where he was for, as he put it, "the soldiers are nervous today."

[Next week Lillie Shultz, director of the Nation Associates, will describe in detail the operations of Britain's police rule in Palestine.]

Jews and Mobs

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, August 10

DURING the past ten days, forecasts of sensational Cabinet plans, aimed to solve radically our economic crisis and make Socialist Britain independent of capitalist America, have monopolized the front pages of newspapers here. Since the stop-gap program of half-hearted deflation disclosed by Attlee represents little more than ineffective window-dressing, it is arguable that the advance publicity was not warranted by the event. In any case, one consequence of press concentration on the dollar crisis has been the slight attention paid to the outbreaks—small in scale but nationwide—of anti-Jewish violence.

On August 1, the *Daily Express* presented to its 4,000,000 readers a horrible photograph, nine inches deep across five columns, showing the dead booby-trapped bodies of two British sergeants hanging from eucalyptus trees. This picture, supported by a Jerusalem dispatch reporting that the deaths were due to slow strangulation, produced an inevitably strong revulsion of public feeling. It is probably true to say that a majority of Englishmen, unfamiliar with the Zionist case, nevertheless have an uncomfortable feeling that the White Paper Policy, sustained by Bevin's bayonets, represents not only a British failure in Palestine but a breach of pledges to the Jews. Hence the Irgun atrocity afforded a welcome psychological escape from the British guilt complex. Contrasting with the previous general opinion favoring prompt termination of the mandate and withdrawal of troops, widespread comment is now audible to the effect, "These dirty Jews have asked for it; let them have it."

It would be wrong to conclude that anti-Semitism is generally an active emotion in Britain: racial antipathies are not, indeed, characteristic of the British make-up. It is significant, however, that whereas Hitler's blitz bombing caused no broken windows of shops bearing German names, the two sergeants' deaths evoked not only intelligible horror but extravagant anger. It must be admitted that the average Briton, disclaiming anti-Semitism, nevertheless reacts emotionally with irrational vehemence to a brutal crime if it is committed by Jews.

The question is, how far do last weekend's outbreaks of

violence reflect not only latent anti-Jewish feeling but fascist propaganda? The past year has seen the reemergence of various organizations reminiscent of the ideology of the prewar British Union of Fascists. Mosley himself conducts a company which publishes literature and a news letter and includes a widespread book-club network. Active also is the British League of ex-Servicemen, operating in London and the south. In addition, there is the so-called Unity Group, composing the Union for British Freedom (London and Brighton), the Sons of St. George (Northern England), the Imperial Defense Party (Manchester and Liverpool), and the British Workers' Party (Bristol). All of these organizations make anti-Semitism the chief plank in their policy. Their known leaders include numerous fascists who were jailed in wartime under regulation 18-B. Moreover, the Unity Group is controlled by Raven Thompson, former director of Mosleyite publicity.

A careful cross-check has satisfied me that no member of the British Union of Fascists figures among

those arrested during the week's rioting. Some were adolescent gangsters out for plunder; others were illiterate Irish Catholics. It is significant, however, that the areas of the worst outbreaks—London, Brighton, Manchester, and Liverpool—coincided with the most active centers of the above-mentioned fascist organizations. It is further noticeable that rioting in these and other towns followed the organized appearance of anti-Jewish slogans and fascist emblems, painted on house walls, and that during the attacks on Jewish ships, factories, and synagogues, shouts of "Death to the Jews!" were accompanied by cries of "Hitler was right!"

It is important not to exaggerate the immediate influence of the Mosleyite movement, but the government's repeated refusal to illegalize racial propaganda reflects its undue complacency. The past week's outbreaks demonstrate how easily anti-Semitism can be inflamed. Moreover, "scratch an anti-Semite and you'll find a fascist." Given conditions of unemployment and hunger, the Mosleyites might stage a comeback.

The Battle of the Ruhr

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IT WAS a British government official who, according to an Associated Press report, described the American-English coal conference in Washington as "the Battle of the Ruhr," thus emphasizing its critical importance. One might go further: the Ruhr is perhaps the most decisive factor in the parallelogram of forces which will decide whether or not we shall have a third world war.

When the Russians refused to participate in the deliberations on the Marshall plan and the Paris conference became a conference of Western European countries, numerous press reports assured us that everything in Paris would proceed well since the discussions could no longer be disrupted by Moscow. It took but a few days to prove this view an illusion.

For Europe today, the decisive question is not merely reconstruction, but reconstruction based upon a *fundamental transformation of the social structure*.

The Russian attitude toward this trend is absolutely clear: for its own ends, Russia is strongly backing the social forces—labor and agrarian—which are transforming Europe and Asia. American policy, on the other hand, opposes those forces and seeks to counteract them everywhere. From China to Germany—both neighbors of Russia—this country is lending its influence, and in

many cases its material aid, to the most reactionary elements of the population. By doing so, we have already driven millions of progressive, democratic people into the arms of the Russians, or the Communist parties.

American policy is thus leading to the destruction of independent left elements in both Europe and Asia. It is strengthening the factors leading to war by helping to crystallize the division of the world, ideologically and geographically, into two opposed blocks. It is against this political background that the Battle of the Ruhr must be analyzed.

What are the stakes in this battle? Put briefly, the question is whether in the Ruhr, the heart of Europe and its most important industrial center, the transformation of European society is to be blocked for many years by American opposition.

This issue did not emerge yesterday; it has merely entered a new phase. It was on October 22, 1946, that British Foreign Minister Bevin, in an important speech before the House of Commons, declared that England had taken over control of coal and steel production in the Ruhr; that the machinery and chemical industries would be taken over next; and that these industries would never again pass under private ownership. But the Battle of the Ruhr has recently acquired new importance, for reasons too little discussed in the press.

Europe's crisis has lasted since the war came to a close. It has affected every sector of the Continent's eco-

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conomic life. In England, it has taken the form of a serious dollar crisis, since Britain cannot today—or in the near future—export enough to enable it to import the foodstuffs and raw materials required to maintain a Western European standard of living. At the same time, it is a crisis in production and in building throughout Europe. It is a food crisis in almost every country. Persons who argue that the situation is no more than a temporary consequence of the war, similar to that which existed in Europe in 1918 and 1919, fail to understand what has happened to change the underlying economic and social factors in the various countries. If this were 1919 instead of 1947, the problem would be relatively simple. During the war years, the United States increased its production and its productive capacity so tremendously that it would need to utilize only a very small fraction of this increase in order to help the European countries reach their pre-war levels and stand on their own feet. But Europe is no longer the Europe of World War I. The economic groups that held power then have, for the most part, been liquidated by years of fascist domination and wartime destruction. Capitalism itself has been either destroyed or shaken to its foundations; everywhere it is in process of transformation. Therefore, Europe's reconstruction is not only, or even primarily, an economic problem, but a political one.

In this period of change and rebuilding, the Ruhr is bound to play a decisive part. Production in England today is not far below its peacetime level; French production as a whole has reached 90 per cent of normal; while the Ruhr, like all of Western Germany, is barely turning out a third of its prewar production—in the case of steel, only a little over 10 per cent. The major portion of German heavy industry is concentrated in the Ruhr. In its reconstruction there are tremendous possibilities but also great dangers. During the years of Hitler's "military economy" (*Wehrwirtschaft*), the Ruhr, with 20,000,000 tons of steel annually, was producing about as much as England and France combined, and as much as all of Russia before the Nazi invasion. One need only ponder these figures to realize how explosive is the question of reconstructing the Ruhr, from the point of view of national as well as social and military interests.

THE British Labor government has taken over coal production in England. Socialization of steel has been postponed only temporarily; it will be accomplished during the period for which the Labor Party was elected. To British Labor, committed to a program of gradual socialization at home, the application of this principle to heavy industry in the Ruhr is a major step toward strengthening the democratic Socialist forces in Germany while destroying the social basis of those classes which supported Hitler and the Nazi war machine. British Labor sees the best guarantee against the rebirth of

an aggressive Germany in the decisive change in German society which must result from the expropriation of the holdings of big industrialists and the social ownership of heavy industry.

But the British will soon have no dollars left with which to pay for their imports. They desperately need new American credits. Until now, they have paid almost half the occupation costs of the joint Anglo-American zones of Germany, amounting to about \$500,000,000 a year. They want the Americans to pay three-quarters of these costs, or some \$250,000,000 more. They know that if German production is to be considerably increased, more food must be imported, and that this, too, must be paid for by the United States.

Secretary of Commerce Harriman recently declared in London that the Labor government had not only failed to increase coal production in the Ruhr but had done a far from impressive job in coal production at home. He failed to mention, perhaps naturally, the fact that under the Churchill government British coal production was below today's level. He ignored, too, the prewar years of slow decay in the coal fields under Tory rule.

Facts like these should be kept clearly in view during the coming weeks, when American officials and the American press will be repeating over and over the simple official slogan that increased production is the one important issue and that it should not be mixed up



THE RAZOR'S EDGE

with extraneous social and political considerations. Concentrate on production, we shall be told, and put off the controversial question of socialization for a few years.

The sure results of this policy must be explained with the utmost clarity. If the British Labor government, under financial pressure from America, is compelled to give up its plan for socializing heavy industry in Germany, its own prestige and position will be seriously compromised. If the American position wins, every British Tory will *know*, and no longer merely hope, that he can count on wholehearted support in Washington for every act of opposition to or sabotage of Labor's Socialist program in England.

But the consequences of an American policy aimed at restoring capitalist control in Germany would be even more far-reaching. In the face of the social ferment at work in Europe today, industrial reconstruction along prewar lines is completely illusory. The social antagonism during the world crisis after 1929 had already become so intense in Germany that big business could maintain its economic power only with the political help of the Nazis. The Second World War has wiped out the last hope of restoring capitalism in continental Europe,

both by shattering capital values on a vast scale and by largely liquidating the middle class.

Any attempt to recreate the old system artificially is doomed to failure. Any such attempt will drive democratic groups to the Communist camp. Even the London *Economist*, not a Socialist but a liberal weekly, has warned America that an effort to rebuild heavy industry in the Ruhr under private ownership is likely to make France, as well as the Ruhr, go Communist.

It will be difficult to bring America, with its unquestioning acceptance of free enterprise at home, to support the forces in Europe which are seeking to organize the Continent on a Socialist basis. Yet today, the basic principle of American foreign policy is to do everything possible to stop Russian expansion. Perhaps if the makers of foreign policy in Washington could be convinced that the restoration of capitalism in the Ruhr would in the end only play into Stalin's hands, they would listen more attentively to the demands and arguments of their British allies. For if the American program is forced upon the British, a barrier to a new war will be destroyed and the progressive forces, which today still stand between America and the Soviet Union, will be swept away.

Our Chance for Democratic Housing

LAST IN A SERIES, "RACE BIAS IN HOUSING"

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE most effective method for stabilizing neighborhoods and removing the tensions caused by the competition for dwellings is to provide minorities with the living space they need.

If there were enough housing for everybody, minority groups would soon abandon the tendency to infiltrate and then inundate vulnerable neighborhoods, a characteristic sequence in American cities. If, in fact, there were no race covenants and no exclusion practices, there might be a more equitable distribution of minorities in all neighborhoods and no shift toward a particular racial predominance in any. Provision of living space merely in circumscribed areas will not preclude these racial shifts, for quantitative adequacy of housing will not repress the yearning of those of the minority who can afford it to reach out for social and psychical parity with the majority.

The prominent part the fear of infiltration plays in forcing a change in the composition of a neighborhood is confirmed by its absence in certain fixed patterns.

In many of our northern sections, there have always been Negro belts, many of them adjoining the more fashionable sections. The presence of Negroes disturbed

neither property values nor social status. It was often considered a great convenience, in fact, to have the Negro servant living close by. New York City has had Negro belts that offered no threat to adjoining sections, in Brooklyn, Greenwich Village, Columbus Circle and other areas. The areas, however, were then considered settled in character; there was no prospect of imminent saturation of the neighborhood by the minority, and no activation of the standard fears of loss of social status, decline in values, or loss of neighborhood associations. Were New York City's Negroes—7 per cent of its population—evenly distributed, their presence today would hardly be noticeable. This applies to other cities as well.

So too, in many of our southern cities: Negroes live in the same areas and on the same streets with whites and there is no exodus by the whites. This, of course, is due to the dominant position of the whites in the South, and the resultant absence of the above-mentioned fears, but it illustrates, by an extreme instance, that it is the operation of these fears rather than the presence of the minority that precipitates shifts in the racial composition of a neighborhood.

Public housing projects further prove the point. Where

the new housing development is a self-contained community, creating its own environment, fixing the long-term patterns of living, and removing the fear that any single race might overwhelm the neighborhood in disproportionate numbers, the project offers no serious race problem despite its mixed tenantry.

If Negroes were accepted as tenants in large private developments, such as Stuyvesant Town, no resistance from white tenants is indicated so long as they could consider the area settled in character and racial composition. No fear of a mass invasion by the minority would be stimulated. The presence of Negroes in the project would not, in itself, disturb either the owner's investment or the tenants' social status.

Limiting the number of tenants of any one race in a large-scale project has been criticized as a "quota system." But policy need not prescribe a quota for any one group any more than it does for another. While there should be no fixed rule for selecting tenants by racial percentages, the effort to attain representation of all races in newly created neighborhoods is essential to sound tenant selection policy. Intelligent policy would weigh such factors as character and responsibility of the potential tenants, regardless of race, as well as their ability to cohere into a community.

Unless all races are represented in the creation of new neighborhoods, the ghetto will never be broken up and housing operations will simply replace old ghettos with new. To effect a heterogeneous pattern, the redistribution of races in new neighborhoods is indispensable. The fundamental principle of equality of opportunity in public and publicly aided projects is, of course, paramount. But once that principle is established, common-sense administration will conform not only to it but also to the other considerations in tenant selection that make for a successful neighborhood relationship and the dissolution of the ghetto pattern. Common sense, in fact, will go far toward meeting the complex issues involved.

This does not mean that, in a rehousing program, neighborhoods inhabited by a single race should be immediately broken up and their occupants absorbed by forced draft into separated sections. Education of the minority is as essential as education of the majority in interracial living, and this may be a long process. Many families are accustomed to their present neighborhoods, preferring to live with their own people and enjoy a common social and cultural life. But the choice should remain theirs. Under no circumstances should there be an arbitrary division of the new neighborhoods into homogeneous groupings deliberately set up to respect class or racial lines.

Neither minority groups nor the public in general have shown an awareness of the greater implications of housing programs. Minorities often seek projects for their particular race alone, rather than protesting their

new isolation in these developments. It would be far better, in the long run, if they got less housing but were represented in all new developments.

WITH a need for homes for twenty million families during the next decade, with a vast government-aided home-building program inevitable if the housing log-jam is to be broken, and with more than a third of our families living in slums that must be replaced sooner or later by new neighborhoods, America faces a dramatic challenge. It can either create neighborhood patterns in which its races may be integrated, or it can stratify existing patterns for generations ahead. Or, worse still, its minorities may be drawn from presently mixed neighborhoods and corralled into new segregated sections. It is therefore vital to understand the problem and the implications of the present opportunity.

The government housing program thus involves more than housing. It is a proving ground on which the practical validity of a great ideal can and should be demonstrated—or upon which may be shattered any hope of ever again creating the environment necessary for a new interracial understanding. Federal policy, above all, must be directed toward building mixed neighborhoods, like those in the housing projects, in which educational processes can have a fair chance of operating.

Winning the battle against segregation will not be easy. It will require not only courage, but statesmanship. It will entail understanding, by the minorities, of the bigger stakes involved. It may be necessary for them to subordinate the doctrinaire to the practical upon occasion. They will have to weigh the probable gains in one area of legislation against the probable losses in another. They should weigh the relative advantages of local, decentralized operations over federally centralized operations. Minorities must recognize that, while a decentralized program will not win interracial living in all places, local gains are vital gains and far more constructive than mere declarations of equality on the federal level which have little chance of being honored in actual application.

There should, however, be no retreat from gains already achieved. Public education and civil rights legislation must go hand in hand. Education must not only precede the fight but continue after the victory, until the civil right is established in tradition as well as in law.

THERE are other specific advances to be fought for: Progressive opinion should be mobilized to press for legislation providing an adequate number of dwellings at rents all families can afford.

The successful formula of interracial occupancy, adopted by the many local agencies, should be continued and expanded wherever possible. Information on successful experiences of interracial occupancy should be

disseminated for the guidance of all local authorities and to help them in extending such policies. Indifference, fear of furthering the experiment, misinformation, and ill-informed pronouncements have deterred progress when proper information might have advanced it.

The creation, by public and private enterprise, of new neighborhoods with self-contained environments should be promoted as the most effective means of increasing understanding between races and decreasing discrimination. Heterogeneity, not homogeneity, should be the aim.

Federally-owned housing projects should be enjoined against discrimination as to race, color, or religion. Nor should discrimination or segregation be encouraged, directly or indirectly, by federal agencies. The devitalized federal civil rights acts, which ostensibly grant Negroes equal rights in the purchase and lease of real property, should be strengthened so as to embrace and restrain federal discriminatory practices.

Wherever the public extends its aid or lends its powers to any public or private agency, neither segregation nor discrimination are tolerable and should be barred by the enabling legislation. Public aid must be liberally construed to include assistance, either by loan of credit or otherwise. So too, when governmental power alone is given in aid of a private enterprise. If, for example, the power of eminent domain is employed to assist a private company to acquire land, discrimination must be forbidden though the project be in private ownership.

Real property must be subjected to public control when its use results in the exclusion of vast masses of citizens from shelter. The racial restrictive covenant is such an abuse of private property; it is contrary to the public interest and should be invalidated both by statute and judicial holding.

FEDERAL intervention in housing has created another opportunity to demonstrate that people can live together as neighbors regardless of race or color. No more than an experiment a decade ago, it has become a frontier today. Upon the evolution of government housing policy in the next few years hangs the question of whether the environment will now ever again be restored to the point where educational processes can function.

We can continue to countenance racial segregation, exclude prescribed groups, incite racial tensions, optimistically hope that the imaginary walls against infiltration will remain unbroken, continue to acquiesce in a scheme of living that is a challenge, not only to real estate stability, but to common-sense democracy.

Or we can, at long last, try to break through the barriers that have stood in the way of real racial harmony and understanding. The choice may be hard to make and the program difficult to carry out, but the public housing experiment has demonstrated that it can be done if only we rise to the occasion.

In the Wind

THE WIND whipped through Greenwich Village last week, trying to bring relief to some of the more deserving, these summer dog-days. But even better relief is in store for Villagers, soon. Whitewash letters two feet high are scrawled on the windows of an empty store, across the street from the Eighth Street Playhouse. They promise, with immense excitement, that "Shapiro is Coming!"

RELIEF OF ANOTHER SORT is in store for Greece, as we all know. But perhaps the Omaha *World Herald* dropped a brick on July 13 when it declared that "Greece's food requirements may cut deeper than expected into Greek aid funds." From Athens itself, by the way, comes the word that Parliament Street has been rechristened "Argentine Democracy Street," and Stadium Street will be known henceforth—officially—as "Churchill Street." A secret operative on the spot informs the Wind that he overheard an Athenian remark the other day, "If Washington would give another million, the Greek government would gladly call Athens 'Trumansburg.'"

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ARENA has been entered, for the first time, by the vegetarians, who claim 3,000,000 adherents in this country. Several weeks ago, they nominated Dr. John Maxwell, of Chicago, for President of the United States. Watch it, Harry, Harold, Arthur, Doug, and Robert Alphonso!

SPEAKING OF WHOM, the Wind has been tipped off to the following lines which are to be found in Pierce Egan's edition of Grose's "Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," published in London in 1823: "TORY. An advocate for absolute monarchy and church power: also, an Irish vagabond, robber, or rapparee." The suggested etymology, the Wind's tipper-off goes on to say, is entirely accurate. The ultimate source of the word is the Gaelic *torraighe*: "pursuer."

A COUPLE OF TORAIGHES have gotten loose in Rapid City, South Dakota, where all biology books have been banned which contain "teaching of atheistic evolution."

TO BE WELL EDUCATED, however, is still of some advantage. As witness this Sears, Roebuck ad in a recent issue of the Baton Rouge *State-Times*: "Need aggressive, enthusiastic, young college man or woman. . . . Permanent. Must be able to typewrite, spell. . . ."

NOTHING WRONG WITH the spelling of the New York *Times*, which informed its readers recently that one of the films to be preserved in the Library of Congress would be "The Best Years of Our Liver."

[We invite our readers to contribute to *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Who's to Blame for High Prices?

BY SOLOMON BARKIN

THE President's challenge to industry to reduce prices is being heeded by few sellers. Retailers already overstocked with goods of war-time quality are seeking to move them with publicity streamers heralding sales. But many of the most ardent price cutters are barred from following even this course by state price-maintenance laws. The more ambitious projects, such as the "Newburyport Plan," proved less spectacular than the headlines. The Newburyport publicity became so disturbing to free enterprise, however, that the Boston Better Business Bureau rushed into print to reassure everybody that these heretical merchants had not reduced—had not even agreed to reduce—all prices by 10 per cent. What finally put the quietus on the Newburyport experiment was the refusal of wholesalers and manufacturers to play ball by cutting prices for the merchants.

Manufacturers' announcements of price cuts usually prove, on investigation, to be phony. In many cases, producers have merely brought their prices into line with those of other manufacturers. The overwhelming fact is that the basic industries, in which there is restricted competition, have not reduced prices. All published reports bear out this conclusion. The current N. A. M. poll of its members confirmed that no price cuts are reported in the glass, cement, clay products, iron and steel, machinery, heavy equipment, ore and coal industries. One large manufacturer of electrical goods announced price increases. This was before the recent rise in coal and steel prices.*

Why is production, now at an all-time high, not pressing prices downward? With labor peace prevalent, whom are we to blame? Long ago, the N. A. M. assured those who differed with it that prices would fall with the end of OPA. Instead, they rose. Why?

We knew the answers to the present price question as early as 1940. The depression of the thirties had made us search deeply into our economy. The Temporary National Economic Commission summarized our conclusions. Unfortunately, the war shelved its findings.

What determines the course of prices in this country is the existence, or non-existence, of competition among producers. Competition is the only effective force we now have. If it is insufficient to drive down prices, then we must return to the controls we discussed in the late thirties and put into effect during the war. All recent investigations show that business concentration increased during and after the war. Industrial mergers have mounted. In large sectors of American industry, a few

producers dominate the market. They are not competitors in the old sense; they are semi-monopolistic competitors who respect each other's right to live and live well. Ruthless competitive forces do not fix their prices. The prices are wilfully set by producers who keep their own interests keenly in mind. True, prices are developed with some eye to the market, but that is a conditioning, not a determining, force.

In an economic world of "big business," what chances are there for price cuts? The answer to this question must be sought in the code of business practice developed by these big business organizations.

LET us examine this code. Its first and major plank is an aversion to price reduction. Businessmen don't like price cuts even when prices have been jockeyed to their present unreasonable heights. Price cuts do not guarantee the individual price cutter a market, since other producers are apt to follow suit. This means price wars, and price wars are destructive and costly. The recent clamor to exempt general price cutting from the anti-trust law was inspired by a desire to arrange orderly price reductions by collusion and so prevent them from "disorganizing the market." Businessmen prefer, and some state laws require, that the "adjustments" take the form of concessions rather than outright price cuts.

In the semi-monopolistic branches of American industry, which cover the great mass of American manufacturing divisions, the manufacturer is under no market compulsion. Interested in maximum profits rather than full employment or production, he is reluctant deliberately to reduce prices. Moreover, the manufacturer frequently has no information on the potential volume of sales for different prices. He plots his price course by hearsay, past experience, and prejudice. That is one reason why the benefits of technological savings are only slowly passed on to the consumer. During the twenties, few of these were transmitted in the form of lower prices or higher wages. Governmental action and union organization improved the situation during the thirties. These decades should have taught us not to rely extensively on management's voluntary policies, not to expect that either lower prices or higher wages would normally result from technological savings.

The second plank in this big-business code is to rely on non-price competition to develop markets. Producers

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* See Keith Hutchinson's article, Too Little and Too Dear, on page 165

—EDITORS.

try to capture markets, not through lower prices, but by advertising and by emphasis on quality, service, performance, brand names and other product characterizations. This form of competition appears to assure greater consumer loyalty and to prove effective in driving out rivals. Moreover, it is less offensive to public morality.

The farther a producer is removed from the consumer's market, as in the case of the capital goods industries, the less sensitive he is to the need for reducing prices. His concentration on non-price competition blinds him to the potential value of price reductions to the national economy. It even encourages him in his efforts to restrain competition. Producers try increasingly to solve the problems of the contracting market through reduced production rather than lower prices, thus intensifying the forces hastening business contraction. Already, we are witnessing numerous instances where trade associations, as in the case of the coat-and-suit and textile industries, are cautioning their members against overproduction and urging them to curtail output. So deeply entrenched is this fear of price cuts, that the businessman's first thought, even when prices are inflated by extensive shortages, is to reduce operations rather than expand demand through lowered prices.

The third plank is to produce goods intended primarily for the middle income groups and to say to hell with the great mass of American workers and farmers on the lower income levels. The emphasis on non-price factors has meant a concentration on quality-product characteristics. Frills have been multiplied. Costs of products have been built up. This means that large groups of consumers are cut out altogether, opportunities for economic expansion are limited, and the standard of living of millions of Americans is repressed.

The fourth plank is to hedge against a possible depression. There is no confidence in continued prosperity. Business wants prices that will yield profits in good times and bad. Mr. Irving S. Olds, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, in reporting first-quarter 1947 profits, declared that "we must make money in a period like this to accumulate funds to take care of a period when operations may be at a considerably lower rate. We know that we cannot expect the great operating rates of the present time to continue." Other businessmen reflect that if prices are low when business is good, it is not possible to increase them when business is bad and when costs are higher due to the lower volume.

American business, which calculates its prices on a cost-plus basis, sets them on the assumption of a low level of operations. The overhead cost per unit of output is therefore high. In 1945, over one hundred American industries reported to the War Production Board that they had distributed their overhead costs on the assumption that they would operate at only 52 per cent of capacity. It has been estimated that the break-even point for

American industry in 1946 was 60 per cent. It is doubtless lower now. When demand is great, as it has been, profits are high—fabulously high. Mr. Olds, in his previously quoted statement, intimated that after the 15 cents wage increase, the break-even point was at about 65 per cent of capacity.

THE results of this business code are disastrous. We are distributing income at the rate of \$185 billions; we are producing at the rate of \$224 billions. The gap means depression. Declining demand will discourage producers. They will, as they are already beginning to do, curtail operations. A serious recession is in the making. In fact, it may be said to have begun. It is being considerably modified, at the moment, by the wave of wage increases recently negotiated by trade unions. They are primarily responsible for the recent upsurge in business. But the over-all situation demands drastic measures.

A constructive program now can do much to offset the depression-creating effects of current business price policies:

1. The present round of wage increases must quickly be applied to all types of workers in addition to organized industrial employees.

2. Federal and state public panels, manned by representatives of business, labor and the consumer, must be established to review complaints on the price and production policies of individual businesses. These panels are not merely intended as an emergency measure: they must be permanent. They must be endowed with as much power as is politically feasible, so that they can collect facts, hear the complaints of individual citizens, and enforce correct price and production policies. The test of their effectiveness will not be the implementation of anti-trust laws but the promotion of a stable economy of full employment with an ever rising standard of living.

3. We must immediately require the disclosure by businesses of their annual financial and cost statements and their tax returns, to facilitate public study of their practices.

4. We should demand the repeal of all state price-maintenance laws which were enacted in an underemployed economy.

5. The government should aid and encourage scientific study to facilitate the development of competitive products. Compulsory licensing of all patents must also be an essential part of this program.

A realistic program must start with the recognition that we live in an economy in which price competition no longer prevails in vast areas of American industry. The proposed program is intended to awaken the American people to the fact that American business follows semi-monopolistic pricing and production policies and practices.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Too Little and Too Dear

IN THEIR apologies for price increases, the steel tycoons give the impression that they are surprised at their own moderation. Chairman Irving S. Olds of United States Steel has asserted that steel prices have risen much less than those of many commodities. In order to match the average advance in the wholesale commodity index since 1940, he said, they should have risen not 7 per cent but more than 50 per cent. The American Iron and Steel Institute has advertised the fact that steel is the cheapest of metals—only $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound. (Is steel sold by the pound?) It claims that labor and material costs have risen by some \$600,000,000 since the beginning of the year, nearly twice the amount of additional revenue that the price increases will produce.

Iron Age, the industry's trade paper, says that the new prices will cost steel consumers \$370,000,000 annually. This may not seem a large amount when set against a national gross income of \$220 billion. Moreover, the steel-using industries are generally so prosperous that they could, if they so desired, absorb this extra cost from profits. It is doubtful if many of them will do so; with demand for automobiles, refrigerators, building materials, and countless other articles still running ahead of demand, higher steel prices are likely to be passed on to ultimate consumers on a cost-plus basis.

But even though higher steel costs are no excuse for a general rise in industrial prices, the steel industry's action is hard to justify. Certainly, justification cannot be found in the industry's earnings for the first six months of 1947. Much has been made of the fact that in the second quarter there was, apparently, a sharp decline in profits, as compared with those of the exceptionally profitable first quarter. There is, however, some reason to believe that this decline is partly due to padding of expenses. For instance, operating income of United States Steel (proceeds from sales less employment and material costs) was \$89,365,000 in the first quarter and \$91,859,000 in the second. Yet a fall of some \$10,000,000 in net profits is reported. The explanation is simple. In the three months, April-June, the corporation paid about \$6,000,000 more in local taxes than in the first quarter—apparently a normal difference between the two periods. The remainder of the reported fall in net profits is more than covered by an increase in depreciation reserves, made necessary, according to Mr. Olds, by the higher cost of replacements. Thus, if the accounts for the two periods had been drawn up on a strictly comparable basis, earnings for the second quarter would have been slightly higher than those for the first.

Another fact shown by study of United States Steel's reports is that the 12 per cent wage increase won in April has added very little to the corporation's unit labor costs. Comparing the first and second quarters of this year, we find

that the ratio of labor costs to sales rose less than one per cent. Obviously, greater labor productivity is largely offsetting the wage increase and this is also indicated by the fact that shipments of finished steel per head of the working force were nearly one ton more in the second quarter than in the first.

Again, if we compare United States Steel earnings for the first six months with those in other prosperous periods in the past, it is plain the price rise cannot be excused by a plea of low profits. The total net for the period was \$68,571,379. Assuming that the second half of the year brings equally favorable results—and with the price increase plus the near certainty of continuous capacity operations, they may very well be still better—the total for the year will exceed \$133,000,000. Only three times in its history, in 1916, 1917, and 1929, has the corporation turned in larger earnings than this. In three prosperous prewar years—1937, 1940, and 1941—profits were \$94,900,000, \$102,200,000, and \$116,200,000, respectively.

Steel claims that it is a "feast or famine" industry and must, therefore, be permitted to earn enough in good years to provide for improvements and expansion. At the present time, it is true, the big steel concerns are spending large sums on capital account. But, although the industry is quite unable to meet current demand for steel, with the result that production in many steel-using industries is curtailed, it is not adding to basic capacity. It is, to some extent, expanding plant for turning out finished products in especially short supply, such as steel sheets, but, for the most part, the purpose of its capital expenditure is the reduction of costs.

This is a perfectly legitimate and even laudable objective. But taken in conjunction with a firm refusal to increase basic capacity, it suggests that the aim of the industry is not to provide a basis for cheaper steel but to cut back "break-even" points to an extent that will enable it to sit out the next depression comfortably.

Big steel men are gloomily addicted to the theory that the American economy is stagnant. They have no faith in prolonged full production and full employment. They do not believe that, in future years, average annual consumption of steel will do more than keep pace with the population. Consequently, they are hotly disputing the conclusions of highly competent government economists who predict a steadily rising trend in the per capita consumption of steel. Dr. Louis Bean, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, has shown, for instance, that in prosperous 1941, steel output was equal to 1.7 tons for every employed worker in the country. On this basis, employment at the level of 60,000,000 jobs would indicate a need for over 100,000,000 tons, while present maximum capacity is about 91,000,000. Steel industry leaders reject this reasoning. They estimate requirements at no more than 76,000,000 tons in 1950, and 78,000,000 in 1955. If they are right, it means heavy unemployment ahead. That, of course, is just what they expect and, in order to play safe, they want to keep capacity limited and prices high. It's a first-class example of the monopoly tactics which private enterprise is following to disaster.

[This page will not appear for some weeks while Keith Hutchison is on vacation.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

WHAT THIS COUNTRY needs is a thoroughgoing cultural revolution, and it might well begin with a revolt against the food served in most restaurants.

Some time ago, I went to a French restaurant which is supposed to be one of the best in the country and is certainly one of the most expensive. The place was noisy and crowded to a degree no self-respecting restaurateur would tolerate, and the food was—mediocre. Only the wine, which came from France, was what it should have been. For the rest, the *mise en scène* bore about as much resemblance to a genuine French restaurant as waterlogged string beans to genuine *haricots verts*.

I wish I could report that some of the noise was the sound of angry patrons protesting against the flouting of every principle of good eating, but the patrons were as docile as lambs.

"Bad taste leads to crime." But in this country, it is not so much bad taste as the docility with which mediocrity is accepted that leads to the commercialized vice of serving bad food. One has only to listen to a discussion of dining in America to realize that the public taste is far better than the quality of public food would indicate. But in this, as in more crucial matters, Americans combine a marvelous talent for grouching in public with a capacity that passes belief for taking what is offered in public. In dining, as in politics, they choose what seems to them the better of two bad dishes, thereby insuring that, next time, both dishes will be worse.

In almost any eating place in France, one can, or could, get good food, well cooked. This was the delightful end-product of a long tradition of good cooking, in turn the result of a long tradition of demanding good food, upheld by who knows how many explosions of French temper set off by lapses from the norm. American cooking, at its best, is also excellent. But Americans, lacking the sanction and support of tradition—which they scorn, anyway—assume that what they eat, like what they see and listen to, is something for which

they have no responsibility and over which they have no control. When they do get good food—which is likely to turn up in very unlikely places, for the good cook with a sense of honor often pursues his art in an obscure kitchen—they regard it not as their due but as a special dispensation. And given their passivity, so it is.

This passivity is, I'm sure, partly the effect of bad cooking. For there is nothing more boring or frustrating than a bad meal, involving as it does not only the actual horror of the food itself but contemplation of the waste and despoilation of what was originally good and promising material. Frustration long drawn out enervates the spirit, and, in the end, renders its victims so helpless that they are not only incapable of protesting against bad food but of denying that what they get is "what the people want."

One can only hope that someday someone will throw a blue plate at a restaurant keeper's head. It might release the pent-up energies of a people who always expect too much and invariably demand too little. Yours for the revulsion.

THE SHORTER FICTIONS, most of them fantasies, of E. M. Forster, hitherto hard to come by in this country, have now been brought out in "The Collected Tales of E. M. Forster" (Knopf, \$2.75).

As Lionel Trilling says in his excellent study of Forster, the two stories which are not fantasies, *The Road to Colonus* and *The Eternal Moment*, endure best and are of particular interest because they contain in embryo the themes, symbols, and ideas of Forster's five novels; the others are not wholly satisfying, though they sometimes have wit or point or charm.

They are, moreover, uneven in conception and execution. *The Other Side of the Hedge* is definitely a failure on both counts. *The Machine Stops*, a "counterblast to one of the heavens of H. G. Wells," is heavy-handed and too long.

But stories like *Other Kingdom*, *The Curate's Friend*, and *The Celestial Omnibus*, particularly the first, in which a

young girl escapes her conventional husband and his world by fleeing into a beech wood and turning into a tree, have always pleased me. All of them are nicely turned and well-placed darts in the bourgeois hide. Aside from that, they yield the limited but special pleasure one gets from watching the informal experimental exercises rather than the final formal performances of an artist who seems to enjoy his work.

I shouldn't label such stories summer reading, because summer reading in the conventional sense bores me. Still, they should be very appropriate for a reader in the precarious embrace of a hammock slung from two presumably stable trees and suspended between an earth and a sky which will presumably keep their appointed places.

The other day, my favorite radio columnist, John Crosby, reported an innovation on the air—a new kind of two-part singing in which one singer handled the lower notes and another took care of the higher reaches. Wait till Petrillo hears about it. Before we know it, singers will be assigned their octaves, and broadcasters will have to hire two or more singers for each song or pay for standbys for all notes above or below the union scale.

Two correspondents have reminded me that "The Wings of the Dove" is now available in the Modern Library. Which is fine—but it doesn't exactly fill my bill for an inexpensive edition of all the works of Henry James.

The Crucial Problem

PATRIOTISM OR PEACE? By Adam de Hegedus. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

THIS is an excellent book, brilliantly written; unfortunately, its title is incorrect, and so is its conclusion. Patriotism is not the antithesis of peace—unless we substitute, for love of country, love of more and more country, as Haldane's "patriots" do. The antithesis of peace is war, and whoever chooses this alternative may be either a fool or a scoundrel, but certainly no patriot.

The jacket tells us that the author comes of a family with a title four hun-

dred years old; it neglects to say that Mr. de Hegedus, before the war, was the London correspondent of a chauvinistic Hungarian newspaper. The fact is apropos, because it lends even greater force to his all-out attack on nationalism.

In a profound and poignant analysis, Mr. de Hegedus shows that nationality cannot be reduced to race or language, and that, whatever its spiritual sources, nationalism is entirely the product of environment and education. I would not agree with his contention that "nationalism in turn intensified the desire for democracy"—certainly it is not supported by the example of Poland or Hungary, where the intensely nationalistic squirearchy did its utmost to prevent democratic development. Nor would I subscribe to the statement that Hitler's diagnosis "was correct . . . the world had a great desire to be united, even by force." Most of the countries which the Nazis overran did not exactly manifest such a desire, and Mr. de Hegedus himself makes the contradictory statements that "nationalism . . . is urgently separatist in character" and that "the nation-state as such wishes to be independent." But his diagnosis of nationalism as "the most widely used dangerous mental drug in our time" is masterly and sound.

Mr. de Hegedus's style is fascinating—a successful blend of English scholarship with the wit of a Hungarian journalist. His scholarship is made evident by his thorough knowledge of the relevant literature and his lack of bias. His wit is wise: "After the outbreak of peace, lies should be the first casualties." Or, "It is part of our tragedy that whereas the true story of the past, for most people, is a book written in a foreign language, the story of the present is written in invisible ink."

The journalist in him occasionally shows itself in factual inaccuracies. Thus, he mistakes Paul Valéry for the "frightened poet-ambassador" Paul Claudel. He claims that Hungary had 25,000,000 inhabitants, whereas the population, including Croatia, never exceeded 20,000,000. And he is even more inexact when he says that "Twelve million Hungarians ruled over 25,000,000 members of subject races." In speaking of the "grand total of 16,000,000 Jews living at present," the author apparently overlooked the so far

uncounted millions wiped out by the Nazis and their associates. Finally, Luther, in many respects a forerunner of the Nazis, did not translate the Bible into "his own mother tongue, called today Middle German," but combined the German that was spoken around Meissen in Saxony with the German of the Imperial Chancery, *Kanzleideutsch*, to create the *Neuhochdeutsch* which, according to Professor Munro Chadwick, came to be generally accepted as the standard language of the schools.

These inaccuracies, however, are only minor blemishes on Mr. de Hegedus's fine portrait of nationalism. His diagnosis is not matched by his suggested cure. Not only does he indulge in the paradox that "war comes when the horrors of peace exercise a more powerful impression than the horrors of war," but he also believes that power politics is a necessity. By putting power into the service of a moral purpose, he asserts, force will create the unity of large areas first, and bring about, in an unpredictable future, the unity of the world. This, however, presupposes that power should be recognized by "the majority of the world as a moral purpose." His solution, I am afraid, begs the question. If the effective use of force depends on the recognition of its morality by the majority, why cannot this majority-morality put its will into effect without using violence? As long as nationalism has to be fought with A-bombs and rockets, the medicine would appear to be even more dangerous than the disease itself.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

The Composition of Living INDIRECTIONS FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO WRITE. By Sidney Cox. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

SIDNEY COX has been teaching writing, reading, and the composition of living for nearly thirty years: first at Columbia, then at Montana, and for the last twenty years at Dartmouth. The dominant lines of what he has taught—and learned—are pulled together in this extraordinarily suggestive, wise, instructive, witty, and truly seminal book. I will state at once my conviction that everybody ought to read it.

Probably I ought to add that I studied with Mr. Cox for three years at Dartmouth, that he is the only man who ever

"taught" me anything I found useful about writing, and that he was the strongest "faculty influence" on me and my closest friends. That makes me suspect as a reviewer, no doubt: maybe the book seems so important to me because it is a notebook on a three-year course, you say. Perhaps; but I don't believe it. Within the interstices of this condensed and artfully deceptive simplicity there is room for play—including by-play and inter-play. The wise words on composition are themselves beautifully composed, and it is not necessary that the reader be a Cioxian initiate for him to be instructed and amused, and to come forth the wiser for his pains.

Mr. Cox's theme is composition. He states it baldly at the outset:

The act of composition is performed by all of us. Every time we make up our minds we compose. We change the composition of ourselves and of the world. Where there is life at all there is a constant forming. And the fun and joy in living comes when we make incompatibles unite.

"Indirections"—which also might be called Out of Conflicts Composition—is therefore not exclusively "for those who want to write." It offers itself, as half a conversation, to all who want to make anything—anything but money.

Although "Indirections" does address itself always to the manifold problems, including punctuation and even marketing, of ordering experience and communicating it through the written word, this statement is to be taken as literal truth. For Mr. Cox knows, and teaches, that good writers are those who have something to say and who have to say it. He is therefore as concerned with what they have to say as he is with the way they say it. It follows that what he himself says about making something meaningful of life applies with as much force to painters, musicians, teachers, preachers, mothers, and lovers as to writers. And for him, a good writer is one who also lives, in part at least and however imperfectly, the lives of some of these others. The good writer makes a composition of his own life before he can achieve his end: to make a reader (one will do) "turn a corner or a hair." By this composing he achieves the maturity which admits the

equal validity in life of "joy, irony, tragedy, and faith."

This is not an easy doctrine, with its insistence on the ambiguities of life, its risky demand that we seek meaning first and security second—or last. Writers who are obsessed with the chaos of our time will sneer at the book's assertion that meaning can still be wrought from existence. Doctrinaire thinkers will snort at its injunction to reconcile irreconcilables—"right" and "left" are not only used symbolically here. Concocters of busy best-sellers will not even bother about it.

But it will be a continual source of inspiration and illumination to those who have loved Lewis Carroll and Molière, Tolstoy and Hemingway, Cervantes and Robert Frost, Dostoevsky and Herman Melville, Shakespeare and Chaucer; to those who want to write from feeling and living for the delight and enrichment of more than a coterie; and to those who, writers or not, are absorbed in the process by which men "gain their minute of composure and just a breath of confidence for the long succession of composings that is staying alive."

CHARLES G. BOLTÉ

Robert Schumann

ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS. By Robert Schumann. Edited by Konrad Wolff. Translated by Paul Rosenfeld. Pantheon Press. \$3.75.

THE later reputations of the dominant nineteenth-century music critics—Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Eduard Hanslick, and George Bernard Shaw—form a collection of curious and depressing stories. Berlioz has been systematically misrepresented; Hanslick has been systematically vilified; and Shaw has been systematically ignored; while Schumann, conversely, has been systematically overpraised.

Schumann alive was regarded by many of his contemporary purveyors of musical culture as an irresponsible, perhaps even dangerous, radical. But Schumann dead was taken up and almost deified in Germany as the ideal critic. German musical hegemony leaves little room for an outside opinion; the correct view of Schumann the critic was impressed on the musical world, and one may safely say that for seventy years it has not been seriously challenged. The present edition has inspired a rash of

articles in the American musical press, all chanting his praises—and demonstrating that the process of glorification is a continuing one.

However, the "correct" view can be maintained only by those who neglect to wade through the bulk of Schumann's reviews: the famous pieces on Chopin, Berlioz, and Brahms are known by everybody, but they afford only an incomplete, though not uncharacteristic, picture. The reviews of hundreds of forgotten compositions by scores of forgotten composers are necessary to correct and complete that picture.

Schumann's most characteristic critical reaction—to which attention has occasionally been called—was a tendency toward overpraise. Besides being natural with him, this tendency was also partly the manifestation of the particular critical hobby-horse Schumann rode. In itself, a hobby-horse is nothing—one remembers at once Berlioz and the *apoggiatura*, Hanslick and Brahms, Shaw and Wagner, while the critic without any hobby-horse is apt to be a critic with nothing on (or in) his mind. The difference is that Schumann was riding a dogma having little to do with music, and one for which we can have only a jaundiced regard today. Schumann was an active pan-German and spent his entire critical career urging on, for the greater glory of German music, every English, German, Dutch, and Danish nonentity who showed any promise whatsoever; while at the same time he tended to regard anything that came out of France (with the conspicuous exception of Berlioz, too great a figure to be ignored), Italy (above all), and even Vienna (although he tried, unsuccessfully, to move his journal there) as a bad influence on German music until proved differently.

Schumann also had, I fear, a mushy soul, of a sort particularly distasteful today. In any event, his prose does not survive its period very successfully; it gushes, endlessly. We find in it none of the crispness and élan which make Berlioz and Shaw, writing about forgotten people and events of fifty and a hundred years ago, still scandalously readable. Schumann's use of the *Davidsbündler* must be regarded as an expression of this mushy quality, which I take to represent the feeble elements of high German romanticism, although the

Journey

Between this and that other country
is neither barricade nor sentry.

Plausible under elm and maple
past the train window move the people,

no foreign air in face or clothing,
nothing to warn me, nothing, nothing—

no signboard's word to tell me whether
this is one country or the other.

Yet once arrived, without confusion
I move expertly through the station:

no stranger whom the traffic vexes,
I can evade the trucks and taxis:

sure-footed sleepwalker, I saunter
across the park, see without wonder

the War Memorial, the benches,
familiar sun, familiar branches.

I wait the proper bus, and waiting
hear my name called in sudden greeting—

and find my own responses come
apt in the local idiom.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

dramatic presentation of criticism can be done brilliantly, as Berlioz has demonstrated.

It cannot be denied that Schumann was perfectly sincere and completely honest in his opinions; indeed, this is the one aspect of his work to retain a strong claim on our affections. He detested what he considered sham and occasionally brought himself to the point of being blunt and brutal with it, wreaking particular havoc among the flourishing virtuoso piano junk being ground out by the mile by the Thalbergs and Czernys. He did encourage, to the limit of his abilities, such younger composers as came within his pan-Germanic plans; and along with Gade, Bennett, Hirschbach, Norbert Burgmüller, Verhulst, and Franz, he did introduce Berlioz, Chopin, and Brahms to Germany.

Attempting today to estimate his contemporary influence is somewhat difficult, but it was probably less than his propagandists have represented. Historically, his position has long been secure; but of all the important critics of his century, he is probably the least interesting intrinsically, and the one most visibly dated by the passage of time.

The present volume of selections from Schumann's criticisms is obviously intended to perpetuate the mythical Schumann among the lay public rather than afford a representative conspectus of the work of the actual Schumann. It is an excellent example of what I would call perversion by editorial malpractice. The famous pieces on the famous composers are included; the equally enthusiastic pieces on the gentry who fell by the wayside, as well as the characteristic notices on the contemporary virtuoso literature, are ignored except for a purely token representation (Gade, Lachner, Czerny) tucked away at the end. For the uncritical amateur enthusiast, the book may have some value; for the reader genuinely interested in Schumann, it cannot be recommended. Editorially, the book is a genuine curiosity: a thing of snippets and clippings and disemboweled torsos. The editor declares that "the edition is complete as far as Schumann's writings on the great composers is concerned," but he was so obsessed with the notion that anything which could be regarded as merely topical should be expunged that even the

notices printed in something like their original shape are full of excisions. Occasionally, he condescends to indicate the cuts, but just as frequently he fails to bother; so only a page-by-page comparison with the original will show where and what has been eliminated.

The translation is attributed to the late Paul Rosenfeld; and the editor goes out of his way, in his introduction, to denounce the translation by Fanny Ritter (1877), previously the only one, and still the only complete one in English. But a comparison of the two shows that Rosenfeld's "translation" is nothing but Ritter patched, and frequently little patched at that. Schumann's preface and the scattered quotations from letters not included in Ritter—perhaps twenty pages in all—are indeed newly translated; but everything else is mere revision, and concerns itself largely with style, not sense.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

New Horizons

ON UNDERSTANDING SCIENCE.

An Historical Approach. By James B. Conant. Yale University Press. \$2.

PRESIDENT CONANT has become a distinguished educator. But we should remember that before he became president of Harvard he was a very distinguished chemist. It is but natural, therefore, that he should stress the importance of science as part of an educational curriculum.

This book—the result of a series of lectures delivered at Yale University—deals with Dr. Conant's views on how best to instill the spirit of science into young men who are to be our lawyers, writers, politicians, business men—into everybody, in short, except the young men who are to form our army of scientists. The object, that of making non-science students familiar with the "scientific spirit," is not new; the method proposed, however, does not altogether follow a familiar pattern.

Some twenty years ago, the University of Chicago started "survey courses" in science for non-science students, and the plan was adopted by many colleges throughout the country. Some of the texts prepared for use in such "outlines" show refreshing sparks, but, up to the present, such courses have not proved conspicuous successes. Having had some

experience with these outlines, I have come to the sad conclusion that the excellence of a text is no measure of how successfully it can be applied in lecture and laboratory work.

Dr. Conant's book is not another science "outline." Here we find a rather detailed study of several "case histories"—of how a few scientists "stumbled through thickets of erroneous observations." The lucid exposition is intriguing, and one is tempted to shout, "Here, at last, is *the* book," were it not for the after-thought that there may be many a slip between book and classroom. I am told that Dr. Conant is teaching (or will teach) the course at Harvard. We shall have to be patient for another year or two for the postscript which Dr. Conant will undoubtedly furnish us.

The "case histories" studied deal with the lives and activities of a few outstanding men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when experimental work was relatively simple, and, therefore, more easily understood by the layman than the scientific activities of our day. With much detail, and with emphasis on problems which had to be overcome, the works of Boyle dealing with the pressure exerted by the atmosphere, of Galvani and Volta and their electric battery, of Lavoisier and combustion, among others, are illustrated. Selections are made with an eye to bringing out certain common attributes: new techniques, such as the use of mercury to make a barometer, and the invention of the air pump; new concepts, such as the substitution of the idea that "nature abhors a vacuum" by the concept that air exerts pressure; and difficulties of experimentation. An attempt is made—but rather cautiously explored—to show interconnections between science and society.

Throughout the book, Dr. Conant makes it clear that he is not much interested in adding to the store of scientific knowledge which the student may possess, but rather to giving him an "understanding" of science—an object, which, on paper at least, he has carried out admirably. And such attempts as this distinguished chemist makes here should be multiplied; for, to take one example of paramount importance, our statesmen in Washington, who have to deal with the disposal of the atomic bomb, show, on the whole, an abysmal

ignorance of anything approaching the physical sciences. For them—and for others—the book by Conant (coupled with Hecht's "Explaining the Atom") should reveal new horizons.

BENJAMIN HARROW

A Disturbing Tribe

PILGRIM OF THE ABSOLUTE:
LEON BLOY. Selections by Raïssa Maritain. Introduction by Jacques Maritain. Pantheon Books. \$3.50.

THE church is one, and legion. There is a conventional and vapid Catholicism—the simpering painted plaster statues of the St. Sulpice Quarter. There is also a free, ardent, paradoxical form of faith, mystic and quasi-rebellious, at times prophetic and even apocalyptic, with touches of Milton, but also of Byron, Carlyle, and Nietzsche. To this strange brood, belong the Lost Leader, Lamennais; the Satanic dandy, Barbey d'Aurevilly; Louis Veuillot, at least for his virulence; Huysmans, Claudel, Péguy, Bernanos; in Spain, Unamuno. Baudelaire would fit admirably, if only he had not stated so definitely, right to the end, that he was not a believer. Back of them all, and greatest, is Pascal. A disturbing tribe, constantly hovering between beatification and excommunication; the terror of the *bien pensants*, the right thinking, that is, the unthinking.

Of such was Léon Bloy, whose life

and thought are here distilled in his own words by Raïssa Maritain, whom he brought into the church. She does not conceal or edulcorate any of his aspects. Léon Bloy believed literally the Gospel truth that wealth is sin. Others have said that property is theft and the profit motive degrading: he makes us feel it, as Christ felt it, with the irresistible power of a spiritual revelation. But though he had espoused poverty, he finds no joy in his wedded life with her. He curses those who keep him in the blessed state of utter destitution.

And his abuse is unmeasured, especially his abuse of his fellow-Catholics. "Never has there been anything as hateful, as completely abominable as our Catholic world today." Not merely the conservatives of the Maurras-Franco school, who "dream of a restoration in which a watchdog's kennel would be offered to Our Lord Jesus Christ," but the Sisters, whose orphanages are sweatshops, "Society Monsignori" like Msgr. Bolo, the Assumptionist Fathers for their politics, Cardinal Richard for his wealth, Benedict XV for his neutrality. When the flower of Catholic aristocracy perished in the Charity Bazaar conflagration, Léon Bloy let out a yell of delight: "At last! Served them right!"

How can we reconcile this vitriolic abuse with Christian charity? Veuillot too had sneered at the "Charitans." Léon Bloy assumes, like Torquemada,

that rigorous chastisement is the highest form of love. A perilous method. Bloy, in his favorite book, "Salvation Is of the Jews," denounces the scurrilous anti-Semite Edouard Drumont. But Drumont, too, claimed to be a good Catholic, and his tone is exactly the same as Bloy's; Bernanos still admires the author of "Jewish France."

"As time does not exist for God, the inexplicable victory of the Marne may have been decided by the very humble prayer of a little girl who will not be born for another two centuries." Evidently Bloy does not try to make sense. He knows it and revels in it. With him, as with Paul, Tertullian, Pascal, his own master Hello, and even learned heretics like Reinhold Niebuhr, the mystery of the Cross is scandal, foolishness, absurdity, paradox. "Revelation is a lackluster firmament obscured by mountains of sinister clouds from whence occasionally darts forth, only at once to withdraw, the very tip of the arms of lightning." All this requires, not faith, which I have, but an extremely peculiar kind of faith, of which I am utterly destitute. If the second essential Commandment be "Love thy neighbor," if Charity be greater even than Faith and Hope, then it will be hard to give the name of Christian to this tortured angry man, belching forth volcanic abuse, lighting fitfully our darkness with a glare which is not of heaven.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
66th ST.
68th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
42nd ST.
REGENCY
23rd ST.

RKO NOW
SHIRLEY FRANCHOT GUY
TEMPLE • TONE • MADISON
'HONEYMOON'
Based on VICKI BAUM Story
— and —
Pat O'BRIEN
Walter SLEZAK
Anne JEFFREYS

'RIFF-RAFF'

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

"DICKENS" BROUGHT TO LIFE . . . SHEER DELIGHT."
JOHN MILLS • VALERIE HOBSON

'GREAT EXPECTATIONS'
By CHARLES DICKENS
— and —
'THE WEB' Edmond O'BRIEN
Ella RAINES

"SUSPENSE THRILLER."—N. Y. Herald Trib.

QUEENS

MIDWAY
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CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 224 By MR. Y.

TO BEGIN at last to catch up on the books that have piled up, and to begin with the finest of the lot, Dame Ethel Smyth's "Impressions That Remained" (Knopf; \$5): This book, originally published in 1919, is the first instalment of the memoirs of the famous woman composer who died in 1944. Born in 1858, one of the typical large family of an English major-general who was antagonistic to her musical inclinations, she went to study music in Leipzig. There her remarkable personal qualities won her the intimate friendship of the families who dominated the musical life of the city, including the Herzogenbergs, those friends of Brahms who are always mentioned in program-notes, and in whose home in fact she met Brahms and got to know him well enough to write a chapter on him that is better than any of the full-dress biographies. Nor was it, of course, only Brahms but almost all the musical greats of the time—Clara Schumann, Joachim, Grieg, Tchaikovsky, Rubinstein, Levi—that she heard, met, observed, and describes.

Nor is it only musical folk that she writes about with such keen perception, humor, and verve. The book begins with delightful chapters about her family—her mother, for example, whose "own point of view tended to obscure that of the other person—so much so that we often chaffed her about her style of relating a conversation: 'So he said something or other, and I said *not at all*, that's where you're quite wrong. . . .' Later there are equally fine chapters on her English friends. And throughout there are the observations on music, of the caliber of her remark about Wagner's "having written operas the length of which always seemed to me artistically arrogant—a wilful ignoring of the limits set by nature to human receptivity. But Wagner is, among other things, the greatest hypnotizer the world has ever seen, and for the hypnotized time does not exist."

In striking contrast to all this sharpness of perception, vivacity of mind, and vitality of literary style is the colorlessness of Bruno Walter's mind, the flabbiness of his translated writing in his autobiography, "Theme and Variations" (Knopf; \$5). The mere factual



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the second of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y, in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Varga-girl's boyfriend in Scheherazade's tale? (8, 6)
- 9 Pours out when the act ends. (7)
- 10 Takes more margin in depressions. (7)
- 11 A hang-over isn't much use on dark days. (6)
- 12 Stoop and eat out of them. (8)
- 14 Twin beds are commonly stolen. (7)
- 15 Makes organic footnotes. (5)
- 17 Dairy account. (5)
- 19 Dear to the editor. (7)
- 21 He recommends several glasses each day. (8)
- 23 Dry up! (6)
- 25 He comes out of a big lane. (7)
- 26 He makes wharf decay. (7)
- 27 Pavement on the road that Dante walked? (4, 10)

DOWN

- 1 Novel in which the baby slept? (9)
- 2 It's short and conical. (7)
- 3 Tinny note for nobody. (9)
- 4 Turkey and Syria are near this. (4)
- 5 Poohbah claimed to be descended from such an atomic globule. (10)
- 6 Well-known passage by Forster. (5)

- 7 Examine the thread in peace. (7)
- 8 Is twice worshipped. (4)
- 13 Strange, but in Germany food comes last. (10)
- 15 When he loses his head, he lives here. (9)
- 16 The price of frills? (9)
- 18 Any one of a Shakespearean quartet. (7)
- 20 Rapid movement in scores of things. (7)
- 21 What makes the Little Brothers so disturbed? (4)
- 22 It's not easy to get a hundred the first thing! (5)
- 24 On the verge of collapse. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 223

ACROSS:—1 ALPHABETS; 6 MEATS; 9 BULLION; 10 TACTICS; 11 TIC; 12 ALBINO; 13 SORE; 15 MISSIVES; 16 ARSENT; 18 CAPONE; 20 UNSOLVED; 23 DIRK; 24 BUREAU; 25 RAM; 26 NEEDLES; 29 RAIMENT; 30 ABUSE; 31 REDUNDANT.

DOWN:—1 AMBIT; 2 PALACES; 3 ANIMATIONS; 4 ENNOBLES; 5 SATINS; 6 MACE; 7 ADIPOSE; 8 SUSPECTED; 14 ABSOLUTION; 15 MACEDONIA; 17 INTERRER; 19 PARVENU; 21 VERBENA; 22 BURSAR; 26 MOTET; 27 FLUE.

record which it offers is interesting at times, as are the long discussions of Mahler's methods and results, the briefer ones of other conductors' and singers' performances. But even the factual record is often sketchy, cloudy, and incomplete; for men like Walter have had experiences which could provide fascinating material for a book, but which they consider it necessary to be tactful about; and Walter is excessively tactful: there is, for example, not a word about Furtwängler—his performances before 1933, his behavior after 1933, about which Walter undoubtedly has opinions.

Tact may be the right word for Szietgi's omission of Arthur Judson from his "With Strings Attached" (Knopf; \$4); but a less pleasant word would have to be used for his inclusions in that chaos of pretentious "reminiscences and reflections"—the profusion of names dragged in for a purpose. Thus, "Kreisler was playing a concerto by Mozart (that 'supreme internationalist and equalitarian in art,' as Olin Downes felicitously put it) . . ."

Film Notes

THE UNFAITHFUL comes out against inadequately premeditated divorce and even suggests that a cuckold should try to understand and forgive his wife's adultery. It does not suggest, however, that *he* should ask *her* forgiveness for his far more contemptible failure to discipline his jealousy. And it dresses up what might have been good and plain, if rather immature, drama in some of the most superfluous plot-complications in years.

"Ivy" is an unusually ornate melodrama about an Edwardian murderess; it stars Joan Fontaine, who pops her eyes, coarsens her jaw, and wears her elegant clothes very effectively. The real star is whoever was chiefly responsible for the dressing, setting, lighting, and shooting, and that, I infer from past performance, is the producer, William Cameron Menzies.

"Moss Rose" is also English-turn-of-the-century, ornate, and about murder. It is not by a good deal as good of its kind as "Ivy." But Peggy Cummins is famishingly pretty; and Ethyl Barrymore, in an even sillier role, has moments when her sardonic slip shows, and others of such pure, gentle splendor that they make Gainsborough look like Varga.

JAMES AGE

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Twenty Years After

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THIS week the federal loyalty check begins. In response to President Truman's order, backed by \$11,000,000 voted in Congress, 1,900,000 employees of the executive agencies and departments will supply the government with fresh fingerprints and information about their records and connections. Each department or agency is responsible for assembling the facts about its own workers, but the facts will be examined for evidence of disloyalty by the Civil Service Commission, the FBI, and other federal intelligence offices. In doubtful cases a full inquiry will be made by the FBI and the findings reported to the head of the department in which the suspect is employed. The department head may suspend the employee in question, but the case will be passed upon by a departmental review board and also, in case of an appeal, by a three-man federal board of review whose decision will be final.

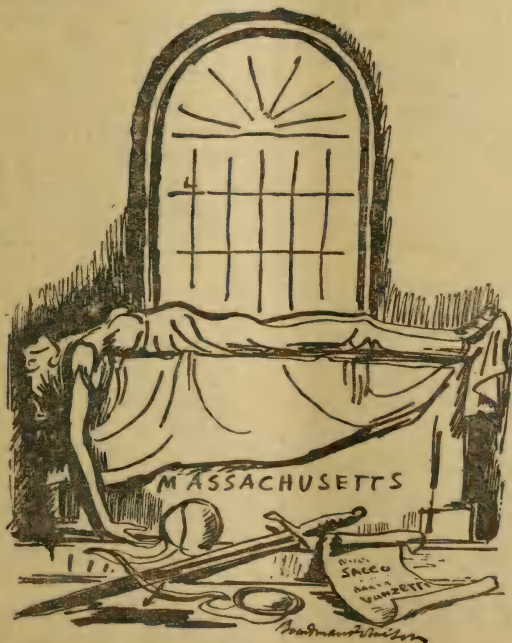
This, broadly, is the set-up. Compared with the summary methods used to root out disloyalty in many foreign lands—including several safely remote from the Russian sphere—the methods to be applied in Washington are manifestly moderate. By way of contrast, I call the reader's attention to the details of British military rule in Palestine, presented by Lilie Shultz on a later page. In America persons suspected of subversive political views are not arrested or imprisoned. They are not even dismissed from government jobs without being given at least a technical

chance to defend their records. Nor are they punished beyond loss of jobs when they are found guilty. I say this in fairness to the government; but I repudiate as disingenuous and dangerous the notion, frequently advanced these days by persons who call themselves liberal, that the restrained procedures used in Washington somehow justify the loyalty check itself and the purposes behind it.

On the contrary, the government of the United States has no excuse whatsoever for carrying out a purge on the scale promised, with or without safeguards. The ruthless measures of repression employed in Eastern Europe are viewed with profound disapproval in Washington; those in Palestine have been tactfully ignored. But I would suggest that the mild repressions now being carried into effect in Washington are less defensible than

either. This country is not in revolution; it is not in the grip of civil disorder. The government is not threatened from any direction. If a political drift is discernible in the country, it is to the right. The Communists, however irritating, are neither more numerous nor more aggressive than in years past. Only hysteria or a calculated desire to make political capital out of the general fear of Russia can explain the institution of an organized system of thought control in the federal departments.

For the loyalty check is not designed merely to rid the government of Communists and Communist sympathizers. If it were, strict libertarians might still con-



Boardman Robinson in *The Nation* of September 7, 1927

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denn it, though the loyal followers of Stalin have done their best to rob such defenders of valid arguments. But the record of recent political dismissals shows how catholic and elastic is the federal definition of disloyalty. The recent announcement that ten more persons had been ousted from the State Department included an official estimate that 831 workers had been dismissed as political "suspects" from the government service as a whole; this before the new check had even begun. How many of them were suspected of communism was not mentioned, but the State Department made no pretense that the twenty persons so far ousted from its staff were even supposed to be Communists. They were dropped, it said, for "security reasons," without further specification.

It is a fact widely known in Washington that of the first ten dismissed several had no idea what charges had been brought against them. Some of them are likely to take their cases into court. I. F. Stone reported in *PM* on July 2 an astonishing conversation with Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy, the official handling the department purge. A few lines are worth reprinting:

[He] did not think the ten were Communists, nor did he think more than a few might be called fellow-travelers, but he was dubious about their associations. . . . When I asked whether they would be told the evidence against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said no. . . .

In other words, even under the methods applied in stable and comfortably conservative America, government employees are losing their jobs on charges which are never specified and are thus impossible to disprove.

And while the departments rid themselves of suspects, the federal courts carry through trials which are obviously political in purpose, whatever legal bases may be found. The conviction of the Communist Gerhart Eisler for passport fraud was no doubt technically justified. He did use a fictitious name, and he did conceal his political affiliation to get out of France and into the United States in 1941. The jury ignored the fact that every hunted Communist attempting to escape the Gestapo and the Vichy police did the same thing if he could. The recent case of the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee raised other technical issues, but it was decided on similarly political grounds. An analysis of the trial by I. F. Stone, who discussed the Marzani conviction in *The Nation* on July 12, will appear in an early issue. Essentially, for all their legal differences, these cases are of a piece. They are clearly part of a sweeping attack by the government on Communist and left groups; the law is invoked where other, simpler methods are lacking.

On August 23, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti died in the electric chair, and American justice proved how low it

could sink under the weight of anti-radical, anti-alien emotion. Before he died, Vanzetti, in a letter to a friend, said: "What I wish more than all else in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate may . . . serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain." Today, on this twentieth anniversary of his death, we must bitterly acknowledge that Vanzetti's wish has not been fulfilled. The "forces of freedom" seem to have been demobilized, while small men in office exploit the whipped-up fears of Congressmen and voters. So far hysteria has not swept the country into the extremes of Palmer's "red raids" and the Lusk committee—and the conviction of the two Italian Anarchists. But we are well on the way.

The Shape of Things

ARAB LEADERS FROM THE MUFTI ON DOWN disclaim responsibility for the sudden outburst of attacks on Jews that seemed likely last week to add the horrors of inter-communal slaughter to the rigors of police rule in Palestine. The Mufti characteristically blamed the Jews for his followers' violence. But Arab leaders in Palestine seemed puzzled by the ugly explosion and have tried, some at the risk of their lives, to prevent continued attacks and avoid provocative statements. The decision of Haganah to punish the Arabs responsible for the killings was itself ill-advised in spite of British failure to do so. However scrupulous the Jewish forces intended to be, their counter-attacks inevitably took on the aspect of reprisals rather than police action. And, also inevitably, they killed several innocent Arabs who happened to get in the way of their bombs. As this is written, the violence seems to have simmered down. Whether the Moslem feast days provided merely temporary distraction or the judgment of sober leaders of both groups has actually prevailed, the next few days will show. One thing is certain. Communal warfare can only damage the political hopes of Jews and Arabs alike. While it reflects no particular credit on the British, its chief result will be to convince the world—and especially the United Nations—that the two peoples cannot safely be left to rule themselves. So obvious is this that some leaders in both groups have hinted at "outside"—meaning British—instigation. But no evidence has appeared to back up the insinuation. A more likely explanation is the all-pervading tension of a country living under tight police control while its ultimate fate remains suspended somewhere between Geneva and Lake Success.

✱

INDIA'S NEW DAWN CAME UP LIKE THUNDER last week in a fashion which must have set a-wagging many a grizzled head among the disciples of the late Mr. Kipling. This was to have been expected. An empire was dying in chaos; two new states were being

born to a violent heritage they were ill equipped to cope with. But now that the rioting has subsided it is possible to bring this advent of India's independence into clearer perspective. England has left India with no ifs and buts and without the shame of a colonial war. Other empires might take note. Two Indias have emerged without the horrors of the civil war which a few months ago seemed probable. Credit must go to England's statesmen and to India's statesmen: to the Labor government and Mountbatten, to Gandhi and Nehru. The problems that the new governments face are vast enough, as Shiva Rao points out in his article on page 179. They are problems of food, of the reorganization of a complex system of administration, of introducing new methods of agriculture and industry. They are problems of vested interests, both political and economic, and of bringing to realization the ideals of social justice for which many of India's leaders have fought. But they are now India's problems, and for the first time India has a chance to solve them. Let no friends of freedom become impatient if the process is slow and arduous.

✱

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN OF A political party has only one function that we know of: to win votes for the ticket—by organization, by personal standing, by persuasion, and by strategy. This simple fact makes a mystery of the President's apparent leaning toward Clinton P. Anderson for that post in the Democratic hierarchy. As director of the 1948 campaign, to succeed the ailing Robert E. Hannegan, Mr. Anderson would bring to the party the gift of the Solid South, which is rather like presenting a quart of milk to Elsie the Cow. Where Democratic votes are sorely needed, we cannot see Mr. Anderson as the man to get them. Voters who resented price control will find more appeal among Republicans, who really killed OPA, than in Mr. Anderson, who as Secretary of Agriculture merely undermined it. Proponents of the Taft-Hartley labor act will not be wooed from the party that pushed it through Congress by a Cabinet member who only urged the President to sign it. And those who want an inequitable tax bill will regard the Republicans as their best bet, even if the Democratic campaign is piloted by a man who shares their view on the subject. In short, Anderson would win over a few conservatives, while among trade unionists and liberals his appointment would have the rousing effect of a tepid washrag. Hannegan may be no more than the Missouri politician that Harold Ickes so often and so unflatteringly paints him, but along with his assistant, Gael Sullivan, he constantly urged on the President a legislative program for housing, lower prices, and unhampered trade unionism. He had the political sense to know what his fellow-Missourian had better recall—that when the country wants to buy tory government it prefers it in the reliable Grand Old Package.

LOADING THE THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF THE Brink family into a 1931-model car, Los Angeles County officials recently started the clan on the long road back to Bartlesville, Oklahoma. For weeks Ma Brink had held out against returning to Oklahoma, for the family, after five years' sojourn, had acquired legal residence in California. But the county officials, with a vast experience in such cases, finally "induced" the Brinks to leave with the promise of four new tires and tubes, a new battery, a tail light, and a connecting rod for the jalopy. With characteristic canniness, the officials refused to give the Brinks a lump sum for expenses en route, but arranged that they should receive small stipends from other welfare agencies along the line of march. No sooner had the Brinks arrived in Oklahoma than the welfare officials there disclaimed responsibility, on the ground, of course, that the Brinks were now legal residents of California. At last report the Brinks were headed westward again on Highway 66, made famous in "The Grapes of Wrath." The first case of its kind to occur since the war, the Brink story was treated in the Los Angeles press in a manner calculated to serve notice that the lush days of war-time prosperity were over. Somewhat out of practice in the fine art of shuffling relief cases back and forth across state lines, the Los Angeles welfare officials are obviously preparing for the period of stress and strain that lies ahead. Let future historians note the saga of the Brinks and their eleven children as the first adumbration of the "hard times" of 19—!

✱

THE LIVELY FEUD THAT HAS DEVELOPED in the ranks of the Republican Party in Oregon shows how sharply the public-power issue cuts across party lines in the Northwest. Guy Cordon, the senior Senator from Oregon, is a conservative Republican who acquired, in his long service under Charles McNary, an appreciation of the vital part played by public power in the development of the Northwest. Carrying the fight for the Bonneville Power Administration budget in the Eightieth Congress, Senator Cordon finally succeeded in rounding up commitments for a quite adequate appropriation. It now develops, however, that this compromise was sabotaged, at the zero hour, by a fellow Oregonian and Republican, Representative Lowell Stockman of Pendleton. After Senate and House conferees, including both Cordon and Stockman, had agreed on the compromise proposal, Stockman finally joined forces with New York's John Taber in the coalition that eliminated appropriations for the McNary-LaGrande transmission line, the Detroit-Eugene line, the Eugene-Reedsport line, the Reedsport-Coos Bay line, and the Goldendale-Detroit line. Indignant over this betrayal, Senator Cordon has placed the blame for "a thoroughly inadequate budget" for Bonneville squarely on Stockman. As a result, it seems likely that the Second Congressional District in Oregon will have a new Representative in 1948.

THE ARMY'S CIVIL AFFAIRS DIVISION ALMOST made a terrible mistake. It almost produced "All My Sons," a Communist play, for native audiences in Germany, Austria, and Japan. How did the army find out "All My Sons" was a Communist play? A. H. Sorenson, national commander of the Catholic War Veterans, said it was in a telegram to Secretary of War Kenneth C. Royall. How did Mr. Sorenson find out the play was Communist? It was so classed by one of his organization's field investigators who took in the show and prepared a résumé of it. Mr. Sorenson himself "is too busy to go to the theater." He is also too busy, it seems, to read the New York drama critics. They banded together last winter to name "All My Sons" the best production of the season. Obviously a knavish lot—Atkinson, Barnes, Mantle, and the rest: here was a play about a war profiteer who shoots himself, and they didn't recognize it—or chose not to recognize it—as Communist propaganda. Well, accounts have been settled. In response to Mr. Sorenson's protest the army has reexamined its decision and concluded, in the words of one of its spokesmen, "that we were a little off base." Signals off! The show must not go on! Anybody got a good play about a war-profiteer who dies of coronary thrombosis and goes to heaven?

The Pleasant Boomerang

THE panic in Hollywood at the announcement of the new British import tax of 75 per cent on American films must have surprised a great many Americans who weren't aware of the fact, though some say it is just a Hollywood theory, that the American film industry has been making only enough in this country to cover expenses, in spite of record attendance (now on the decline), and has been getting its profits mainly from British rentals. It will be a blow, particularly to anti-British isolationists, to discover that even that great private enterprise, American Daydream, Inc., has been dependent for support on Great Britain, of all countries.

One can't help feeling that hurt pride as well as the prospect of a flat pocket-book played a part in the reaction of the American film industry. Eric Johnston's statements have been marked by a sense of injury, and the action of the "big eight" canceling further shipments of movies to Britain indefinitely—which will have no effect for six months—was clearly a case of over-response. It must have been a shock to them to discover that the British public had not even rioted, let alone thrown out the Socialist government, at the prospect of being deprived of American films. On the contrary, when the London *Evening News* took a poll of the man in the street, only two out of twenty interviewed said they preferred American to British pictures, and of the others "nearly all were agreed that the loss of the majority of

American second-feature rubbish would be a good thing."

Theater operators and film producers in Great Britain are opposed to a tariff of such proportions, for economic reasons. At the present rate of production, it is not possible to provide enough British films to take the place of those now imported from America, and the result would be the closing down of theaters and, as they point out, a loss in entertainment taxes. The effect of such a tariff would, moreover, almost certainly be prejudicial to the distribution of British films in America. The government, no doubt, will back down a bit, and the American film companies will calm down. A compromise will be reached. And the whole episode may turn out to have a salutary effect on the complacency with which Hollywood turns out "second-feature rubbish."

It seems justifiable to assume that the British move had cultural as well as economic motives. As long ago as January 16 Sir Stafford Cripps hinted that Britain might curb the importation of Hollywood films unless their quality were improved. "I am certain there are millions of filmgoers in this country," he said, "who are anxious to see the best films from other countries, and I emphasize the word 'best.'" Sir Stafford was not merely speaking for himself. More than one observer has noted that there has been a revolution in British taste during

the years of trial. Whether as factor or result or both, British film-making has been going through an exciting renaissance—it was described recently in a very interesting article by Cyril Ray in *Harper's*. This means among other things that the British have a standard of their own by which to judge the American product.

The British deliberately export only the best of their films. It seems likely that any compromise arrangement in the present dispute will tend toward a similar discrimination in American films. And it is just possible that if our "second-feature rubbish" can no longer be palmed off on Britain, it won't seem worth while to make it just for American consumption.

When Eric Johnston said self-righteously that the British should not expect to get a dollar's worth of films for 25 cents, an English movie critic retorted that "for too long we have been paying a dollar for 25 cents' worth of entertainment." *Touché*—and so have we. Mr. Johnston also said, ominously, that the Attlee program on American films "may have set in motion a chain reaction which could blast the hope of all trade revival around the world." It could, on the contrary, set in motion a chain reaction by which—O happy irony—Americans would be freed, by their British cousins, from the torture of the other half of the double feature.

Lining Up the Americas

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IF THE United States delegation has its way at Rio de Janeiro, a hypothesis only slightly less probable than at previous pan-American gatherings, the current conference on hemispheric defense will be long on platitude and short on achievement. The meeting itself is both an anti-climactic admission of our failure to quarantine a politically diseased Argentina and a vague promise of more positive action at the conference to be held—provided everyone behaves well at Rio—at Bogotá in January.

The intention of Secretary of State Marshall and his advisers is to limit the conference to the signing of a treaty for which there is no compelling need. By the terms of various agreements dating back to 1938 the countries of the hemisphere are already committed to the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to consult each other in cases of aggression, and agreed on the principle of mutual defense. And beyond these commitments they are all bound by the Charter of the United Nations. As a restatement of these aims a formal defense treaty can do no harm, but in the matter of enforcement it is unlikely to make a peso's worth of difference.

This is true even if the conference overrides, as it surely will, the Argentine plan to invoke the same una-

nimity rule that has stultified the U. N. Security Council, because the American proposal is little more effective. General Marshall favors action on the basis of a two-thirds' vote, which would be excellent were it not for the proviso that any military action would be binding only on those who voted for it. Since there is nothing to prevent any state from going to the aid of another even now, little is added by an understanding that two-thirds of them may do so if they feel like it.

Underlying the American reluctance to go beyond this instrument at the moment is Marshall's failure to get a pet army project through Congress. I refer, of course, to the plan for standardizing the military machines of Latin America by furnishing them generously with our own surplus equipment. This was to have been at once the basis for implementing a defense treaty and, in the case of Argentina at least, a persuasive argument in favor of signing. There is no doubt that the refusal of Congress to act on the measure has left the Secretary marking time and slightly the worse for embarrassment, for there can no longer be any question that he is an enthusiastic sponsor, if not the originator, of the idea.

The arms plan, according to former Secretary of State

Byrnes, was spawned in the War Department while Marshall was Chief of Staff, and when the General succeeded Byrnes, he was clearly told by Under Secretary Acheson that the State Department had no use for the scheme at all. Originally, Byrnes had favored it, but he was easily persuaded by Spruille Braden, then Assistant Secretary, to oppose it on the basis not only of Argentina's untrustworthiness but of the competition and jealousies it would arouse and the intolerable financial burden it would impose on states hardly able to sustain their poor economies as it was, without having to engage in an armament race. Except for General Hildring, this view was unanimously held by top officials in the department, but Marshall brushed aside the arguments and, unknown to Braden, directed his representative on the coordinating committee for State, War, and Navy to give the plan his approval. The interdepartmental committee then made a sly effort to ease the scheme through Congress, deliberately trying to keep publicity to a minimum. It was at this point that Braden, already sorely tried, gave up in disgust, resigned, and declined a choice of posts that would conveniently have removed him to the other end of the world.

WHAT was Marshall's objective in formulating policy for Latin America? He was eager, in the first place, to resolve the whole nagging quarrel with Argentina, which was not only diverting him from the more critical problems of Europe and Asia but endangering his Republican support in the Senate, where Vandenberg had long favored a rapprochement with Perón. Secondly, Marshall is still enough of an army man to see unity, at least in part, as a technical question of military synchronization. What good it would do us in an atomic or bacterial war to have Peru equipped with American M-1 rifles and Chile with American PT boats is entirely beyond me, but this would not be the first time that a future war had been planned with the last war's weapons.

It is held in some quarters that the whole arms plan is directed against the Soviet Union and that the weapons would serve to suppress Communist movements in Latin America. This might well be the effect, but if it is the purpose, it leaves a great deal out of account. Aside from strengthening the comparatively rich, anti-*yanqui*, and at least semi-fascist Argentine at the expense of its weaker neighbors, it assumes that the Perón regime can be counted on to side automatically with the United States in a showdown with Russia. Such an assumption completely overlooks the role which the Argentines have assigned to themselves and which is not to be taken lightly, however short of the mark they may fall.

Argentina today aspires to leadership, not merely of the Latin American countries, which would be nothing new, but of Latin countries everywhere. It sees itself as the center of a third bloc of nations, standing for "peace"

and holding the balance of power between the capitalist-dominated states of the Protestant world and the Communist-dominated states of the Soviet orbit. It was this ambition, according to one of the keenest observers of Argentine affairs, that lay behind the trip of Señora Perón to Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, and the Vatican—a trip that coincided with the "continental peace resolution" circulated by Perón in this hemisphere.

Delusions of grandeur? Perhaps. But megalomania has an important place in the political world, as Hitler and Mussolini demonstrated, and it cannot be safely ignored. The Communists of Argentina are not ignoring it in the case of Perón. Whatever he may say of them—he is inconsistent on the subject—they fully support both his Five-Year Plan for industry and his "peace" policy, and they share his antipathy for the United States. John Herling reports in the August issue of *Harper's* that they are even "urging an alliance between Perón's labor federation and the C. T. A. L., the hemisphere labor organization run by Lombardo Toledano." And in return, the same writer says, the Argentine ambassador to Moscow recently went out of his way to express sympathy with the views of Henry Wallace and to suggest "that Roosevelt's policy toward Russia had been far preferable to Truman's." Asked at a press conference whether he believed an attempt would be made at Rio to outlaw communism throughout the continent, Foreign Minister Bramuglia replied, "Argentina, as a democratic nation, has no intention of outlawing communism." I cite these incidents merely to indicate that Vandenberg and others who would arm Argentina as an anti-Russian gesture are putting their money on what is at best a highly erratic entry. Neutrality and balance of power, not anti-Sovietism, are the keys to Argentine policy.

A much surer bet for combating communism would be economic assistance, comprehensive and well-planned, for the entire southern continent—a Marshall plan for the Americas. No one can take seriously President Truman's remark that we have had such a plan for a century and a half in the form of the Monroe Doctrine, and the United States delegation has had considerable trouble in its efforts to keep economic aid off the Rio agenda. The Argentine delegate gleefully introduced it before he had fairly stepped off the plane. Cuba, at this writing, threatens to force inclusion in the treaty of a clause directed against "economic aggression," meaning specifically our own restrictive sugar quota. And at least three other states favor an immediate economic conference.

SECRETARY MARSHALL was statesman enough to see that the problems of Europe could not be solved by piecemeal contributions and patchwork diplomacy. It is not too much to expect him to apply the same reasoning to the south. Even from a strictly military point of view, a collection of poverty-stricken, jealously in-

triguing states armed with American weapons would be of far less help to us in the ultimate catastrophe of war than a continent equipped to supplement our industries and furnish its own adequate shipping. Marshall may succeed in postponing all economic discussion until the Bogotá meeting, but it would come as no surprise in

Washington if, under pressure, he were to produce a token Marshall plan, said to have been already worked out. If he does, he will not only steal a march on Perón but hold out hopes for Bogotá that cannot be matched by dangling before his fellow-confererees the prospect of standardized jeeps from Juarez to Tierra del Fuego.

India Grapples with Freedom

BY SHIVA RAO

Madras, August 14

TOMORROW India will split into two full-fledged dominions within the British Commonwealth. India proper will have a population of about 290,000,000; Pakistan will have 70,000,000. Some states, like Hyderabad and Kashmir, have not yet declared whether they will join one of the new dominions or remain independent. Nehru has made it clear that refusal to join will be regarded as an unfriendly act, and Mountbatten has tried to persuade recalcitrant princes to see the wisdom of joining.

Many of these princes are threatening to make nuisances of themselves, as Nehru bluntly said a month ago. Since the division of India has taken place, and the British withdrawal will be almost complete with the formal declaration tomorrow, princes like Nizam of Hyderabad are reviving old claims to territories such as Berar, which he ceded to the British some decades ago. Berar is a rich, cotton-growing region with a population of 4,000,000 virile Hindus who would rather fight than accept again the suzerainty of Nizam, a ruler with medieval conceptions of the relations between a prince and his people.

Nizam is not alone in pursuing former grandeur. Lesser princes, who have apparently decided to join the Indian union, have collected, during recent months, suspiciously large quantities of war material. They harbor strange notions of princely dignity and privilege. Autocracy dies hard, however much the princes may accept the outer forms of a democratic regime.

What makes these princes a formidable menace to India's infant democracy is that, with their considerable resources, they can find work for large numbers of demobilized soldiers who are desperately looking for employment. Over 1,500,000 of these men who helped the Allies win the war are today a danger to the establishment of democratic rule. They fought the war because they were paid well to do so; no high principles of liberty

or freedom moved them. A demobilization officer once explained his difficulties to me. "These men," he said, referring, at the moment, to a unit which had been in Italy for two years, "they like Italian wives, dancing with Italian women, going to the cinema. How can they now go back to their Punjab villages, which have none of these attractions?" Demobilized soldiers, scattered throughout India, want work and adventure. Many princes can provide both, and arms in abundance.

That is one great danger. Another is the rapidly vanishing supply of food. Imports have been disappointing; Burma, normally our best supplier, is busy putting down gangsterism and cannot turn its attention to the export of rice. Our summer rains have been irregular and inadequate, and the forthcoming rice and maize crops will reveal a considerable deficit. Some provinces have a six weeks' supply; others, no more than three. The daily ration has been cut down to eight ounces; further reduction seems impossible. The appearance of famine conditions has been reported from three regions near Delhi. Summing up the food situation, a worried official used these words: "Like 1943 [meaning the Bengal famine] but on a more widespread scale." Late rains, even at this stage, may save the withering crops and provide water and fodder for cattle, but the new dominion governments, particularly Nehru's, will face a severe food crisis immediately after the assumption of office.

The lack of food won't be the only major problem. Cloth, salt, sugar, matches, and oil are all things India's millions want every day of their lives. They are equally difficult to obtain. Industrial workers impatiently demand decent living conditions and wages enabling them to meet the high prices of most commodities. The strike fever seems to be spreading, despite Nehru's insistence that industrial strikes, whatever the provocation, constitute "stabbing the country in the back." The peasant, groaning under the demands of the landlord and his agents, wants to know when the promise to abolish landlordism will be kept. Everywhere there is deep social and economic discontent which won't wait indefinitely or express itself wisely.

Mountbatten, foreseeing much of this months ago,

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decided upon an almost immediate British withdrawal, the final stage of which will be reached this week. The question is whether the two successor governments, India and Pakistan, can successfully tackle the situation, complex and difficult enough to tax all the resources of even a well-established administration. British withdrawal is taking place under circumstances of exceptional adversity.

IN THE course of my last dispatch, I hinted at the realignment of political forces which might result from the division. It is clearer now that the Hindu Congress and the Moslem League cannot command the allegiance of all their present followers for much longer. The Socialists, who have formed a dissatisfied group inside the Congress, are becoming increasingly critical and may decide to break away altogether. The Communists, whose relations with the Congress have been even more unstable, have built up for themselves an influence the precise measure of which will be revealed in the next general elections. They are likely to win a number of seats at the expense of the Congress.

The Moslem League, too, is showing signs of internal cleavage. The establishment of Pakistan has had unforeseen results. For 30,000,000 Moslems living in India proper Pakistan means no gain; on the contrary, they lose privileges like separate religious electorates and representation in the legislatures and permanent services in excess of their population ratio. The Pakistan Moslems can afford to divide on real issues. Thus, in the recent contest for leadership of Western Pakistan economic considerations were given prominence.

Bitterness caused by the division of India will not subside for some time. The new dominion governments will have their hands more than full, dealing with famine, the general shortage of consumer goods, and terrorist outrages. Later, when the worst of the present crisis has passed, it seems more than likely that the vested interests—the princes, big business, and the landlords—will make a determined attempt to capture the machinery of government. Nehru has vision, courage, and strong democratic convictions. So long as his leadership lasts, India's government cannot succumb to totalitarian influences. It is essential, therefore, that his Cabinet deal successfully with the urgent social and economic problems facing the country.

Regarding Pakistan, one cannot be equally sure. Jinnah will be governor-general and president of the Constituent Assembly; later he will also be president of Pakistan's Parliament. He will choose the members of his Cabinet and the governors of the provinces: in other words, Pakistan will be a dictatorship without concealment or apology. If Pakistan under Jinnah can solve its problems more effectively than India under Nehru's leadership, dictatorship will have established a strong claim to the allegiance of India's millions,

In the Wind

BY GOLLY," said the Candle, "it's Taft-Hartley Week." "By Golly," said the Wind, "but you're right. The Taft-Hartley law, to coin a word, goes into effect, to coin another, on Thursday, August 22. How shall we celebrate it?"

"I know," said the Candle. "I have just the thing. Leave us read aloud from Mr. Prentice and Mr. Hall's versatile promotion letters. It just so happens that I have three of them here in my tallow."

"Let's have a look," said the Wind. So they did:

I

The [Prentice-Hall] Labor Guide uncovers vital provisions in the new [Taft-Hartley] Law which the union official can turn to powerful advantage. It shows him how to use these provisions to offset legislative curbs and retain the gains his members now enjoy. It explains the methods you must use under the new Law to achieve Union Security, to gain new benefits, to step up Union finances.

The Labor Guide explains the impact of the new Law on your next contract. It tells you what to go after. It shows you how to cope with the new demands that Management will make. It tells you what preparations to make for that critical next bargaining session. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter for Prentice-Hall publications sent to union officials after passage of the Taft-Hartley act.

II

The new labor law gives you extraordinary advantages that you should prepare to grasp at once. . . . You're apt to miss its most powerful benefits unless you understand just what it means in terms of your own set-up.

We have prepared for Management the special kind of guidance it needs to reap the full benefit of this vital new law. . . .

You must get fully fortified now for your most difficult and your most fruitful bargaining session. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter; same company, same situation, but sent to business officials.

III

When this news [passage of the Taft-Hartley act] hit the front pages, one well-known lawyer immediately said: "This law will tend to remove the settlement of many industrial disputes from management and labor and transfer them to lawyers, the federal board, and the courts. . . ."

Yes, overnight it has dawned on a number of farsighted lawyers what the new labor law means in terms of new opportunities for them. . . .

Begin at once and ride the crest of the wave, because competition is still slight. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter; still the same company and same situation, but sent to lawyers.

"You know," said the Candle, bemusedly, after they had finished, "I admire the enterprise of Prentice-Hall. They are trying to bring order out of confusion. So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

Upon which, the Wind snuffed him out.

Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Trade and Planning

Warsaw, August 3

SOVIET communism is totally unacceptable to the Polish people, and the Polish Communists know it as well as anybody. But there are certain features of Soviet organization and economy which they—and not only they—consider valuable in the process of rebuilding Poland. Large-scale nationalization was, in any case, inevitable in Poland, with immense amounts of all kinds of industrial property left ownerless after the war. Planning also was essential, and the planner-in-chief, Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry—who studied Russian methods during the war, adopting what was best and casting aside the more objectionable features of Soviet economy—is generally considered, even by his political enemies, one of the first-class brains in the Polish government.

The Three-Year Plan is harmonious, coherent, strictly within the limits of practical possibility, and neither too doctrinaire nor too rigid. Poland's economy is a blended economy, a combination of three "sectors"—the state sector, the cooperative sector, and the private sector. The transition to socialism is taking place by degrees; the government is not forcing the issue. Wholesale trade is largely in the hands of the cooperatives, and retail trade is in private hands; in both cases abuses are being fought. For example, when the government found that Spolem, the principal cooperative organization, was not coping adequately with grain purchases, a government body was set up which proceeded to deal directly with the local branches of Spolem and no longer with its central body. Similarly, in order to fight against excessive profiteering on the part of the private shopkeepers, the government has been setting up its own department stores in various towns—less as a socialization measure than as a warning and a price-regulating agency. As a result, there is a certain feeling of insecurity among all kinds of property holders: shopkeepers who dread price control or the competition of a government store, and house owners who fear requisitioning and billeting. But on the latter point full reassurance has been given, and, to encourage the private rebuilding of houses, landlords have been guaranteed against forced billeting. If you have the money, you can rebuild a six-room house in Warsaw and live there all by yourself.

On the whole, however, the consumer and not the shopkeeper or house owner may be considered the government's favorite. In dealing with the peasants the government has been very cautious; the highly unpopular

forced-requisitioning system of 1945-46, painfully reminiscent of German occupation days, was abandoned at the first opportunity, and the peasant now receives the free-market price for his produce. It is impossible, however, to generalize about the peasantry. Some of them are very prosperous (partly as a result of years of profiteering); others, such as those I saw in the northern part of Warsaw province, scarcely make ends meet.

In an interview with Mr. Minc, I learned that, according to his estimates, the cost of living had gone up only about 30 per cent since 1945, and that the sharp speculative rise in prices last spring had been checked by drastic government action. He indicated that large-scale inflation had been avoided, but that, for the present, one could hardly speak of an "official" currency rate; the present rate of 100 zloty to the dollar—in contrast with a black-market rate of 700 or 800—had little relation to the price level. He said there would be no really official rate until stabilization was decided upon; this, it seems, will be done fairly soon.

THE Minister attached chief importance to industry. One of Poland's proudest achievements is its output of railway carriages at the rate of over 1,000 a month and of railway engines at nearly 20 a month. Poland's steel production was still small at just over a million tons a year, and some steel and iron ore would continue to come from Sweden and the Soviet Union. With the loss of Galicia, Poland would also fall short of self-support in petrol. At present the country's greatest international asset was coal; it was already producing coal at the rate of 57 or 58 million tons, and the interesting thing was that, with the growing industrialization and the geographic changes Poland had undergone, its home needs were far greater than before the war.

Russia, under the trade agreement with Poland, was receiving 6,500,000 tons of coal a year. In addition, Russia imported Lodz textiles and other smaller items from Poland, but of Poland's total foreign trade of \$300,000,000 this year, less than one-third was with Russia. The coal margin left for export elsewhere was, Mr. Minc said, over 18,000,000 tons; of this, 3,000,000 went to Sweden, nearly 2,000,000 to Czechoslovakia, and smaller quantities to France, the other Scandinavian countries, Italy, and South America. And 250,000 tons would be sent to Britain. "Since 1945-46, when we traded almost exclusively with Russia and Sweden, the relative importance of our trade with Russia has greatly declined; our natural tendency is to exchange with East

and West alike," Mr. Minc said. He failed, however, to mention one important aspect of trade with Russia, namely, that the Polish army is almost entirely supplied with Russian equipment, in the absence—for the present—of an appreciable Polish armaments industry.

That Mr. Minc desired large-scale trade "with East and West alike" he emphasized several times; and since then he has, indeed, gone to Paris to negotiate a new commercial agreement with France, "to make sure of another link with the West" as was widely remarked in Warsaw. When I saw him, he said: "We cannot go to the Paris meeting on the Marshall plan. But our refusal to go does not mean that our economic relations with the West have been severed. Far from it, we have no autarchist tendencies, either in terms of Poland or of some imaginary 'Eastern bloc.' We can contribute to Europe's recovery, but not on the basis of 'Germany first.' If we get credits to develop our agriculture and our coal industry, it will help all of Europe. We can export—and already have begun to do so—eggs, bacon, and dairy produce to Britain, with which we have a satisfactory though still a rather small trade agreement; we have a hard-working population, and the advantage of our state planning is its great flexibility. Our credit is good; we are essentially sound and credit-worthy."

For all that, Mr. Minc considered trade with Czecho-

slovakia and other countries of Eastern Europe important in a different way: this was trade based on "joint planning." The Polish-Czech trade agreement, which he had just signed, represented, he said, 10 per cent of all Poland's exports and 5 per cent of all Czechoslovakia's exports. The agreement, or rather agreements (for he had signed more than 600 different documents!), provided not for a simple exchange of goods but for over-all cooperation between the industry and agriculture of the two countries, for technical cooperation and joint planning. A body would be set up to control the execution of the agreements. Czechoslovakia would have an outlet to the sea, along the Oder to Stettin. Mr. Minc stressed that what made such an agreement possible was (1) the parallel social changes in Poland and Czechoslovakia, with their emphasis on planning; (2) the alliance of March 10; and (3) the changes in the economic structure of the two countries. Before the war the Czechs constantly feared Polish agricultural competition; now that Poland's big rural areas in the east were lost, the countries were more alike, and instead of competition there could be fruitful exchanges.

[Mr. Werth's next article will discuss Poland's political set-up and its relationship with Russia, the West, and the Vatican.]

Tyranny in Action

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Jerusalem, August 17

THE British are determined not to get out of Palestine, not to permit the Jewish population to increase, and to destroy the Jewish community if that is necessary for the health and welfare of British interests in the Middle East. The most convincing proof of British intentions is the nature of the administration of the country. Today Palestine is purely and simply a police state. When Britain was named as the mandatory power for Palestine in 1920, it immediately replaced the military regime with a civil administration. At the end of World War II the order of events was reversed. Today the military authorities rule Palestine, while the High Commissioner is a figurehead. The existence of terrorism in Palestine is used by the mandatory power as a reason and excuse for the police measures employed, but the same officials who seek to justify their repres-

sions admit that the vast majority of the Jewish community is against terror. All the official Jewish organizations, including the Agency and the Vaad Leumi, are determined to end it, but they believe they cannot do so as long as the British military authorities—like Franco in Spain—impose sanctions against whole communities or groups for the acts of a few individuals.

As in most modern dictatorships, police control has been established by a series of regulations. The latest are the Emergency Defense Regulations of March 2, which established the General Officer Commanding as the real administrator of Palestine. The defense regulations of 1936 and 1937, on which the regulations of 1945 and 1947 have been based, were intended to protect the Jews, and the country in general, from recurrent Arab riots. The present regulations apply almost exclusively to Jews, although Jews are nowhere mentioned by name. In practice, they often receive the death penalty for crimes which carry a maximum sentence of five years' imprisonment for Arabs; where Jews get life imprisonment, Arabs usually get six months, rarely as much as a year.

The regulations wipe out all remnants of civil liberties,

LILLIE SHULTZ, director of the Nation Associates, has left Palestine for Geneva, where the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine is preparing its report for the General Assembly.

freedom of press, and of association. Their effect is to flood the country with fear, and to destroy the stated purposes of the mandate. They represent, moreover, a direct violation of the Order-in-Council of 1922-23, under which Palestine is supposed to be ruled. This order provided that no law shall be enacted which is inconsistent with the provisions of the mandate or which tends to discriminate among the inhabitants of Palestine on the grounds of race, religion, or language. Today 165 provisions of the recent Emergency Defense Regulations do precisely that. Violations of these emergency regulations are punishable by death, life imprisonment, fine, seizure, forfeiture, and demolition of property. Collective responsibility—a Nazi concept, universally condemned by civilized states—is imposed on towns, colonies, and organizations for acts committed or alleged to have been committed by any individuals within them.

A person may be punished without knowing he has broken a rule, since the code itself provides that new regulations may be issued orally. Although the authority who makes or issues an order may bring it to the attention of persons who, in his opinion, ought to have such information, failure to do so does not invalidate the regulation. Military courts have superseded civil courts in authority. They may try all cases, and must try certain cases. There is no appeal from a decision of a military court; not even the High Commissioner can overrule it. Reversing the common presumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty, the emergency regulations place the onus on the person accused. In Palestine today punishment is meted out to persons *suspected of having attempted to commit* an offense against public security, those *suspected of having committed* such an offense, and those *proved to have committed* such an offense.

UNDER the control of the General Officer Commanding is the police force. According to the regulations, any member of the military, any police officer, or any *mukhtar* may arrest, without warrant, any person he finds committing an offense against the regulations, or any person he suspects of so doing. Any member of the military may seize suspect goods, articles, or documents.

As for punishments, a judgment of death may be rendered for the discharge of a firearm at any person or group; the throwing or depositing of a bomb, grenade, or incendiary article with intention to harm; the carrying of firearms, ammunition, grenades, explosives, or incendiaries. Liable to the same sentence are all members of a group one or more of whose members have committed the foregoing offenses.

Other penalties prescribed by the emergency regulations include life imprisonment for the manufacture of arms; for endangering or being suspected of endangering

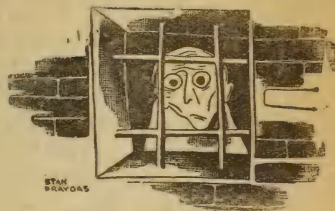
the safety of any vessel, aircraft, harbor, pier, or any part of the communications system; for wearing any part of any uniform of His Majesty's service, or that of a foreign country, or anything likely to be mistaken for such. One can be jailed for five years for harboring a person wanted for any reason by the police or the military.

Great authority is vested in each military commander. He may requisition land, goods, animals, or services. He may direct the forfeiture of any house, structure, or land suspected of having arms discharged from it, and destroy the house and everything on the land. As a punitive measure, he may evict persons, seize and occupy property in any area, without compensation. His power over the individual is, in effect, absolute. A military commander may order any person placed under police supervision for a period of one year. The person is then required to remain within the area specified by the military commander; he must remain indoors, in his residence, from one hour after sunset until sunrise; he may be visited at any time by the police; on the call of the district police officer, he must go immediately to the nearest police station.

Special powers are given the High Commissioner. He may order statutory martial law for any designated control area. Under statutory martial law, the district commissioner is obligated to close every government office. Civil courts are adjourned and the military court tries all offenses. The military commander may shut down every bank, telephone, telegraph, and postal service in the area. Without his permission, no person, vehicle, or object may be taken out of the area.

The High Commissioner also has the power to order the requisition of any land required for military purposes, to seize the property of any person he thinks has committed or abetted in an offense. The owner, master, and agent of a vessel or aircraft are deemed to have abetted illegal immigration if they are proved to have been on board a vessel or aircraft carrying such immigrants. These officers, and anyone who harbors them or harbors an illegal immigrant, are subject to summary trial in a district court and eight years' imprisonment, or a fine of one thousand pounds, or both.

Censorship is applied energetically to newspapers and all other printed material. The censor may prohibit and, in fact, does prohibit publication of any matter he finds prejudicial to the public interest. In the case of a censored newspaper, the publisher may not indicate, without permission of the censor, what has been censored, omitted, or added.



It was under the Emergency Defense Regulations that the arrests of June 29, 1946, were made. It was under these regulations that entire business centers and residential quarters in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv were requisitioned, thousands of persons compelled to leave their homes, and many business and professional people deprived of the means of livelihood. Under these regulations, martial law was declared in Tel Aviv and part of Jerusalem from March 2 to March 17. Under these regulations, 500 people were dragged from their houses on August 1 for screening purposes; the military demolished a house in Givat Shaul where arms were found on August 4; the High Commissioner banned the Brith Trumpeldor youth organization; thirty-five Jewish leaders were arrested on August 5. So constant are the searches that the army has recently put out a confidential manual, which I have seen, explaining how to conduct searches of village or settlement, quarter or town, single house, flat, group of houses or flats. This directive says, quite matter-of-factly: "So you see that you can arrest and search practically anyone behaving in a strange manner or whom you suspect, and, if you are wrong, it doesn't very much matter—the great thing is to act first and let questions be asked afterward."

THERE are about 718 Jewish "detainees" in Palestine and Kenya today—persons arrested and held for indeterminate periods. They are not charged with any specific offense; many have no idea why they are being held. Four hundred and sixty are in the Latrun camps, A and B; 40 are in Bethlehem; 280 in Kenya. In addition, there are at least 500 Palestinians under supervision who have to report to the police, usually once a day, frequently three times a day. These people are subject to rearrest every time an incident occurs. Among the inmates of the Kenya camp, there are some who have been detained for up to seven years, many from three to four years. Among them are seventy former soldiers, ten of whom were arrested while still in active service. Persons detained are not told why: the detention order merely states that the military commander considers their detention necessary for public order. As a rule they are informed that they are suspected of belonging to an illegal organization, without particulars or proof.

Frequently persons are arrested because of resemblance, in face or name, to a wanted person. A man named Moshe Alofia was detained at the beginning of 1946 and held for several months because he looked like a man wanted by the Criminal Investigation Department. Another time, all persons named Levy were held until the C. I. D. found the Levy they wanted! Persons acquitted in the courts are often rearrested. A man named Arie Horowitz was charged with carrying firearms in 1944. He was tried and acquitted. He was taken, none the less, into custody by the C. I. D., and sent to Eritrea; he was

not released until 1946, after contracting a serious illness. Another man, Benjamin Atzit, was sentenced to prison in 1942 for carrying arms. On March 3, 1946, he completed his term. Immediately upon his release, he was taken into custody and sent to Latrun.

Among the detainees are ex-members of the A. T. S. and the W. A. A. F. who were detained immediately upon their discharge from service. Their records, which I have seen, were either exemplary or good. Some of these girls have been in Bethlehem prison for two, three, and four years. Boys of thirteen to sixteen have been arrested, most of them for distributing leaflets, and some have been in detention for six or seven years. Pregnant women and mothers of numerous children have also spent extended periods at Latrun.

The only recourse a detained person has is to apply to an advisory committee whose function under the regulations is to make recommendations to the military commander. Since April, however, there has been no committee at all. Even before that, neither the detainee nor his lawyer was ordinarily interviewed by the committee; it sat in secret and decided the case, in consultation with the police, on the basis of the police file. In a few exceptional instances, detainees appeared before the committee or, more frequently, the secretary of the committee interviewed the detainee. But it took, on the average, between four and six months for any case to reach the committee.

CONDITIONS in the camps are poor. Food is insufficient and inferior. The detainees are required to cook their own meals. All food supplements must come from their own families. In the event of illness, hours pass before an ambulance arrives. If hospitalization is recommended, detainees must wait until there is a vacancy at the government hospital in Jerusalem. They spend the waiting time in the central prison in Jerusalem. While in a hospital, the detainee is chained to a bed.

The camps lack any sort of cultural provisions; no newspapers, books, films, or lecturers are available. No cigarettes are supplied. No sheets are issued. Clothes are scarce. The detainee is not permitted to engage in gainful labor or learn a trade. He is allowed to send one letter a fortnight. Letters are delayed by the C. I. D. for as long as three weeks, and the detainee must pay for his letter paper and postage. A single visitor's permit is granted, once a month, to the closest relative. During a visit, guest and detainee stand separated by a barbed-wire fence. The detainee is not permitted to be with his family on special occasions, such as births or deaths.

The record cited above is the clearest declaration of the intentions of the mandatory power. But Britain and the world may be sure of one thing. The Jewish community will resist. Neither its strength nor its fighting spirit should be minimized.

Self-Portrait of Germany — *Del Vayo*

THIS column has occasionally quoted the French monthly, *Esprit*. Here is a review that admirably lives up to its title; edited by a group of Catholic writers, it is one of the most intelligent publications of the new Europe. *Esprit* speaks for the enlightened, liberal Catholics of France—such men as Jacques Maritain, Georges Bernanos, Foreign Minister Bidault, and Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris—most of whom, unlike their American confrères, supported the cause of the Republic throughout the Spanish War.

The scholarly and authoritative fashion in which *Esprit* has, in successive issues, examined the political problems of the postwar world makes it required reading for those who want to understand the trend of European thinking today. Several months ago, I was amused to see an article of mine in *The Nation*, discussing Europe's new concepts of democracy, bitterly attacked by Edgar Mowrer in the *New York Post*. He accused me of drinking from Communist wells; actually my piece was based on a special study which *Esprit* had made of this particular subject.

The June issue of *Esprit* is entirely devoted to the German question. It is a special number, almost book size—75,000 words—composed exclusively of articles by Germans. This is no narrow survey written by intellectuals for intellectuals, but rather an *enquête unique* in which men of diverse, indeed diametrically opposed, social and political views were asked to interpret the Germany of 1947.

The study falls into eight parts: 1. States of mind; 2. Memoirs of Nazism; 3. Is Germany guilty? 4. Complaints of the occupied; 5. Is Germany democratic? 6. German youth; 7. Christianity and the churches; 8. Lines of the future: Germany, France, Europe.

Reading through the pages attentively, I came to three conclusions. First, there is ample justification for the repeated warnings of those who believe that the possibility of a fascist revival in Europe, with Germany as its center, is far more real and menacing than it was two years ago. Second, if the United States has no intention of using a fascist Germany against Russia or of promoting the creation of a fascist Germany, then its policy of preventing a thorough purge of Nazi elements is one of the most tragic blunders of our time. Third, there is still a chance—though time is running short—to build a democratic Germany. That can be done, however, only through active assistance to anti-fascist elements, destruction of fascism's capitalist underpinnings, nationalization of industry, strengthening of the workers' political role; in a word, through a policy directly contrary to that now being pursued by General Clay.

Esprit's survey establishes conclusively the continued existence of German fascism. "We cannot deny the sad truth," writes Walter Kosack of Strendlingen-am-Rhein, "the lying propaganda of the Nazis is still alive among a large section of the population and is bearing fruit. The Nazis continue to exercise their corrupting influence everywhere because the political purge was never carried through effectively." From Georg Reichardt of Bingen comes the warning: "If the Allies

were to withdraw from Germany today, the old Nazi spirit would quickly take the ascendancy." These are the voices of honest German anti-fascists who are not afraid to look squarely at the facts. But listen to the statements of avowed Nazis—discreet enough, however, to leave their articles unsigned: "A good German cannot but be a National Socialist. After 1933, things went better in every domain."

In Germany today, the struggle is still between an anti-fascist minority, made up of the survivors of the concentration camps and emigrés who have returned home in the past two years, and an aggressive Nazi minority. Between the two, stands the mass of Germans, largely indifferent, without a fixed political horizon, easy prey for a new *fürher* of any political stripe who will show them the road back to national grandeur. A year ago, this intermediate mass was still a factor that could only acquire real significance in the degree to which the relations between the big powers deteriorated. Then came the light—not from the East, as in the Bible, but from Washington, where President Truman emerged as a present-day Archangel. Since his speech of March 12, these millions of Germans, who might have been steered into democratic paths by an intelligent Anglo-American policy, have recovered their confidence and are beginning to look upon their nation no longer as an appendage but rather as the central force in Europe. The most militant see the possibility of winning the war Hitler lost by offering themselves as shock troops in the next conflagration. Little matter if the ideal of the Master Race must, for the moment, be abandoned while they go into battle under the orders of a superior Anglo-Saxon high command; the very fact of being accepted into the Western camp is, for them, the first step in Germany's return to its former rank as a major power. What otherwise might take fifty years of painful, uphill struggle could be accomplished overnight, should President Truman declare: "I request the Congress to recognize a state of war between the United States and Russia." It is for this moment that many of these Germans live.

Esprit has made no discoveries; it has simply furnished documentary proof of facts generally recognized by serious students of Germany. Returning last week from a visit to the American zone of occupation, Nathan Straus, former United States Housing Administrator, said: "The Germans dream of two things—enough to eat and a war between the United States and Russia."

War need not come. Indeed, I am persuaded that the masses of people everywhere will make a conflict between East and West impossible. But the damage done by the policy of nourishing Germany's dream of power and thwarting the efforts of its small democratic minority will be more difficult to repair.

[Mr. del Vayo left for Paris last week and will cover the most important European developments between now and the September meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Local Ibsen

IBSEN: The Intellectual Background.

By Brian W. Downs. Cambridge University Press. \$3.25.

DURING the last ten or fifteen years, the reputation of Ibsen seems to have been passing successfully through its dangerous age. There was a time when it looked as though his plays were getting to be outmoded, and as though they could never again be anything else. Obviously, his "social problems" were hopelessly dated, and yet it was upon the timeliness of these same problems that his earliest admirers had based their praise. Even in the commercial theater, however, "Hedda Gabler," "The Wild Duck," and even "Ghosts" never died as it seemed they ought to die, and gradually it has been admitted that Ibsen, in his queer, heavy, sometimes graceless, Northern way is some kind of a classic—partly because of his sheer dramatic effectiveness, more because his situations have more continuously interesting implications than the earlier Ibsenites realized.

Brian Downs's short but solid and impressive little book pretty much takes for granted what has just been said. It is not primarily an interpretation of Ibsen's modern meaning, but a scholarly investigation of a question which is made interesting by the assumption that Ibsen is now a classic: namely, what were the local circumstances surrounding the development of his style and his intentions? That this question has never been satisfactorily discussed before may seem strange, but I do not think that it has, even in Koht's standard two-volume biography, and there is an intelligible reason why it has not. Neither the literature nor the social and political history of Scandinavia had, in themselves, any great interest for the Europe which suddenly discovered, in Ibsen's plays, a breathless excitement. The very fact that the author seemed to spring full blown out of nowhere made him all the more impressive and all the more easily acceptable as an interna-

tional prophet. Bernard Shaw, to take an example, had not the slightest interest in what Ibsen's origins were or, for that matter, in what Ibsen himself intended. He was interested only in what he could make Ibsen seem to mean, and, to some extent, that has been the attitude of most of those who have written about him either as prophet or as playwright. Now Mr. Downs, who is described on the title page as "Sometime Director of Scandinavian Studies" at Cambridge, comes along and brings to bear upon the subject an immense, detailed knowledge of the literary, social, and political background against which Ibsen's career developed. He provides Ibsen with a local habitation and a name which he has never before had.

It may be argued, of course, that much of what Mr. Downs has to say is irrelevant, so far as any understanding of what Ibsen, the classic, does and can mean. It is the European Ibsen, not the Norwegian Ibsen, who is really important. Hedda Gabler is now a myth, not a realistic character in a setting abundantly supplied with local color. With only a tolerable degree of exaggeration, it might be said that to point out, as Mr. Downs does, that most English productions of "Hedda Gabler" grossly misrepresent the heroine's social and eco-

nomic status, is as irrelevant as a criticism of "Hamlet" based on a knowledge of what medieval Denmark was really like. But the facts about a first-rate writer have an interest in themselves; they often throw light, at unexpected moments, upon important questions of interpretation; and the author of the present work certainly makes no claims which his exposition does not abundantly justify.

As a matter of fact, almost every chapter of his book is both interesting in itself and, in one way or another, illuminating. If it did no more than dissipate the false Shavian image—which has so often confused English and American readers attempting the task, sufficiently difficult in itself, of penetrating Ibsen's deliberate ambiguities—it would be rendering a real service. Actually, it does that and a great deal more. It manages to distinguish clearly the limited, actual, local Ibsen, not only from the late nineteenth century liberal's image of what he hoped he was, but also from the potentially enduring classic which he has now become. Much of what Mr. Downs has to reveal about Ibsen's attitude toward sexual love, free will, "the claims of the ideal," the hero as man of will, and so forth, are extremely interesting. The present fashion

Under Cover

Put it away in that building; rust and dust
And rats are there, and spiders, and dry rot; —
But the roof is good, and so those two great robbers,
Rain and sun, will go and hunt elsewhere;
And so gravedigger time—old naked time
That moves without a shadow—he'll creep on
To things no hand has hidden. Lay it away,
For that is what men do. Time, sun, and rain
Would have all earth as one—look how they soak
And wither, and sink hugest hugest objects in.
Even dark buildings; but forget, forget.
Think only of the open, and how smooth
Time keeps it with his tools of wet and dry.
Even stout rooftrees; but repair them now.
The difference between late death and soon
Is inches, time will mumble; yet men know
How golden is that space, how not to be spared.

MARK VAN DOREN

being what it is, his chapter on Ibsen and Kierkegaard will probably be considered especially significant. It seems, if the necessary oversimplification is permissible, that while "Brand" is a protest against Kierkegaard's demand for Christian martyrdom, "Peer Gynt" is a protest against those who failed to recognize just how close to martyrdom one ought to be willing to come. And that is exactly what might be expected of a writer whose dying words are said to have been: "On the contrary."

Mr. Downs's book is only 182 pages long, and yet it is packed with fact and comment to the point where it requires the closest attention from the reader. That alone is probably sufficient to limit its audience very severely. But it is one of the indispensable books for anyone who seriously wants to understand its subject.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Appeasers Please Note

DESIGN FOR AGGRESSION. The

Inside Story of Hitler's War Plans.

By Peter de Mendelssohn. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

THERE is some talk that the evidence submitted at the Nürnberg trials will eventually be published in full, but no perceptible progress is being made in that direction. Meanwhile, the excellent summary prepared by Mr. de Mendelssohn is an invaluable demonstration of just what the Nazis were up to from 1937 to 1941, when they put "Operation Barbarossa," the invasion of the Soviet Union, into effect.

The crucial date was February 2, 1941, when Hitler and his army chiefs, disregarding the protests of Räder and the navy, decided to settle accounts with Stalin without waiting to knock Great Britain out of the war. This meant, as was conceded by the army high command, that "from now on 'Attila' [the seizure of French North Africa] can be carried out only under difficulties; 'Felix' [the march through Spain on Gibraltar] is now no longer possible because the artillery set aside for it is needed in Russia; and 'Sea-Lion' [the invasion of Britain] can no longer be carried out." Hitler asked if the army could spare an armored division to halt the British advance in Libya and was told that it could be supplied "most

unwillingly" from "Marita" (name of the Yugoslav invasion), and that "Barbarossa" also was in need.

Only the documents and parts of documents that the prosecutors placed in evidence were available to Mr. de Mendelssohn; a definitive account of Hitler's designs will have to wait

until the others are finally released. But it is possible here to follow in detail the shifts in Nazi policy: as an example, Hitler intended originally to polish off Czechoslovakia first and then take over Austria. His failure to invade England after the collapse of France appears to have been due to his belief that the



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U-boat would do the job rather than to any real expectation that the British would ask for peace out of sheer desperation.

It is instructive to read the exact operational plan produced when it became apparent that there would have to be an invasion of England; there were to be two army groups, totaling eleven infantry and two mountain divisions, with six armored divisions, two motorized divisions, and one S. S. division to follow up the original landings in the south. But it is even more instructive to read the 1938 documents, in which we see that the Nazis had a mere handful of troops and planes to back up the unfinished West Wall in the days of Munich.

The German documents themselves are the final indictment of the appeasers. Thanks to Hitler's folly in invading Russia and the folly of the Japanese in attacking the United States that same year, the Allies won the war. But appeasement cost the world tens of millions of lives, and left a heritage of distrust between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies which has a good deal to do with the unquiet nights of the post-war era. Mr. de Mendelssohn, in fact, believes that, from Munich on, Stalin was convinced that he could not rely on the Western powers, and that Chamberlain and Daladier thus made the Soviet-Nazi deal of 1939 inevitable.

Since the author has restricted himself to the Nazis' own records, the reader has to supply most of the background information, but without this limitation the study would have reached unmanageable proportions.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Russia in Brief

RUSSIA. A Short History. By Helen Gay Pratt and Harriet L. Moore. The John Day Company. \$4.

FIRST issued ten years ago under the auspices of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, this book now reappears with some revisions and two additional chapters by Miss Moore which bring it up to date. As the centuries prior to 1914 are disposed of in 101 of the book's 261 pages, its original title, "From Tsarist Empire to Socialism," was really more descriptive. For

a history of Russia which is well rounded as well as short, the reader must look elsewhere. Within their self-imposed limitations, however, the authors have done an interesting job, making good use of documentary and literary material. Their approach to the Soviet Union is warmly sympathetic, so much so that they slide very gingerly over such thin ice as the German-Soviet Pact of 1939. On the other hand, they have not followed the party line by rewriting history to support the Stalinist myth. Thus Trotsky is given credit for his part in creating the Red Army and smashing the counter-revolution and not treated as the man who wasn't there in 1917.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Fiction in Review

THE STEEPER CLIFF by David Davidson (Random House, \$3) is not the distinguished literary performance it is being said to be. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic reception it has received can be read as one of the happier signs of the times. It must mean that we are at last ready to be told that all Germans need not be either anti-Nazi angels or, on the other hand, Nazi devils; that a great many of them are only ordinary people like us Americans—now capable of a shining moment of heroism, now weak and frightened, for the most part torn between their ideals of decency and their natural instinct to easy survival. "The Steeper Cliff" is about an American officer obsessed with the problem of personal bravery who, assigned to find Germans to staff the new democratic newspapers in our occupied zone, begins to identify himself with a missing journalist whose conduct under fascism seems to parallel what his own would have been in similar circumstances. The research into the career of this unknown German provides the dramatic suspense of Mr. Davidson's story and leads his hero to several important conclusions. He learns that courage is not an absolute, as he had always believed, but that it is still a reality, and a good reality. He learns that even a brave person is not necessarily brave all the time. He eventually comes to understand that although it was far better to fight Nazism than to be passive

under it, it is not always given to the individual to be as strong as he would wish to be; and that only to aid and approve Nazism was to be guilty of an absolute wickedness. He discovers, in other words, that we must judge Germans as human beings.

Nowadays, this is an unusually decent lesson for a novel to teach. "The Steeper Cliff" is also unusually interesting as a piece of reporting: here is a first-hand account, with a sharp ring of authenticity, of Germany under American occupation. Beyond this, except to say that the book sustains a nice narrative excitement, I cannot go. Mr. Davidson is obviously aware of the rich texturing of our lives but he is not yet able to recreate this richness in his writing.

"The Eagle on the Plain" by Victor Wolfson (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75) is a novel on two levels. It is, first, a folk story of life in a poor little backroads community in the Catskills; as such, it has many of the charms of tall-tale telling but also many of the sentimentalities that seem inevitably to accompany our literary excursions into "simple" society. Then it is a fable of freedom, a fable at once truly touching and uncomfortably inflated. As symbol of the unfettered human spirit, Mr. Wolfson chooses a young Italian-American boy, son of a rural bootlegger, the fulfillment of whose dream of glory—to be a popular ballad singer—is interrupted by a brush with the law. Instead of submitting to imprisonment, this appealing youngster organizes his old neighbors and friends, all of them as touched with the genius of individualism as himself, to make a large if hopeless gesture against the restricting authorities of modern life: they blow up roads and a dam, rocking the Catskills with their call to freedom. Treated realistically, the story of Mr. Wolfson's young captive might have had considerable dramatic power. Handled as it is in "The Eagle on the Plain," half realistically and half as fantasy, it loses weight both as psychological drama and as a parable of social protest.

"The Other Room" by Worth Tuttle Hedden (Crown, \$2.75) is an odd, rather inept novel about the Negro problem by the author of the lively "Wives of High Pasture" of a few seasons ago. Straining probability, a young Virginia girl accepts a job teaching in

a New Orleans college without knowing that it is a colored school. Instead of running home, however, she stays to learn some basic truths about the colored people, and to fall in love with one of the Negro instructors. The worthiness of its purpose and especially the courage with which it handles the theme of miscegenation makes one wish "The Other Room" were a better book—a novel with more skill in narrative, less time out for instruction, and more depth of characterization. The subject of Negro-white relations would seem to have reached the point, so far as fiction is concerned, where good-will without art is almost as dismaying as art without good-will.

If, like myself, you have enjoyed Christine Weston's stories in the *New Yorker*, you will be glad to find them collected, with a few additions, in a volume "There Then" (Scribner, \$2.50). None of these pieces reaches the standard set by Mrs. Weston's "Indigo"; inevitably, the brief form places its restrictions upon the kind of insight and breadth of feeling Mrs. Weston could show in that long novel. But even these short sketches—they are all of them about India—have a sympathy and a place-evoking quality that sets them quite apart from most *New Yorker* fiction.

DIANA TRILLING

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO very good books by Francis Töye have been reissued: his "Rosini" (Knopf, \$3.50) and his "Verdi" (Knopf, \$5). I have the impression that they are reissued without any change in the original text; but "Verdi" comes this time with an introduction by Herbert Weinstock for which I believe the correct term is gratuitous. That is, it says little about the author and his book, and nothing about them that is illuminating, but says a great deal instead—pretentious in tone, wooden and confused in statement—about the ideas on biography which Mr. Weinstock misuses the occasion to intrude into the book.

He would have it that a composer's music can be neither rightly performed nor rightly understood without knowledge of his life. The printed score alone

is not sufficient to give anyone real and complete understanding of a Mozart symphony—for example the great E-flat Symphony. "To become intimate with its inmost nature . . . he must also know under what circumstances, at what stage in its creator's development, and in what sort of emotional weather it was composed. The most fastidiously written-out score is no more than an outline: it must be filled in with the life-giving element called style. More about the style required for . . . performance of the E-flat Symphony is to be learned from . . . studies of Mozart than from . . . hours spent with a score of the symphony."

Actually a performer or listener comes to the score of Mozart's E-flat Symphony only after having heard it performed; it is from this experience of the work as realized from the score in performance that he has derived what enables him to fill in the outline of the printed score himself; it is from this experience also that he has derived, and continues to develop, his understanding of the symphony; and study of the score now enables him to enrich that understanding with appreciation of detail. I cannot see knowledge of the composer's life contributing much in all this; certainly it did not give Mr. Weinstock himself, in

his "Men of Music," any understanding of Mozart's E-flat Symphony: I am unable, at the moment, to verify my recollection that he characterized it as "gay and inconsequential"; but if I'm wrong about the words I'm sure I'm not wrong about the idea. Nor did his biographical researches give him any greater understanding of Schubert's great C major Symphony.

At the end Mr. Weinstock asks us, the next time we hear the operas, to see whether our reading of Mr. Töye's account of Verdi's life doesn't give new meanings to *Caro nome* from "Rigoletto" and the Prelude to Act 3 of "La Traviata." Nothing seemed less probable; nevertheless I tried the experiment, and report failure. And Mr. Töye himself, I might add, makes no such connections between Verdi's life and his works.

I don't want to be misunderstood: the whole man certainly is involved in the composer's creation of his music; and nothing would be more fascinating than a pointing out in Mozart's E-flat or Schubert's C major Symphony of how the whole Mozart or Schubert is involved. But the fact is that Sullivan's "Beethoven" is the only successful thing of its kind; and the danger in attempts

3 exciting articles in the current issue of Commentary

Hollywood Fights Prejudice

Can the Movies Help Cure Anti-Semitism?

In "Letter to the Movie-Makers" Elliot E. Cohen analyzes the movie *Crossfire* and points out the possible dangers in its treatment of the problem of race prejudice, suggesting how such dangers might be avoided. An especially timely contribution to current thinking in view of the forthcoming production of *Gentleman's Agreement* and other anti-bias films.

Tired Radicals

Is There Something Worth Fighting For?

Yes, says Lewis Corey in "Economic Democracy Without Statism." Democracy can plan better than totalitarianism and bring a more abundant life without surrender of our liberties.

The Jews of Europe

How Do They View the Future?

A keen observer reports on a six-months' study of D. P.'s and repatriated Jews in "Europe's Jews: Summer 1947" by David Bernstein.

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"The Aims of British Foreign Policy" by C. Hartley Grattan; "Scandal on an Island" or the "Strange Case of the Reverend Guildberg" by Solomon F. Bloom; "Racism and America's World Position" by Carl Dreher; "The Adventures of Ilya Ehrenburg" by Martin Thomas; "Heine's Religion" by Leo Lowenthal; "Diagnosing the German Malady" by Samuel J. Hurwitz; Pletion; Poetry; Book Reviews.

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at the kind is illustrated by Edward Lockspeiser's chapter on Tchaikovsky the man in "The Music of Tchaikovsky" edited by Gerald Abraham (Norton, \$3.75). It is a psychiatrically acute analysis of certain unpleasantly neurotic tendencies in Tchaikovsky, which are correlated with faults in his music; but it has nothing to say about what in Tchaikovsky the man must have had something to do with the likewise unmentioned strong points of his music.

The other chapters are written by a number of men, each discussing Tchaikovsky's methods and results in one of the categories of his works. Most of them are neither as good as Mr. Abraham's own chapter on the operas nor as bad as Erik Blom's on the concertos; and one difficulty with some of the good ones—for example, the Soviet Russian writer A. Alshvang's chapter on the songs—is that they offer pages and pages of detailed discussions of music one hasn't heard, which are therefore meaningless. (The Soviet censor's stamp, so to speak, is Alshvang's statement that Tchaikovsky, "never sank into somber abysses of despair in his creative work. He constantly strove toward an optimistic acceptance of life," and that his "tragic characters always adopt a positive attitude towards life.")

In "The Music of Schubert" (Norton; \$3.75) Kathleen Lane's chapter on the piano music reveals a fantastic lack of understanding—as, for example, in this description of the hair-raising middle section of the slow movement of the posthumous A major Sonata: "... a lively episode, which, with its rushing

scales, resonant tremolandos, and trills, belongs more correctly to a *divertissement à la bongroise* than to a sonata movement." J. A. Westrup's chapter on the chamber music isn't much better; but Alec Robertson's on the songs is more perceptive; and Mosco Carner's on the orchestral music is superb.

Letters to the Editors

A Free Translation

Dear Sirs: A long time ago, Hesiod wrote a book called "Works and Days," in which he excoriated the parasitism of his day. The following is a free translation of the theme with an eye to the present:

Once upon a time
There was a race of men
Living in the slime
Like pigs in a pen;
Today they're in penthouses
Drinking and drunk
Living like louses
In the pelt of a skunk.

MARTIN WOLFSON

Brooklyn, August 7

By His Own Words

Dear Sirs: In your July 26 issue, Maynard Kniskern takes J. M. Martinez to task for considering M. Jacques Maritain a reactionary. He respectfully refers Martinez to Maritain's "True Humanism." What, I wonder, is Mr. Kniskern's definition of a reactionary? Is it 'one who favors a movement towards a

former political or social policy'? If so, has he read "True Humanism"?

In that book, as elsewhere, Maritain certainly displays a deep nostalgia for "a former social policy," namely that of the Middle Ages. He holds that "nowadays we can be terribly envious" of the medieval "consecration" polity, "the mighty and sublime, too great and too sublime, conception of the medieval papacy in the days of its plenitude" (pp. 141 f.). . . .

Maritain agrees that we cannot now reestablish such a happy, terribly enviable condition. But we could start out, he thinks, with a "true humanism," a state of affairs in which a new "Christian commonwealth" is set up, which "in order to avoid greater evils . . . could and should tolerate (to tolerate is not to approve) ways of worship more or less distant from the truth" [obviously, Catholicism] (p. 160). The state would collaborate with the church, as an agent of a higher order, and assist it "in the fulfilment of its rightful mission"—e.g., in education (pp. 172 f.). This state would "not in the least demand in its beginning a profession of faith in the whole of Christianity from each man" (p. 200; my italics), but out of it, it seems, there might one day arise a new "consecrated Christian" culture (p. 204). Would not the "evil" of toleration, in that day, be excised? Would it not again become "appropriate" (p. 172) to use force to "protect the faith and the community against disintegrating influences" and normal for crowds to lynch heretics by "natural impulse" (p. 173)? In other words, would not "the mighty and sub-

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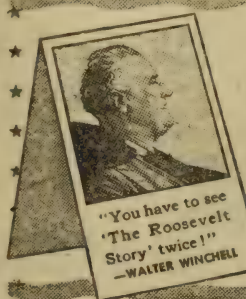
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lime conception of the medieval papacy in the days of its plenitude" be in a good way at last to be realized? In "Scholasticism and Politics" Maritain says that "new humanism" ought to "create something new in relation to these five centuries behind us," namely, "reassume in a purified climate all the work of the classical period"—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 9). Does this, or does it not give grounds for the belief that Maritain "favors a movement towards a former political or social policy"—and is, accordingly, a reactionary? AD. HAENTZSCHER

Valparaiso, Indiana, August 9

A Gratuitous Generalization?

Dear Sirs: In the review of my book, "Treason's Peace," Mr. C. A. Welsh makes the statement that my perspective is defective in that I incorrectly impute many disjunctive circumstances to an I. G. Farben influence or formula.

The reviewer thus alleges as a fact this disparagement which, as he does not cite any examples, discredits any or all of the entire series of pictures of the pattern of I. G. Farben's hidden influence inside this country. Obviously, he must have in mind numerous passages in the book which he believes justify his allegation. But he has not mentioned a single such passage.

In comment upon this gratuitous generalization, as an attack upon the integrity of my work, I suggest that Mr. Welsh appears not to have read my preface which states clearly that its chapters are not, as he incorrectly says, largely concerned with "Farben's influence in American industry," but cover the very much larger pattern of "the shadowy designs that repeatedly have come up through the fabric of our industrial, social, and political life—an interlocking design of espionage, sabotage, and corruption."

I hereby challenge Mr. Welsh to point out the specific examples which he alleges are incorrectly included by me to picture some aspect of those designs. HOWARD W. AMBRUSTER

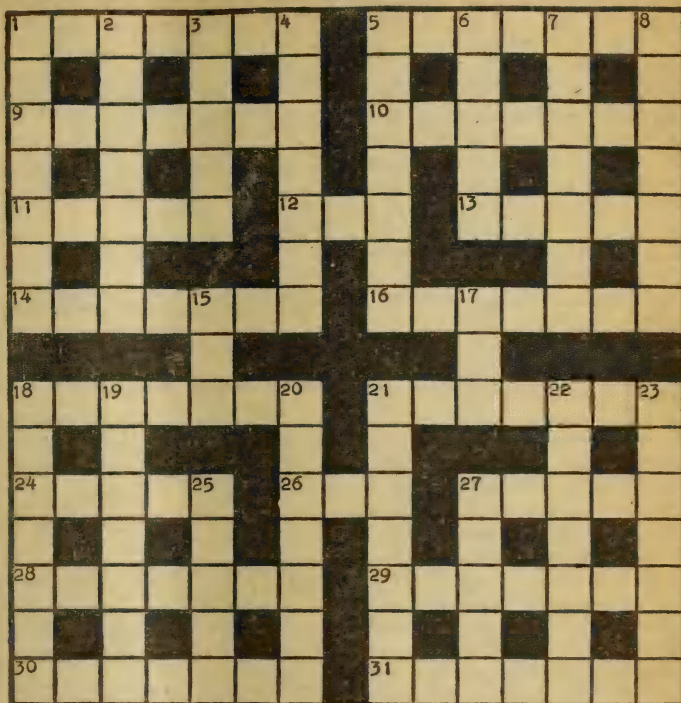
Westfield, New Jersey, July 21

Gratuitous Irrelevancies?

Dear Sirs: Reaction which criticism evokes from authors who have submitted their wares for public inspection is rarely impartial. This particular response is no exception.

It is absurd, of course, for Mr. Ambruster to suggest that I have made "an

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 225 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the third of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Indigestion for bolters
- 5 The elder M.D. was merely a kibitzer in the case
- 9 The kiln is set in red heat
- 10 Religious converts should have no vices
- 11 The senior makes a crooked grimace about his low mark
- 12 The war god out on a limb
- 13 Rustics befuddled on lotus
- 14 Slave's changed status makes him stare wildly in envy
- 16 Mr. Serge increases his corporation with these
- 18 Diffuse earthquake could make this orb melt
- 21 Put the head in upper case slanted type
- 24 Annual loss can destroy a marriage
- 26 Breathing space
- 27 A pigeon in the grass, alas
- 28 Though obviously normal, Miss Vague can be upset in a year
- 29 What the French write with *clarité*
- 30 They find mad peril among the SS
- 31 Wanderers of the wasteland

DOWN

- 1 S (this definition is liberal enough as a gift)
- 2 Dweller in the arbored home
- 3 Musical coach
- 4 Artie is beaming around a flustered Diana

- 5 The least Mrs. Mickey can do is proceed with silence
- 6 Underground chief
- 7 Reel cut disorganizes the speaker's show
- 8 Sister's under the skin
- 15 All that I live by is with the ---... — *Julius Caesar*
- 17 A wool sock
- 18 A liar is tumbled in a vat for his pains
- 19 ----- makyth man
- 20 Come croppers
- 21 Freebooter with the vulgar manner
- 22 Sweet in the morning becomes Electra
- 23 Slender purse stretchers
- 25 Comfort after fifty is in the contract
- 27 Lucifer match

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 224

ACROSS:—1 KALANDER PRINCE; 9 DECANES; 10 INDENSES; 11 AWNING; 12 POTATOES; 14 CRIBBED; 15 PUDAL; 17 DIARY; 19 READERS; 21 OPTICIAN; 23 WITHER; 25 BENGALI; 26 PIERROT; 27 GOOD INTENTIONS.

DOWN:—1 KIDNAPED; 2 LACONIC; 3 NONENTITY; 4 EAST; 5 PRIMORDIAL; 6 INDIA; 7 CONCORD; 8 ISIS; 13 ABERRATION; 15 PRESIDENT; 16 LACRIMATES; 18 ANTONIO; 20 SCHERZO; 21 ORBS; 22 CHARD; 24 APSE.

attack upon the integrity of [his] work." Had this been my purpose, I would have written a far different review.

Mr. Ambruster himself selected one of the points which seem to me to weaken the book. First, he is utterly monistic in analyzing the causes of what he describes as "the shadowy designs that have repeatedly come up through the fabric of our industrial, social, and political life." This is a tendency of the specialist, and accounts for the fore-shortened perspective noted. Moreover, it is questionable literary taste, at least for a book of this nature, to hinge in so many places upon the gratuitous "I told you so's" which, in many instances, are irrelevant to anything but personal history. At numerous points throughout the book, the author's own letters are introduced as evidence and, while they may be of autobiographical interest, they could scarcely be said to represent objective scientific data anent the problem with which the book deals. Inevitably, the clarity of perspective suffers from the confusion of personal and historical events, especially since scant differentiation in the relative importance of the two strata of material is made.

There are other elements which seem to me to weaken the book, but without detracting from it as a document of interest, such as the eschewal by the author of the most important problem which the book defines: how to counteract and forestall the influence without which Farben's plans could not have been feasible. The author, as I said in my review, may be credited with "direct and intimate acquaintance with nearly every phase of his subject"—but scarcely with omniscience, and hardly with analytical perspicacity or literary grace in evaluating so important a part of modern economic history. C. A. WELSH

Arlington, Virginia, August 5

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The Shape of Things

THE SUSPENSION OF THE CONVERSION OF sterling has highlighted the frantic hunger for dollars which characterizes post-war trading relations. When the British loan agreement was made, it was assumed that free convertibility could safely be undertaken at this stage because the sterling balances in the hands of Britain's creditors were bound to be small. The rapidity with which Britain was forced to draw on the loan to meet current living requirements and the world-wide shortage of dollars led, however, to a run on Britain's dollar balances not unlike the run on a bank. And like a bank Britain was unable to meet all demands at one time. Suspension of convertibility, like the 1933 bank holiday, relieves the immediate pressure but leaves the problem unsolved. By increasing domestic food production and instituting various new belt-tightening devices Britain still hopes to stabilize its balance of payments without begging for an additional American loan. Modification of the anti-discrimination clause in the British loan would be of more lasting value toward this end than the suspension of convertibility. Far more fundamental would be tariff concessions which would enable American business men to purchase additional supplies from Britain and the sterling areas. Unless we are prepared to buy where we sell, we may soon find the markets of the world closed to our products.

✱

THE SUCCESS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, after many setbacks, in drawing up a draft charter for the International Trade Organization is a hopeful step toward the creation of more stable conditions for world trade. No one should be deceived into thinking, however, that the compromise document worked out at Geneva provides an assured basis for world recovery. The preamble pays lip service to the principles which all agree must serve as the foundation for such a revival. It calls upon all countries to maintain "full and productive employment" at home, to permit the free spread of technology, to undertake a reduction of tariffs and preferences, and to eliminate such indefensible practices as export subsidies and quantitative restrictions on imports. But loopholes in the text rob these statements of any immediate significance. Existing

preferential systems, for example, are to be allowed to remain, and all the protective devices are permitted during periods of emergency and during the present transitional period. A comparison of the new charter with the original proposals drafted in Washington in 1945 shows retrogression on a number of important points. While the establishment of a permanent trade organization to consider from an international rather than a national point of view the problems that arise in meeting balances of payments holds much promise, no solution of the fundamental problems is yet in sight. The unwillingness of the Republican-controlled Congress to permit significant tariff concessions by the United States means that the world's "dollar famine" is certain to continue. And until a permanent method of relieving the scarcity of dollars is devised, no real liberalization of trade relations is possible.

✱

PERHAPS WE SHOULD NOT COMPLAIN OF tactical blunders that make Republican success at the polls more problematical by the week. Yet there are limits beyond which even a hell-bent G. O. P. should not be allowed to go without challenge. A case in point is the bodily assault by counsel for a House subcommittee on the person of Joseph Padway, attorney for the American Federation of Labor, in the course of a Congressional hearing. When Irving McCann, taking exception to Mr. Padway's suggestion of "Gestapo tactics," grabbed the A. F. of L. man by the throat and threw him to the floor, one would have expected a shocked chairman to suspend the hearings at once and the counsel soon thereafter. Far from doing either, Representative Kearns merely pointed out that the committee's counsel was "under a great strain" and suggested that the hearing "proceed on a normal basis." What seemed normal to Mr. McCann, and evidently to Chairman Kearns as well, evoked "an astonished gasp from the audience," according to the correspondent of the *New York Times*. Requested by another Federation official to disqualify himself from further part in the hearing on the ground of prejudice, McCann sneered at his challenger as "a man who five years ago was a letter-carrier pretending to tell a Congressional committee how to run its affairs—a man with more brains in his feet than he has in his head." From a purely partisan point of view nothing could be more delightful than to see the Republicans outrage one group

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after another in this suicidal fashion—they are preparing next to alienate the farmers by an "investigation" of the cooperative movement, through which half the farmers of the country, most of them Republican, buy and sell in varying degree. But the partisan view is far too narrow. Coming so soon after the Brewster circus, the performance before the Kearns subcommittee emphasizes the dangerous extent to which the Republicans have degraded the whole process of legislative inquiry. This is contempt of Congress compared to which subpoena-dodging is reverence itself.

★

THE WAY OF THE COOPERATOR IS HARD IN these days of reaction. The Greenbelt Consumer Services has been adjudged a monopoly by a subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee, and a recommendation has gone to the full committee that the cooperative's contract with the FPHA be canceled. Some slight skulduggery behind this decision is suggested by the committee's advance release that it was "reliably informed" that "less than 2,000 of the 8,000 population in Greenbelt favor the cooperative movement" and that it was going to question "the advisability of locking up a whole community by act of the federal government." Inquiry might have brought out the fact that 4,500 of the 8,000 residents of Greenbelt are children and that more than two-thirds of the 1,850 families are members of the cooperative. True, the cooperative in Greenbelt Center operates under a lease clause which is common to many shopping centers in all parts of the country. The clause states that no competing business shall operate in the same shopping center. But this restriction does not apply in North Greenbelt, where most of Greenbelt's residents have their homes. The reason why no commercial venture has started up there seems to be, oddly enough, that the people are solidly sold on cooperation. A liquor store tried, but the community vote against it was 1,106 to 309. Greenbelters have cooperative services in the shape of two food stores, a drugstore, a variety store, a movie theater, a garage, a bus line, a traveling store, a laundry and dry-cleaning establishment, a tobacco and candy store, a barber shop, and a beauty parlor. Before reaching a final decision the House Committee on Small Business might do well to consult the findings of its predecessor in 1946, which concluded that "the cooperative movement operates as a very successful means of combating monopolistic concentrations."

With Sikh-Moslem fighting in the Punjab casting a pall over India in its first week of independence, we have asked Shiva Rao, our New Delhi correspondent, to cable us a full report of recent developments. It will appear in next week's issue.

EVEN IF WE WERE FOLLOWERS OF THE *nil nisi bonum* school of obituary writers—and we are not—we would be hard put to find a kinder word for Theodore G. Bilbo than the classic observation that he was not always as bad as he was sometimes. All that prevented the Mississippi Senator from becoming a national menace rather than a national nuisance was a personal corruption so flagrant that the Senate of his own state once pronounced him unfit "to sit with honest, upright men." A self-seeking opportunist of the most cynical variety, Bilbo was not even loyal to the degenerate code that he proclaimed. As rabidly anti-Catholic as any other member of the Ku Klux Klan—and he proudly flaunted his membership—he nevertheless campaigned for Al Smith in 1928 in the hope of political preference. So, too, he voted with the Administration in the early days of the New Deal, although the whole Roosevelt program must have been poison to a man who could seriously propose deporting every American Negro to Africa, who could address citizens by mail as "Dear Dago" and "Dear Kike," and who could call on "every red-blooded American" to get out on the night before election and "see that no nigger votes." With the Senate rid of Bilbo the country may at least hope that Mississippi will not give his seat to a demagogue far shrewder, less vulnerable, and quite as dangerous. We do mean John Rankin.

Pick Up the Pieces

UNDOUBTEDLY the most intelligent provision of the Taft-Hartley labor law is the clause establishing a Congressional committee to watch the law in operation and see if it works. Logically a committee should have been appointed to study the problem before any measure was passed, but such are the promptings of politics that the incoming Republicans thought it better to legislate in haste and correct at leisure. As a result they will find themselves, we predict, in a race with the country and the courts to make changes in a law which is in part unenforceable, in part ambiguous, and in part, we believe, unconstitutional. With the statute hardly dry on the books, both labor and management have already driven tanks through its loopholes, and union officials, itching for a test, have accorded some of its provisions the kind of reverence that was generally paid to the Volstead Act in the rambunctious twenties.

To the chagrin of Representative Hartley, at least, it is industry itself—coal and automobiles—that has set the pattern for the "avoidance" (not to be confused with "evasion," says the conservative commentator, David Lawrence) of the provision making unions liable to suit for breach of contract. Avoidance may be achieved simply by omitting the usual pledge not to strike dur-

ing the life of an agreement, or by a clause like the one Lewis introduced providing that his miners would work only when "willing and able," or by explicit waivers of the right to bring suit. The International Typographical Union plans to avoid suits for breach of contract by dispensing with contracts altogether, relying instead on posted memoranda stipulating "conditions of employment." What the authors of the law failed to take into account was the inevitability of counter-suits by unions, since the grievance that brings on a strike may be a breach of contract as surely as the strike itself. The plain fact is that to many employers "the law's delay" is as unattractive a prospect as it is to the unions, and a blight on production while it lasts. Hartley will have to build camps in the capital if he carries out his threat to "bring management as well as labor to Washington" whenever a contract "violates the spirit" of the new law.

The ban on union expenditures for political purposes is already violated in more than spirit; it is loudly and publicly flouted, with Congress urgently invited to witness the process. The C. I. O. has expended funds to publish a "1947 Voting Guide," intended to advise its members on how to defeat Congressmen who "voted against the people." The A. F. of L. has promoted a similar project, and in Connecticut it recently paid for advertisements in the Hartford papers calling on the state's Republicans to blight the Presidential hopes of Senator Taft. The official C. I. O. paper is engaged in a campaign to put across a pro-labor candidate in a special Congressional election in Maryland, and both major trade-union bodies are working for Philip Storch, president of the Allentown, Pennsylvania, Newspaper Guild, who is running as the Democratic candidate for the seat left vacant by the death of Representative Gerlach. So far the Justice Department is merely "studying" these violations, and the strongest word from Capitol Hill is "impudent."

Innumerable ambiguities in the act have already cropped up, with court tests to come on a dozen technicalities, such as whether or not the data required of unions are to be made public or remain confidential, and whether the check-off is to be limited strictly to dues or include assessments. But probably the provision most likely to come under Supreme Court scrutiny, unless it is scrapped first, is the anti-Communist section. The interpretation of Robert Denham, general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, is that no union may enjoy the services of the board, which means that it cannot qualify in an election for a bargaining agent, if a single officer of the local, the international, or the parent body fails to sign an affidavit to the effect that he has no connection with the Communists. None of the top leaders of the C. I. O. will touch the affidavit, the anti-Communists on principle and the others for obvious reasons. Similarly John L. Lewis, on the execu-

tive board of the A. F. of L., scorns this device as much as he scorns the comrades. So if Mr. Denham persists in his strict interpretation, the 13,000,000 members of the two major labor bodies will have to dispense with the board altogether. Members of the Congressional "watch-dog" committee have already expressed the view that this is too much of a good thing, but we hope Mr. Denham sticks to his point. Some labor legislation was needed, but the Taft-Hartley law was demagoguery from the start, and the sooner it explodes the sooner a sober effort can be made. If political casualties attend the process, we shall know how to control our grief.

Vetoes and Other Tools

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THERE are more ways than one to skin a cat—or to knife the United Nations. Russia does the job with the veto, a clumsy, dull tool but the only one Gromyko seems to be able to lay his hand on. We use all sorts of methods and instruments. In the Indonesian affair we did it by intervening, directly and unilaterally, with an offer of mediation while the Security Council was considering various possibilities of international action, including a proposal to create a three- or five-nation commission to arbitrate the differences between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic. When the Indonesians suggested that they would accept our offer provided it would not prejudice the chance of arbitration, we pulled them up short. They could take it or leave it, we told them; if any conditions were attached, the deal was off. On these terms the Indonesians properly declined; we withdrew the offer.

Then Mr. Van Kleffens announced for the fourth or fifth time that he could not accept U. N. arbitration because the Indonesian dispute was a purely domestic matter and such action would infringe Dutch sovereignty. He did not bother to explain why the Security Council's cease-fire order had not infringed Dutch sovereignty or why American mediation would not do so; the astute Netherlands delegate is less interested in logic than in keeping an international commission out of Holland's colonial preserve. For their own obvious and similar reasons the French and British Council members sympathize with his reluctance and have steadfastly backed him in the Council. But why should the United States not only adopt the same position as the three colonial powers but even carry the ball for them? Why? In order to counter Russia's strong insistence on U. N. intervention? Or to keep Russia out of the negotiations for a settlement? Or just to show solidarity with our cherished Western allies?

Whatever our reasons, the result of our maneuver has been to weaken and hamstring the U. N. and to put the

United States firmly on record as defending the "sovereignty" of a colonial power against the threat of collective action.

The question whether a veto is a wickeder weapon than a by-pass will interest hardly anyone.

THE Russians on their side had a good chance last week to accept a reasonable compromise and passed it up. Gromyko vetoed the Australian proposal on the Balkan border dispute with the same abrupt decision he used later in vetoing the extreme and provocative American resolution. The plan put forward by Australia carefully refrained from distributing blame. It took account of the "threat to peace" on the Greek frontier and called upon all four of the states involved to enter into negotiations to end their differences.

If Russia had accepted this proposal, it would have cut a lot of ground from under the crowd in Washington that are already preparing to send American troops over to Greece to help use up the twelve shiploads of guns and things that went this week. But Russia's story is that no help of any sort is going to the guerrillas from the Balkan states and that any form of international intervention is therefore unnecessary and an infringement of the sovereignty of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania. So Gromyko must vote no even on a decently impartial resolution.

THE new Greek government, still brewing as we go to press, may turn out to be a first small gesture toward placating American opinion in anticipation of larger favors still to come from this side. It would be hard, I suspect, to stir up much public enthusiasm over here for sending American troops to the rescue of the sort of Greek government that has just resigned. Mr. Poulos may well be justified in believing, as he reports on a later page, that the Truman Administration is deliberately angling for a showdown with Russia in Greece. But a sensible preparation for a policy so packed with danger at best would be a government shake-up in Athens which would dislodge at least the most flamboyant grafters and gangsters now in power.

The job of organizing a new Cabinet has been intrusted to Constantin Tsaldaris, Foreign Minister in the late Maximos government and its actual boss, who has just returned to Athens from secret policy conferences in Washington and London. It may be assumed that he took home with him a mild suggestion that a clean-up was due. But if Mr. Tsaldaris heads the next government, one may be sure that any changes made will be calculated with a nice eye for political necessity, and nothing else. So far the honest and experienced leader of the Liberal Party, Themistocles Sophoulis, has refused to come into a government he does not head; he knows all too well that he would be used as camouflage to deceive the untrained American eye.

IF ALL issues were issues of principle, the Soviet vetoes in the Security Council would merit all the excitement they have stirred up. But a fair-minded observer is bound to admit that the line-up is more often one of interest than of principle; it is a power line-up—four to one. Look over last week's votes on the admission of new members. It is an illuminating fact that the only two states elected, Yemen and Pakistan, are states at present outside the opposing big-power "teams"—in spite of Pakistan's dominion status.

In the division Britain and the United States inevitably voted against Albania and Outer Mongolia—both under direct Russian influence. Also inevitably, Russia voted against Transjordan, Eire, and Portugal. Its reasons were essentially the same, although less apparent at first glance. Transjordan, though in form an Arab state and a member of the Arab League, in fact is a British creation and puppet. Eire's pro-Axis "neutrality" in the war

absolves it from the charge of dependency on Britain or the United States, but its government is Catholic reactionary, and in any contest with Russia it is sure to vote with the other Western powers. Portugal, of course, is intimately tied to Franco Spain and is bound to Britain by the oldest treaty of alliance in existence.

Pakistan's election was certain since India as a whole was already a member. But Yemen! The unanimous election of Yemen is the final ironic comment on the motives that determine votes. Yemen is a state sunk in pre-medieval ignorance and ruled by an absolute monarch who makes no pretense of allowing any political rights to any of his subjects. In Yemen Jews are treated more brutally than in any land on earth, not excepting Palestine; yet they are forbidden to leave the country on pain of death. But never mind, Yemen has the one essential qualification for membership: it is not in either big-power sphere of influence—not yet.

Dollars or Socialism

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, August 22

IN THE Anglo-American talks on the United Kingdom's dollar crisis which opened here this week the issue is the future of socialism as well as the future of Britain. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, the chief American negotiator, has implied that much of the \$3,750,000,000 which America lent Britain in July, 1946, has been frittered away as a result of the economic experiments of the Labor government.

The hostility toward socialism shown by the United States representatives in these talks and in the concurrent talks on the Ruhr reveals a dangerous confusion in this country's thinking about the use of the dollar in foreign affairs. Snyder and his friends regard the dollar simply as a monetary unit to be invested for the purpose of making more dollars. The State Department, on the other hand, regards the dollar as a major political instrument of our foreign policy, to be used for the strengthening of an ally in the long contest with the Soviet Union.

The first effect of Snyderism would be to deprive the United States of British aid in its attempt to stop the spread of communism and of Russian influence. Two years ago British voters put the Labor government in office in the expectation that it would institute socialist planning. The surest method for driving British socialists, and socialists in other countries, to tolerate Communists is to insist that the socialists accept capitalism. Snyder's preoccupation with finance hides from him the whole phalanx of considerations that guide people in their political choices.

Snyder is not alone in his myopia. Ambassador Robert Murphy in Berlin has rebuffed those who advocate the nationalization of the Ruhr coal fields, which under private management and ownership contributed to the growth of Hitler's totalitarian state. Ambassador James Clement Dunn has tried to keep the Italian government free from socialist influences. In apparent agreement with Snyder that government controls delay recovery, Ambassador Jefferson Caffery in Paris a few days ago criticized the French, whose government applies economic controls, on the ground that they were not advancing their own recovery. As a result of these misguided pressures, Europe's Socialist parties are dividing like starfish. Washington makes it easy for Moscow.

In the face of the Treasury attitude, Sir Wilfrid Eady could not expect immediate substantial assistance when he arrived in Washington. The essentials of the problem could be simply stated. Britain had already drawn on the \$3,750,000,000 in such large amounts that it would be exhausted by October, 1947, instead of lasting until 1950 as the United States had expected. Britain requires dollars to live. Almost a third of its imports—articles of first importance, including food—come from the United States. And it is one-way traffic. The United States in 1946 sold to Britain goods valued at £226,900,000 and bought from Britain goods valued at £35,400,000.

When Sir Wilfrid arrived in Washington, the amount of credit left to Britain had fallen to \$850,000,000. While he was here, it went down another \$150,000,000. The severity of the crisis was recognized well before July

15 of this year, but on that day, in accordance with the terms of the loan agreement, London made its sterling indebtedness abroad convertible into dollars, and the situation became immediately worse.

The relief that the United States gave Britain after two days of discussion in Washington simply restored the situation existing before July 15. Washington agreed that London could halt conversion. Throughout the conversations Britain took the attitude that it was merely setting forth its position without asking the United States to make any further concessions, but it managed to indicate that it would like to keep the privilege of preferential trading within the British Commonwealth and also to buy when possible from countries which did not demand dollars, even if the price of the goods should be higher. Although Under Secretary of State Clayton was little disposed to grant such boons, the British had some reason to think they might receive them, along with a reduction in their share of the expenses of running the Anglo-American occupation zone in Germany.

Under present Administration plans any real assistance to Britain would come through the Marshall program for financial aid to all the Western European countries. A special loan to Britain apart from the Marshall program is politically impossible, in the opinion of the State Department. Congress would not grant it. And according to intimations from Snyder, further relaxation of the requirements of the existing credit agreement can be granted only by Congress. If Congress approves a great appropriation for European recovery, Britain may be secure. If Congress refuses to go to Europe's help, Britain's situation will become desperate.

To assure Congress that the Truman Administration is a hard-boiled lender and to allay his own doubts about the efficiency of socialism and government planning, Snyder called on Britain to justify its quick exhaustion of the credits. The superficial explanation is the gap between exports and imports. During the first six months of 1947 the United Kingdom bought goods valued at \$1,600,000,000 more than those it sold; at that rate it would be \$3,200,000,000 in the hole by the end of the year—almost the full amount of the American credit. The foreign-trade gap reflected British failure to produce goods for export in the quantity needed, and this production failure indicated some vital flaw in the national economy. The question before the negotiators in Washington was whether the British failure to produce up to its needs was the result of the Labor government's program or of conditions beyond the control of that or any other government.

In a plea for free enterprise echoing the sentiments of Secretary Snyder, Winston Churchill on August 23 put the onus for Britain's plight on Prime Minister Attlee and his Cabinet. Since this issue of the efficiency of socialist governments is sure to be emphasized when

Congressional consideration of the Marshall program gets under way, the justice of the Churchill charges and the Snyder hints should be examined.

SOME light on the question can be obtained by an analysis of Britain's basic production problem, coal, for Attlee has nationalized the coal mines.

England does not produce enough coal to keep the factories of its great industries running at full production. Steel and textile plants are getting from 33 to 75 per cent of the coal they need. The government has set the modest figure of 200,000,000 tons as its output goal for the "coal year" ending next March, but the mines are not meeting their quotas. The coal that is mined, moreover, contains a higher percentage of impurities than pre-war coal, so that the actual usable output is considerably less than the official figure.

The picture is drab, but is socialism to blame? Some American officials are disturbed because last spring the mines went on a five-day week. That reflected not socialism but free enterprise. The National Union of Mine Workers, acting with the freedom of a union in a country where labor is not regimented, bargained for the short week and got it. With one day's cutting eliminated, weekly coal production has kept pace with what it was before, and in some weeks it has bettered the record of previous years. Absenteeism has declined: it went down to 8.59 per cent in May with a five-day week from 14.46 in April before the change.

Criticism of British coal-mining methods as inefficient was common in Washington before Attlee became Prime Minister. But in those days British backwardness was blamed instead of socialist fumbling. British mines, it was complained, were not mechanized. As a matter of fact, 72 per cent of British coal is cut mechanically, and 69 per cent is conveyed by mechanical means, while 82 per cent of our coal is cut mechanically, but English methods make possible the recovery of almost 100 per cent of the coal, as compared with 80 per cent in the United States. British mechanization, however, leaves dirt, rock, and shale mixed with the coal that leaves the collieries. And new machinery for cleaning the coal is unobtainable because British steel production is not up to par. The problem of coal is rooted in conditions that long antedated Attlee.

American officials who think the economic salvation of other countries depends on free enterprise focus their attention on the need of an incentive for the operator. The British and other European governments focus their attention on the need of an incentive for the worker. "The condition of maximum production by the worker is determined by the environment in which he works, both physical and psychological," Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the British Board of Trade, told the House of Commons last March. "Without any mechani-

cal change whatsoever in the present setup of our industries we could undoubtedly get a considerable increase in production if every worker were happy in and keen on his work." By trying to force Europe to shift its attention from concern for the worker to concern for the owner the United States might reduce, not raise, production.

The British government's errors in foreign affairs, serious as they may be, are not related to the steps it has taken toward establishing state control over economic life. One might even say that the British dollar crisis resulted from an absence of official control—in the United States. This country, in effect, has thrown away many of the dollars it lent to England by permitting American prices to rise without hindrance since England began to use its credit in July, 1946. If the United

States had kept price control, Britain would have many more dollars at its command today.

The British problem now being studied by the Truman Administration has less to do with socialism than with a disastrous anachronism in international economic relations. Britain is on the verge of collapse not because it has no money but because it has not the right kind of money. The exchange used in foreign trading is essentially a bilateral mechanism; yet we live in a multilateral world. While Britain runs into debt to us, continental European countries are running into debt to Britain at the rate of about \$40,000,000 a month. Until Britain, the United States, and the rest of the world are liberated from the cage of our antiquated exchange system, fiscal conferences can do no more than give temporary relief to any nation's economic ills.

Fish and Politics

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Wrangell, Alaska, August 15

EVERY schoolboy knows that Secretary of State Seward paid the Russian czar only \$7,200,000 for all of Alaska, and that the Alaskan salmon pack yields seven times that sum every year. What the schoolboys don't know is that nearly all this money goes finally into wallets and bank accounts outside Alaska. This colonial exploitation is the cause of many of Alaska's troubles. British exploitation of the resources of the Straits Settlements or other colonies was less thorough and efficient than the looting of the Alaskan salmon industry by absentee interests.

When outsiders are relieving a country of its natural wealth, they usually give at least employment to the home folks. Alaskans do not even receive this benefit. More than half the men employed in catching and canning the salmon are non-residents. Of approximately \$11,000,000 paid in wages in the salmon industry last year, only \$3,729,000 went to Alaskans. When Philippine independence was celebrated in Seattle and Portland, few Filipinos were on hand for the occasion. Most of them were in Alaska canning Chinooks and Chums. They were living in barracks or on boats, and since they would not be paid their wages until they docked again in "the states," Alaska would not get even their chewing-gum and cigarette money, let alone any of the rest of their pay.

Alaska supplies 88 per cent of the American salmon pack and more than half of the world's output, but for the people living there it is almost as if the industry did not exist. Labor unions based in Seattle and packing companies with headquarters in Astoria and San Francisco have combined to keep the wealth created by it in the hands of people living outside the Territory. Bernard DeVoto, who has cited Anaconda Copper as the prime example of absentee exploitation in the United States, should cruise along the Alaskan coast. Butte miners are at least employed in the shafts of Skeleton Hill. In Alaska the unions, A. F. of L. or C. I. O., do not want to be troubled with the employment of Alaskans, particularly Alaskan Indians.

Half of all the salmon taken from Alaskan waters are snared in fish traps. These are huge wire cages sunk in the inlets and fiords through which the salmon must pass on their way to the rivers where they will spawn. The number that can be used is limited, since it pays to sink them only in places traversed by vast numbers of fish. Of 434 traps in Alaskan bays, only 38 belong to men who live in Alaska. More than half the traps belong to six large absentee companies. Two of these companies own 118 traps between them. Because very few men are employed in tending the traps Alaska's delegate in Congress, Edward L. Bartlett, has called them "an anti-social device."

One of the tragic shortcomings of the New Deal was its indifference to the absentee exploitation of Alaska. Although Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior was in charge of the Fish and Wildlife Service for more than a decade, he did nothing to return the salmon industry

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to Alaskans. Governor Gruening, an appointee of President Roosevelt, advocated a progressive tax on fish traps so that ownership of a large number might prove too costly, but with Ickes and Gruening at each other's throats, the suggestion never received the support of the Department of the Interior. For all his tirades against monopoly, Harold Ickes left office with monopoly more firmly entrenched in the canned-salmon industry than ever before. Gruening insisted that Alaskans should own the fish traps, but Ickes even forbade him to leave the Territory to press the question.

Politicians from the Pacific Coast states often engage in telephoned negotiations over fish traps. Senators from Washington and California can get trap licenses for influential constituents more easily than can Alaska's non-voting delegate. The situation would be different if Alaska achieved statehood. It would then have control of its fisheries and could impose regulations limiting trap ownership to residents. This would enable the large native population of the Territory to participate for the first time in the trapping operations.

The canned-salmon industry led the local opposition to the statehood referendum: the packers fear that a genuine tax will be levied on their product if Alaska becomes a state. George Sundborg, manager of the Alaska Development Board, recently revealed that the salmon industry paid to the Territory only \$887,000 in taxes during the last biennium on a fish pack worth more than \$100,000,000. Moreover, the Territory levies no income tax on the wages of its carportbaggers.

Warren Magnuson and Hugh Mitchell, state of Washington New Dealers, have pussyfooted on the is-

sue of Alaskan statehood. So has Governor Wallgren, who said he could not indorse statehood because "some" people in Alaska seemed to be against it. However, practically all the witnesses at recent hearings of the House Committee on Public Lands favored statehood. One of the few opponents was an attorney who represents the salmon industry in Alaska.

Some opposition has come from conservationists who fear that the state of Alaska might not be as diligent as the federal government in protecting the fish runs. Yet under federal supervision the pack has been diminishing. In 1940 nearly 7,000,000 cases of salmon were canned in Alaska; last year the pack had dwindled to 3,871,000 cases. The fabulous pink-salmon runs of the southeastern "panhandle" are so reduced that the 1946 pack was only 1,454,000 cases as against 4,294,333 five years earlier. Higher prices have kept up the value of the pack.

Seton H. Thompson, chief of the Alaska branch of the federal Fish and Wildlife Service, frankly admits that "illegal fishing" is responsible for much of the diminution of the runs along Clarence Strait and Tongass Narrows. One game warden has been provided by a generous Congress to patrol 5,000 miles of Alaskan coastline. Only statehood, Alaskans are convinced, can restore to them the benefits of the salmon industry.

The entire world has a stake in the Alaskan salmon pack. Salmon has a greater nutritional value than almost any other food. An inspector in the Canadian Mounted Police told me he would rather eat a tin of Alaska King salmon while on patrol in 70-below-zero weather than a caribou steak or beef sirloin.

What's Our Game in Greece?

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Washington, August 22

NEXT month it will be three years since German troops started withdrawing from Greece, but the war is still going on in that little land and seems likely to go on for a long time.

There is only one logical, apparent reason why the Soviet Union is going so far out on a limb on the Greek question. The Russians are probably not prepared to risk the break with the United States over Greece. Their interest in Greece is not strategic. The Soviet Union will take its hands off Greece when the United States and Great Britain take their hands off Eastern Europe. That was the agreement, wasn't it?

All the while that the British were going into Greece, destroying the left movement and setting up extreme

right-wing regimes, Moscow didn't say a word. Not until we started "interfering" in the internal affairs of countries in the sphere allocated to Russia did it start to needle Greece.

Possibly Moscow thinks the United States is only bluffing. If so, it is making a serious mistake. Washington will not back down on "the Greek thing." Both the State and the War Department want a showdown; indeed, would welcome it.

It is becoming clear now that the Truman Doctrine was not so extravagantly anti-Communist and anti-Russian simply for the purpose of getting the Greek-Turkish aid bill through Congress. It correctly reflected the mood and intent of high Administration officials.

There is the Middle East oil, too. But Greece is the

perfect place, in every way, to stand up to the Russians, and Washington is determined to do so, even if—.

It is all rather sinister, and very dishonest on both sides.

The United States dishonestly wants to place all the blame for the Greek situation on Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. Not once in the debates at Lake Success did the United States delegation even hint that the internal situation had any bearing on the guerrilla warfare. Did Washington really expect the Russians to accept the crudely one-sided American resolution which gave the Greek government a 99 44/100 per cent clean bill of health?

But the delegation of the Soviet Union is not any less dishonest when it denies that the Greek guerrillas are getting any assistance from north of the border.

AT THE moment Washington is acting more adeptly in this bit of rotten power politics. Washington has Moscow in a corner and is pressing in. The establishment by the Greek guerrillas of a military government "preliminary to the formation of a Provisional Government" is obviously a Russian move.

The new Greek guerrillas, whose bands sprouted at first in retaliation against the terrorist attacks of monarchist bands encouraged and condoned by Constantin Tsaldaris's royalist government, had originally no thought of seizing power. They knew the odds against them were too great. They felt that they could force the fall of the royalist-fascist government and the induction of one which would offer them some measure of safety and a start toward the new life they had thought they were fighting for during the German occupation. They had almost succeeded in this purpose last spring when the United States stepped in.

The fact that the Greek guerrillas announced a military regime rather than the long-threatened Provisional Government, which would have been just as easy to set up, reveals a nervous but wily Moscow tactic. The military regime serves as a trial balloon. It tests the Americans and it feels out the sentiments of the Greek people.

It also serves as a bone which may later be thrown to the wolves. Abandonment of the plan for a provisional government and dissolution of the military regime may be Russian "concessions" later on. The Greek guerrillas will be left holding the bag, reduced to bitter, endless fighting, without a voice or a hand raised in their support.

Undoubtedly, this is to be the "satisfactory conclusion" of the Greek case which Acting Secretary Lovett referred to on the day after the Russian veto. Those who thought that when the United States took over British commitments in the Near East a more liberal policy would be introduced are now sadder, if not wiser. Had we tossed

out the racketeers and monarchist murderers in Athens we might have alleviated the guerrilla problem. Had we insisted on a liberal government which would have offered a real amnesty and brought the army, gendarmerie, and state machinery under non-partisan direction, and had we insisted on various economic reforms, we would have obviated the immediate threat of communism in Greece and eradicated the "danger from the north."

But then if we had done that, what excuse would we have had to shake our fists under Russia's nose, not to speak of its satellites' noses? What excuse would there have been for our growing military missions and our omnipresent flotillas?

Washington is playing an acute game from its own point of view. If through the United Nations—which we want to patrol the frontier but which we do not want to "interfere" with our plans for Greece—we could get a permanent border commission, the Greek army could, we think, clean up the guerrillas once and for all, and there would be no more nonsense about a leftist movement in Greece.

If we can't get a permanent border commission, we can say to the world, "See? We tried. Now we have to send American troops to Greece to close that troublesome border." And when we send American troops to patrol our new frontier, as so many people in Washington are now anxious to do, we shall be playing our last card. American soldiers will be killed by Greek guerrillas, by the Yugoslavs, the Bulgars, and the Albanians. Then we start playing for keeps.

There is, of course, the possibility that the Russians will "come to their senses" and call off their satellites just before it is too late. In which case we shall have demonstrated to the world the superiority of our power over the Soviet Union's. And in any case we shall have made Greece safe for democracy, monarchy, and capitalism.

TO GET back to Lake Success. Would the American delegation to the United Nations and the other members of the Security Council who support it have understood the implication of the Greek government's broadcast last Saturday if they had heard it? It said:

The Greek situation has now entered the road of final solution, and everything suggests that Greece's demands will be met, which will mean not only that morality and justice will have prevailed but that the end of the disturbances in the Balkans will have been reached.

Because it is only when Greece is granted borders which are recognized historically and internationally that the Bulgarian Komitadjis, Yugoslav mercenaries, and Albanian thieves will lose all hope of success and cease the invasions which bring constant disturbances to the Balkan Peninsula.

The Greek people are now beginning to believe that

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their rights will be recognized and that the hour is at hand when the Allies will fulfil their obligations toward Greece.

This is how the present Greek government interprets the Truman Doctrine. To the *New York Times* the

Soviet Union's veto of the American resolution may mean that a "member power deliberately blocked the operation of the peace-making machinery"; to the present Greek government it means that heady dreams of a Byzantine "Greater Greece" are about to be realized.

Father Tompkins of Cape Breton

BY LEO LANIA

There are four sorts of men:

He who knows not and knows not that he knows not is a fool—shun him.

He who knows not and knows that he knows not is a child—teach him.

He who knows and knows not that he knows is asleep—wake him.

He who knows and knows that he knows is wise—follow him!

Sidney, Nova Scotia

THE little slim man, neatly dressed in a black suit with the turned white collar of a priest, is more than seventy-five years old, but he stepped briskly up on a chair in order to read these lines to me, cut in a board above the door of his study. He has the voice and accurate movements of a young man. You don't notice the deep wrinkles in his pale, clean-shaven face, but you cannot help noticing his eyes—sharp, eager, very intense, with the searching look of a hunter or fisherman. He smiles often, and then you see a little golden flame deep in his eyes, and you feel as if you had known him all your life. A man of energy and unusual will-power, and at the same time a dreamer, a poet.

That is Father Tompkins—teacher, former vice-president of St. Francis Xavier University, one of the leading figures in Canada's cooperative movement, the prophet and guiding spirit of a program of adult education which is changing the social and economic life of Nova Scotia. His name is known far beyond the borders of Canada. Some time ago Harvard bestowed an honorary degree upon him; famous universities have made him tempting offers. Father Tompkins, however, prefers to remain what he has been all his life—a village priest, the friend of the fishermen, miners, and farmers on Cape Breton Island.

Reserve is the name of the village halfway between Sidney and Glace Bay where Father Tompkins lives

and works. Most of the 5,000 inhabitants are coal miners. Some of the mines in which they work are very deep and stretch out under the sea for several miles. Reserve has a few rows of modest houses, a Catholic and a Protestant church, and next to Father Tompkins's house a big modern school building which would do honor to any city. The school, the "people's library," and the cooperative across the street are the three cornerstones of Father Tompkins's achievements and plans.

What distinguishes Tompkins from other leaders of the cooperative movement is his approach to the economic problems of modern society. He does not attempt merely to organize the people; he wants to educate them. He has never been primarily concerned with building cooperative enterprises but rather with building a movement. The credit unions which he helped form have not remained mere loan agencies but have been expanding their activities into the sphere of actual economic regeneration. The marketing organizations of the fishermen and farmers of Cape Breton Island have developed into cultural centers. The educational impulse is the nucleus of Tompkins's movement.

Nova Scotia is a shocking example of the failure of "rugged individualism" to bring economic and cultural progress. Here is a province whose resources should have guaranteed sound economic conditions and even prosperity. With rich coal deposits, good farmland, vast forests, and the finest fishing grounds in this hemisphere, Nova Scotia offers its people abundant opportunities. These people are, in the main, of rugged Scotch or English stock and hard workers. And yet until a few years ago they lived in abject poverty and backwardness. The story of what Father Tompkins has done has a lesson that is important to all of us.*

When he went into action—a little over twenty years ago—most of the fishermen of Nova Scotia were but share-croppers of the sea. The opportunities and the profits were for the middle man, the promoter, the representative of powerful trusts. The individual fisherman was always in debt and thus completely at the

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*Bertram B. Fowler gives a dramatic account of Father Tompkins's work in *"The Lord Helps Those—,"* published by Vanguard.

mercy of the merchant, who could take his boat and gear if he refused to sell his catch at the merchant's price. The mortgaged farmer was in a similar plight.

It was in Little Dover, an island village of 300 fishermen, that Tompkins started. He had resigned from the vice-presidency of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish because he had come to the conclusion that the university served only a small group of intellectuals who after graduation were interested merely in getting well-paid jobs. Tompkins had other aims. He has expressed his philosophy in these words: "No man really achieves true greatness any other way than by getting it from the people. Get close to the people with the desire to work for them and with them and they'll make you great. The people make giants."

The people of Little Dover had not even horses, to say nothing of cars, when Tompkins moved there; no roads connected the village with the mainland. There was one teacher; no newspaper reached the community; most people were illiterate. Little Dover was the laboratory of Father Tompkins's ideas; it became the cradle of his movement.

He did not start by telling the fishermen what they ought to do. He told them that they must discover for themselves the root of their troubles. He preached not political action but education. He taught the basic facts of economics and social science. His first victory was a small canning factory which the fishermen built with their own labor, hauling the logs from the woods by hand. Money was spent only for rails and hardware. They raised it by contributing pennies and nickels from their meager earnings. Tompkins lent \$300, without interest, and another man \$700, for the purchase of canning machinery.

At the end of the first season the fishermen paid back this \$1,000. The first cooperative was established. Others followed.

In the ensuing years, as the movement grew, Father Tompkins fought with all his energy for one principle: the members of the different cooperatives must think, plan, work for themselves. They, not the officers, he insisted, were to run the organizations. He wanted people to understand that every attempt to increase their income must be at the same time an attempt to raise the social and cultural level of the whole community.

Whenever a fishermen, farmer, or merchant receives a loan from the credit union, it is given him not only to keep him out of the clutches of a money-shark; it is the beginning of close economic cooperation between the credit union and the individual. The credit union effectively plays the part of a local banking institution, advising and helping each member; all the other members participate in the experience of each.

Father Tompkins's educational program follows the general pattern of the Danish folk-school movement.

Some of its features recall the educational projects of the Austrian Social Democrats, the pre-Dollfuss *Volkschulen* and *Volksbildungsvereine*. The "Study Clubs" are his own idea. Education is spread not through mass organizations but through small groups linked together in true community spirit.

"The children teach their parents," Father Tompkins said when he proudly showed me the children's library. It is a large and at the same time very intimate room, modern in the best sense of the word, decorated with dolls and pictures, flowers and funny animals in gay and charming colors. In addition to the usual books and picture magazines for small children one finds here hundreds of the best textbooks for older ones. Mothers and fathers drop in regularly, and once a week Father Tompkins or one of the teachers gives a lecture; two days later the audience meets again for a discussion.

Father Tompkins spoke with high admiration of many miners who, though almost broken by hard work, have become enthusiastic book lovers. "There is one miner, father of nine children. A few years ago he came for the first time. He asked for 'something light.' To read a page of a children's book was a real effort for him. Today he reads the most difficult books in my library, mostly social and philosophical works. There is a woman in our little town, a simple housewife. She has read all the poetry books we have, all of them, moderns as well as classic."

Father Tompkins took a small book from the shelves. "This is one of our most requested books," he said. I read its title: "The Barefoot Abe." It was a pictorial story of Abraham Lincoln. "It gives them so much courage and hope," he said.

Later, in his study, Father Tompkins told me of his future plans, of the "rotating libraries" which he wants to expand so that he can send books into every little port of Nova Scotia. An auditorium with a stage for theatrical performances and concerts is now under construction.

On his desk lay a book, "one of the few really great books of our time," Father Tompkins called it. It was David Lilienthal's story of the TVA. Every page of the book was covered with his annotations. "This is the way to combat communism," he continued. "You cannot fight it by force, only by eliminating the causes that breed it—poverty and social injustice."

In his modest way Father Tompkins and his friends have done more to make the common people understand the meaning of democracy than most of our labor leaders and propagandists with their million-dollar funds and mass organizations. Yet I doubt whether many Americans would think it worth their while to look into Father Tompkins's work. After all, Nova Scotia is only a province of Canada and Tompkins only a poor village priest.

Del Vayo—Socialist House Divided

Paris, August 19

AFTER an absence of six months, my first impression of France was not unfavorable. The quality of the bread has deteriorated owing to the wheat shortage, and prices have risen still higher, but the shops are filled with all sorts of consumers' goods. The precautions I took on previous visits to bring along an ample supply of personal articles are no longer necessary. French production is climbing steadily despite recent strikes and the lack of coal. Even in these abnormally hot August days, when every Frenchman who can manage it has fled the capital, the streets and restaurants are crowded with English visitors who have crossed the Channel to recapture for a brief moment the joy of living. Paris still smiles while a cloud of anxieties and privations casts a lengthening shadow across the British Isles.

I reached France the day after the Thirty-ninth Congress of the French Socialist Party opened in Lyons. The congress was, in a sense, a microcosm of France's political situation, and thus I was able in a few days to bring myself up to date on the crisis now facing the country. Lyons is an important industrial city with a strong, unbroken Socialist tradition that dates back to the emergence of the French proletarian movement. The choice of Lyons as a meeting place and of the ultra-leftist Federation of the Rhône as the committee on arrangements was apparently dictated by the desire of the party leaders to show that although the Socialists have broken with the Communists and chosen the M. R. P. and Herriot's Radicals as their collaborators in the government, they have not become a conservative force. Actually, the left tendency carried the Congress, though by a narrow margin of 2,443 votes to 2,002. However, simply to record this fact without analyzing its significance in the light of the whole debate would give only a half-true picture.

The main problem before the Congress was this: should the Socialists, as members of the government, assume responsibility for a policy which contravenes the principles of their party? Specifically, must they bear the consequences for a policy of limiting wage increases, continuing old-time colonialism, and maintaining free enterprise when the Socialist program advocates defense of the workers' interests, active intervention of the state in the economic life of the country, and a colonial policy compatible with the humanitarian and internationalist concepts of socialism? Should they say to Premier Ramadier, "Follow any policy that will keep the Socialists in power," or "Support a Socialist policy even if it results in your leaving the government"? The Congress chose the second course. It voted to requisition wheat and even, if necessary, livestock; to control the market at every level; to initiate a sweeping series of "public-safety measures" in the economic field. In short, the Socialists voted for a *renforcement du dirigisme*—for increased state controls.

It was not only the close vote by which the left wing, headed by Guy Mollet, won over the "moderates," but the debate itself that revealed the extent of the ideological di-

visions in the party. Six different drafts of a party program, not including the letter Léon Blum addressed to the parliamentary group, were submitted to the delegates. Of these texts it is noteworthy that only one, prepared by "Bataille Socialiste," a minority faction of which Marcel Fourrier and Bloncourt are the best-known members, stressed the urgent necessity for unity of action of the working class. The others, including that of the Mollet group, were markedly anti-Communist. This trend can be explained in several ways—certainly the Marshall plan and the bloc politics of the West have had an influence—but the most important factor is undoubtedly the peculiar and extremely difficult situation in which the French Socialist Party finds itself today.

Though the voting strength of the Socialists has dropped in the past two years, their importance as a government party has been mounting. Despite its reverses at the last elections, the party saw itself accorded the key post of President of the Republic and chosen to head the two Cabinets formed since Auriol entered the Elysées. Thus the Socialists have taken over the role held before the war by the Radical Socialists, the most progressive element of the French bourgeoisie until Daladier passed to the side of reaction and tarred them with the brush of Munich.

In the present circumstances it is hard for the Socialists to square their importance as a government party with their aspiration to speak for the working class. This accounts for the uneasiness reflected by the majority of the delegates to the Congress. The main task at Lyons was to reconcile the irreconcilable. This miracle was not achieved; neither of the almost evenly matched opposing groups would budge an inch from the position it had taken at the outset of the convention. Obviously the only alternative was to reach a decision by majority vote; the majority accepted the principle that even defense of the Republic does not justify the participation of Socialists in a government whose policy is not theirs. The party's position on this issue has now emerged very clearly: the party has its program. If the other political parties agree to that program, Socialists may assume the direction of a coalition government. But they cannot accept leadership only to carry out the policy of the M. R. P. or the Radical Socialists.

This was the most important decision reached at the Lyons congress—one which may bring about an early ministerial crisis. For the victorious left wing is determined that Ramadier or any later Socialist Premier must govern as a Socialist or resign. However, once the Parliament has settled the question of the Algerian statute, it will adjourn until after the October municipal election. This interval will give Ramadier time to reconsider his views and try to repair his position in his own party.

Mr. del Vayo has just arrived in Paris; during the coming months he will send regular reports on European political developments.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Co-ops on the March

THE COOPERATIVE CHALLENGE.

By Bertram B. Fowler. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

ALTHOUGH consumer cooperation is now firmly established in this country and has begun to play an important part in economic life, there is still widespread ignorance about its achievements and the principles on which it operates. This is a book which will help to dispel that ignorance. It is an up-to-date report on the movement, stressing its extraordinary growth in the past decade.

Consumer cooperation is an import from Europe and for a long time was promoted mainly by foreign-language groups. Then it became a regional movement among the farmers of the Middle West. Now it is developing rapidly in urban as well as rural districts and can claim to be truly national. It has ceased to be an affair of dingy stores in back streets; today the Co-op sign is to be found on the fronts of gleaming super-markets on an increasing number of main thoroughfares. Moreover, the cooperatives have begun to move into production in a big way. The most dramatic example, described in detail in this book, is the development of an integrated oil industry covering every step from oil well to filling station. Very important service businesses, such as insurance, have also been built up by cooperatives, and recent experiments in housing and health centers hold great promise for the future.

As a useful compendium of facts on all such matters, this book can be thoroughly recommended except for the strange omission of an index. On questions of theory, however, I find myself rather disturbed by Mr. Fowler's doctrinaire approach. The trouble is that he treats the "Rochdale principles," established by the English pioneers of consumer cooperation, not as a set of time-tested, common-sense rules for cooperative enterprise but as fundamental economic dogmas. Mr. Fowler asserts ve-

hemently that consumer cooperation is the only route by which democracy can escape from the toils of capitalist monopoly on the one hand and the totalitarian socialist state on the other. For he follows the now standard practice of capitalist champions of equating socialism and totalitarianism and assumes, practically without argument, that democratic socialism is a contradiction in terms.

In his chapter on cooperatives in the Canadian prairie provinces Mr. Fowler makes a gratuitous and offensive attack on the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—the C. C. F. He scolds the voters of Saskatchewan, who at the last provincial election gave the C. C. F. a large majority, for supporting a party which appeared liberal but actually represented "a political thesis that diametrically opposed the democratic philosophy of consumer cooperation." Although the present Saskatchewan government has given every support and encouragement to the cooperatives, he hints darkly that its ultimate purpose is to absorb them in the state apparatus. He also suggests, on the basis of what evidence heaven alone knows, that the British Labor government may "seize upon the co-ops as tools to bring into being the complete socialization of all industry."

Mr. Fowler is led into stupidities of this kind by doctrinaire fears of any form of state economic enterprise. Yet strangely enough he devotes a chapter to hailing the achievements of cooperatives in opposing the power monopoly in the Northwest—achievements that would not have been possible without the New Deal's great Bonneville project. This, of course, is but one example of complementary activity by the state and cooperatives in the United States and other countries. In the mixed economy toward which the British Labor Party, the C. C. F., and democratic Socialist organizations in many other lands are moving there will be abundant opportunities for cooperative enterprise. It is unfortunate, therefore, that writers like Mr. Fowler, and his obvious men-

tor, the veteran Dr. Warbasse, should attempt to build an impassable barrier between Socialists and cooperators. Such tactics can only play into the hands of the common enemy—monopoly capitalism. KEITH HUTCHISON

A Big Subject

DIRTY EDDIE. By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

LUDWIG BEMELMANS has two distinct literary talents—a mildly inventive whimsy and a gift for describing food. The sensuous representation of the tastes and textures of food is, I venture to guess, one of the few subjects he tackles with genuine enthusiasm; in any case, it is the only phase of his work for which I feel genuine enthusiasm. One has to look elsewhere for the other satisfactions usually expected from novels, but I'll take my literary meals with Bemelmans.

Long years of writing neat, whimsical, ironic, nostalgic pieces have blunted Bemelmans's claws. Having, for so long, so charmingly blended Viennese *Gemütlichkeit* and New Yorkerish modulation into a constant awareness of the exigencies of good taste, he is faintly superior to anger, invective, or bitterness. Bemelmans has titillated his audience by convincing them of his and their superiority to the materials he has used; in that mild snobbishness is the core of his success at being amusing. Which may do for Bemelmans's little world, but does not do for a satiric novel about Hollywood.

Satire must grow from hatred or contempt. If successful, it transforms these rough emotions into rapier thrusts, *but the emotion must be there*. It is precisely the absence of this emotion which makes "Dirty Eddie" a failure. There are amusing bits in which whimsy hops, flutters, and perches on your nose. But the book is torn apart by an internal conflict of polar motivations: Bemelmans is not really sure how he feels about Hollywood; he is not sure whether he should hate and despise it, or poke fun at it in a mild and charming way.

"Dirty Eddie" therefore falls into all the traps which Hollywood, in its knowing calculations, sets for people like Bemelmans. There is a pattern of satire which is ready-made—it has even been given Hollywood's stamp of approval—and is not really satire at all. And like a baby going for the bottle, Bemelmans has slid into this pattern: the fabulous, malaprop Jewish producer with girls tumbling over him, the slightly mad Russian director, the wisely cynical French writer, the innocent, hard-boiled American beauty. Where, if not in

Hollywood, have we seen all this before?

Since Bemelmans does not take himself seriously as a writer, he is unable to take his subject seriously. In his attempt to confine himself to a whimsy that does not disturb anyone, he co-sets his personality by remaining curiously passive toward the novel; he does not bear down; it is all too easy for him. I do not intend to make a plea for solemnity, but I do think that true satire can only spring from lightly serious perception and *that* Bemelmans does not have. His characters, therefore, seem, for all their brittle distinctiveness, merely odd functions of his whimsy. Though he himself is detached, he is not willing to grant them an objective development of their own. And so we end with a disjointed novel and some nicely observant and well-molded prose, but with no motivating intellectual commitment or passion, without which a satiric novel, especially one on Hollywood, cannot be written. Bemelmans simply is not equal to his subject. As other and better writers have discovered, Hollywood is a big subject.

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The Rural Problem

THE AMERICAN FARMER. By Lee Fryer. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

IS THERE a necessary correlation between progress in technique and progress in civilization? Americans had better come to grips with the question in relation to our modern rural society and establish a definite public policy in this field before it is too late. For the machine age is working a swifter change among our farm people than is generally realized.

This is the argument in Lee Fryer's forthright and really challenging book. Mr. Fryer knows at first hand that farming is moving in the direction of machine culture and industrial techniques, and he does not see this development as necessarily evil because it must replace the older, traditional ways of agriculture. He knows that we must have a more efficient system of food production, and he is very much concerned with the nature of this new efficiency.

Will increased production be gained at the expense of the rural people in the new agriculture? Will the new pat-

tern of farming require a large force of wage labor hired on an impersonal basis? Will this reduce the chances of survival of large numbers of family farmers, driving them into the rural wage force, into the cities, or on to the relief rolls? Mr. Fryer is above all concerned with the social ends of the new technology on the land and the capitalist industrialism which goes with it. And his answer to the question whether or not technical progress will bring the good life in its train is that it will not unless the problem is widely understood and handled by means of intelligent planning.

The purpose of Mr. Fryer's book is to create awareness of the problem and suggest ways of meeting it. It makes a ringing demand for action on the part of the rural people themselves, as well as for a national plan for rural reconstruction. It is couched in vigorous language, and it is full of hard sense and statistical proof. Moreover, one feels upon reading it that this story and these conclusions have come out of a lifetime of first-hand experience. The author has worked with the Farm Security Administration on such varied problems as farm-land colonization, Western-land irrigation policy, and rural housing. His cooperative experience has been wide in his own state of Oregon, and he has learned much about the national problem of farm people through administrative work with the National Farmers' Union.

"The American Farmer" is a practical book with practical suggestions based upon accumulated data. It shows the present status of working farmers—their houses, their health, their incomes—and it appraises their chances of survival. It goes directly to the heart of the rural problem in the land, debt, and tenure situation, and comes up with the basic assumption that it is absolutely necessary for society "to control the ownership and distribution of farm land in accordance with a sound policy of employment and income." And it demonstrates with remarkable clarity that in a technological society in which all other groups are organized farm people must develop their own efficiency and must operate through organizations, both local and national, for their economic and social security. The author does not belittle the place of the na-

tional government in the reconstruction of rural life, but adopting the principle of grass-roots administration of federal functions, he stresses the importance of local action. The farming people of America must in the long run work out their own economic and social adjustments under the legal protection of government and thus lay the basis for the reconstruction of rural life in the United States.

We have had farm-relief programs. We have had conservation programs and programs for improving farm credit, not to speak of a vast program for scientific training and education. But we are today at a turning point in rural life, and our programs of the past will not be adequate for the future. They will help some of the people involved but not all. This is their essential weakness. "We need new principles and new practical policies which will work for people's welfare," says Mr. Fryer. We need not permit the industrial age to leave a trail of waste upon the land as it has within the cities. To achieve a greater production it is not necessary to destroy our soils and ravage our people. "Only by decentralizing and limiting the concentrated power of corporations, defending the security of individual families, raising the income of vast numbers of people, and enlarging their opportunities for productive employment, can the nation meet its crisis of the next decade. Unless action is taken along these lines, both the cities and the countryside are headed for prolonged depression and then disaster." Obviously we need to lift our sights in handling the rural situation. And "The American Farmer" does much to point the way.

P. ALSTON WARING

Shop Talk

OFF BROADWAY: ESSAYS ABOUT THE THEATER. By Maxwell Anderson. William Sloane Associates. \$2.50.

VERY few dramatic writers have had as much drama in their careers as has Maxwell Anderson. He has written a number of sensational successes and an even larger number of sensational failures. On occasion he has been praised as highly as any contemporary playwright and on others has been the recipient of abuse more contemptuous

than what any except a very few have ever been called to endure with patience. Taking the theater and himself with full seriousness, he has, nevertheless, written both well enough and badly enough to come somewhere near deserving both the good and the bad things which have been said about him; and he knows his trade very well indeed at the same time that he is sincerely determined to make it a good deal more than merely a trade. Moreover, as this exceedingly slim volume of very brief essays collected from here and there will serve to demonstrate, he can express himself in expository prose more sensibly, simply, and clearly than most playwrights can. Even among the ten little pieces there is a good deal of difference in weight and importance, but they are all interesting as the opinions of a man who is obviously entitled to opinions on their subjects. The one on "the critics" is as unsatisfactory as attempts at retaliation usually are. On the other hand, the little essay *The Essence of Tragedy* is one of the very few examples of the possibility of saying anything fresh on that subject.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Quest

THE WANDERER (LE GRAND MEAULNES). By Henri Alain-Fournier. Translated by Françoise Delisle. New Directions. \$1.50.

MEAULNES, having lost his way after a wrong turning in the desolate winter countryside of the Sologne, comes upon a mysterious estate where a group of children are preparing a fête and fantastic masquerade for the wedding which is to take place the next day. The wedding has to be called off, for the bridegroom fails to appear, but Meaulnes has seen and has talked to a young girl, Yvonne de Galais. In the dark before dawn he sleeps while a peasant's cart takes him back to his village. He and his young friend Seurel attempt for years to find their way back to the mysterious manor. And it is Seurel one day who, no longer an adolescent, and while only half-listening to the talk of some of his companions about an old run-down manor house, recognizes it at once and with a startling lack of surprise, as though he had really always known.

Meaulnes has last been heard of in Paris, and Seurel at once sets out to find him.

This attempt at a résumé of "Le Grand Meaulnes" would be enough to keep anyone from reading the novel. It resembles too nearly the scenario of one of Maeterlinck's early plays or, for that matter, a Hollywood film. It is impossible to make a précis of it—a great many people have tried—without writing something as long as the book itself. The latest exhaustive study of it was published in 1944 by Alfred

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✠ ALFRED A. KNOFF ✠

However, if you believe that reading Max Brod on Kafka helps you to experience "The Castle," nothing of what I have said here has much meaning. All I ask is that you make a mere postscript of Havelock Ellis's introduction, which, though competent, should have been buried with the old beard himself. "We may best approach 'Le Grand Meaulnes,'" he says, "by knowing something of the man who stands behind it." On the contrary, there never existed a book so self-contained.

French poetry can't be translated, but French prose can when someone has the inestimable talent of Françoise Delisle; you can't improve on perfection, and New Directions deserves praise for having reprinted from Houghton Mifflin's 1928 plates. But if there had to be an introduction, Edmund Wilson should have been asked to do it. He seems to me about the only one to convince you that "Le Grand Meaulnes" is unique and universal, like watching your own skin getting wrinkled over the years; the only man to make you tie up the experience of reading "Meaulnes" with that of being dropped, while stooping down to tie your shoelaces in the morning, among the fragments of last night's dream, while in self-defense you relate them even as they fade away with the pattern of the carpet under your eyes.

And without hurrying he went on his way. At the corner of the wood, in between two white posts, appeared a drive which Meaulnes entered. He walked up a few yards and stopped, startled, disturbed by inexplicable feelings. He walked with the same fatigue, the icy wind cut his lips and took his breath away, and yet a strange contentment urged him on, a perfect and almost intoxicating peace, the assurance that his goal had been reached and that he had now nothing but happiness to expect. . . . "So much joy," he said to himself, "just because I am coming to this old dovecot full of owls and drafts."

This passage was certainly not chosen at random, but if you find "Meaulnes" "romantic," there is this to remind you of Zola or Céline: "The funeral is for midday. The doctor fears the rapid decomposition which sometimes follows on an embolism. That's why the face—

as well as the whole body for that matter—is wrapped by absorbent cotton soaked in phenol."

The story of "Le Grand Meaulnes" is that of a quest. In Robert Graves's words: "There is one story and one story only." RENÉ BLANG-ROOS

A Reliable Mediator

POETS AND PUNDITS. A Collection of Essays. By Hugh Fausset. Yale University Press. \$3.50.

THESE are fine essays. In Mr. Fausset's pages the reader will find more poets than pundits, and, of the latter, none, in the pejorative sense of the word. Facing, humbly, the reviewer's first duty—"to act as a reliable mediator between an author and the public and to serve both as sensitively as he can"—Mr. Fausset proves himself sensitive to many kinds of sensitivity, not merely susceptible to his own; he enters into natures as various as those of Whitman and Rilke, Tolstoy and Tennyson, Dorothy Wordsworth and Donne, the Augustans and Edmund Blunden, Hopkins, and De la Mare. Moreover, he is acutely aware of the dilemmas, doubts, and dangers that assail the artist, or any man in our own time who is concerned with the values of the spirit. This awareness, and the sharing of this concern, unite these essays in a common theme and fully justify the author's hope that the theme gives "unity to the book's diversity and a significance beyond that of a mere collection of literary essays." To all but the arrant, or craven, materialist Mr. Fausset's book will afford pleasure, satisfaction, and cause for rejoicing—a heartening collection.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

That Atomic War

WORLD AFLAME. By Leonard Engel and Emanuel S. Piller. The Dial Press. \$2.

THIS book is in a good cause. The authors are describing the state of the world in 1955. From 1950 to 1955 war had been in full swing between (can you guess?) the United States and Soviet Russia. The United States, in 1955, was planning for another five years of all-out war. Up to that time the give and take had been more or

less equal. One hundred of our leading cities had been razed. Some 30,000,000 of our population had been killed, an equal number wounded, and so on. The Russian losses were proportionately of about the same order. The end was nowhere in sight. In fact, contrary to popular notions, this "Atomic War" looked as if it were going to outlast World Wars I and II.

This book deserves wide distribution, if only to remind us of what may be in store for us and for the world.

I suggest a companion volume, of equal if not greater importance—a volume also dealing with the period of 1950-55, but with a different theme: statesmen proved far-sighted enough to prevent war between the two nations, and intelligent enough to provide for the "common man." And now let's look at the world of 1955.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Films

JAMES
AGEE

A CHECKLIST on some new and recent movies:

"Life with Father." Rich, careful, rather heavily proficient. Fun, I suppose; but I can't really enjoy laughing at tyrants, least of all at tyrants who are forgiven because of their innocence. William Powell acts, rather than is, Father rather well, but it's strictly an impersonation. Irene Dunne is painfully miscast as Mother; she would probably keep her tongue in her cheek uttering the Seven Last Words.

"The Secret Life of Walter Mitty." By no means what it might have been if it had used what James Thurber's story offered it, but quite an entertaining movie. I am getting a little wan about Danny Kaye's tonsil-juggling numbers, but there are good bits of henpecking and office life, and at moments during the daydreams Kaye is wonderful. He is so good at his best that it is hard to forgive—or even believe—all that he mishandles. I am sorry that the dreams are set and dressed as fantastic musical-comedy numbers; they would have been much funnier if Mitty had dictated every square inch of his surroundings. The Goldwyn-Thurber correspondence in a recent issue of *Life*, by the way, makes very interesting reading.

"Down to Earth." And so far as I'm

concerned, six feet under it. Mr. Jordan, dry-ice mist, and heaven too.

A Broadway musical called "Swinging the Muses." Terpsichore (Rita Hayworth) intervening to turn this rotten piece of commercial entertainment into still worse high art. There are, however, some prettier than average tunes, and a few glimpses of Miss Hayworth are also prettier than average.

"Black Narcissus." Several nuns get upset by the strange atmosphere of, and surrounding, their new convent, which was formerly a Himalayan harem. (Quite an idea for a musical, that. Take it away, Rita.) One (well played by Kathleen Byron) falls for a local Englishman (David Farrar) and fails to renew her vows. The head nun (Deborah Kerr) just makes Sisterly sheep's eyes at him as he lunges around the sanctuary in his shorts he is not, one gathers, a Believer). There is also a local Holy Man, staring at a peak, and a great deal of talk about the wind and the strangeness of it all. After a while the Sisters give it up as a bad job. It is all intended to be very "psychological," "atmospheric," "rueful," and "worldly-wise." I suspect that the worst faults lie in Rumer Godden's original novel; that Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger were badly mistaken in trying to make a movie of it at all. There is some unusually good color photography, and as movie making some of it is intelligent and powerful. But the pervasive attitude in and toward the picture makes it as a whole tedious and vulgar. P. S.: Barring perhaps one in any hundred who willingly practice it, I

think celibacy is of itself faintly obscene; so I admire still less the dramatic exploitation of celibacy as an opportunity for titillation in the best of taste.

"Frieda." Are all Germans Guilty? This English film spends a long time

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earnestly telling you that some aren't, entirely, and some are, and that time heals, respectively, all wounds and none. It appears that the only thing open to a German who wants really to convince one of a willingness to be reeducated is a sincere attempt at suicide. Mai Zetterling, who was very good in the Swedish film "Torment," is still pretty good in this, but the face and the talent are freezing; unless she is smart and careful, Hollywood will finish her, directly or indirectly. David Farrar, who sets the nuns a-flutter in "Black Narcissus," is also in this one. He might easily become a matinee idol, and he might possibly become something better than that.

"The Long Night." A long, loud, ambitious film, Anatole Litvak's first since the war, about a simple man (Henry Fonda) who is driven to murder by the calculated confusions of a very corrupt man (Vincent Price). It would be interesting to see it on a double bill with its original version, the French "Daybreak." Both films obviously rate themselves as tragedies; both are merely intelligent trash. But the old one is much more discreet with its self-pity and much more sharply edged. The new one depends too heavily on crowd-commotion; noise (there are gruesome distortions of the slow movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony); huge, lugubrious close-ups of Fonda looking adenoidal; and class-angling. It is, however, much better than the run of contemporary movies.

"Thunderbolts." Made by William Wyler during the war too late for re-

lease released now as a recruiting incentive. A record of the bombing and strafing operation which cut off the Germans in Italy from their supplies. A good many incredibly fine air shots, well organized; by a long shot, the best of the movies reviewed above.

Some older movies that are worth seeing, or mentioning anyhow:

"The Macomber Affair." Best movie job on Hemingway, to date. I persist in believing that Zoltan Korda is one of the best directors in Hollywood. "The Woman on the Beach." An exceptionally evocative melodrama, directed by Jean Renoir. "Copacabana." Groucho Marx with a new mustache and a modified style. "The Red House." Back-country melodrama well written and directed by Delmer Daves, who makes good use of his location and of some adolescents. "Torment." The first half is a fine, ardent movie about a schoolboy, a deranged teacher, and a terrified working girl; thereafter it fritters out into pretty good horror melodrama and pale conclusions. "Miracle on 34th Street." Santa Claus (well played by Edmund Gwenn) comes to Herald Square and wraps up the millennium in one neat package. Clever, and pleased with itself, and liked by practically everybody; but since I have always despised the maxim "Honesty is the best policy," I enjoy even less a statement of the profits accruing through faith, loving kindness, etc. I expect next a "witty, tender little fantasy" presenting the Son of God (Sonny Tufts) as God's Customers' Man.

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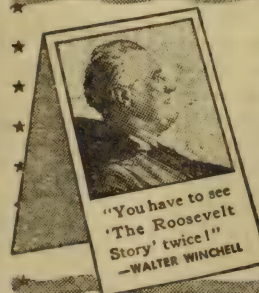
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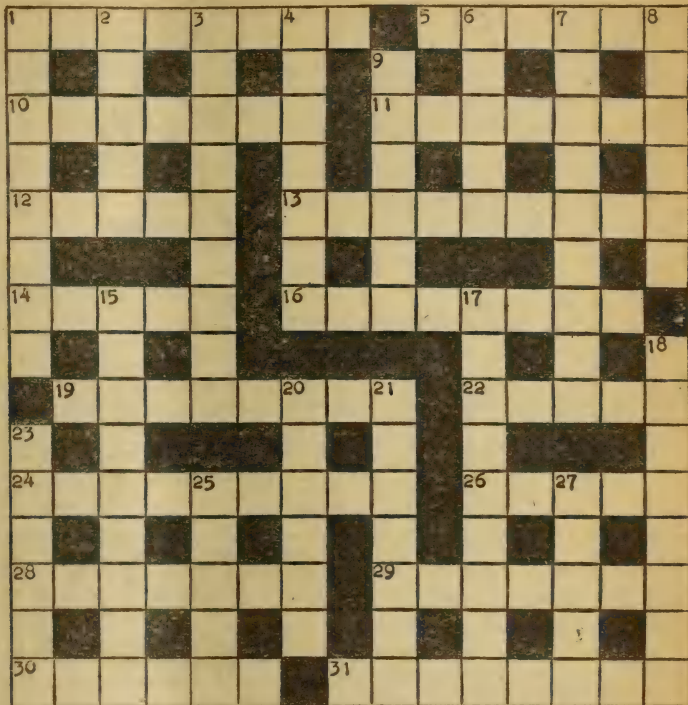
Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 226 By MR. X.

MOSES SMITH'S "Koussevitzky" (Allen, Towne, and Heath, \$4) is the biography that Koussevitzky tried to suppress. On the other hand the Harvard University Press announcement of Dr. Hugo Leichtentritt's "Serge Koussevitzky, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and the New American Music" (\$3) informed me that when the book was being considered Koussevitzky wrote: "I personally believe that Dr. Leichtentritt is one of the few outstanding musicologists of our day, and his book, based on long experience and direct contact with the musical life of this country, will prove of great interest. . . . It would give me much pleasure to see it published by you."

Actually the "long experience and direct contact with the musical life of this country" is that of a German who came here after 1933, and whose knowledge and opinions of much of the music played by Koussevitzky in his earlier years and by the Boston Symphony even before that—and also of what other orchestras and conductors had done for American composers—are only such as could be acquired from the volumes of Boston Symphony program-notes and press-clippings. Furthermore, the scholarship of this "outstanding musicologist" is as little worthy of respect in this book as it was in his article on criticism in the Harvard Dictionary of Music: there, for example, he had newspaper criticism of music beginning with Hanslick, here he has "modern conducting . . . stemming from Wagner"—omitting in each case the work of Berlioz. Moreover, he finds it as easy to invent whatever he needs for his purpose as some of his fellow-scholars do: for example—to show how logical the engagement of Koussevitzky was—the statements that "after the death of Nikisch he had a greater international prestige than any other contemporary conductor," that "the Great War had finished the era of German predominance in the best American orchestras," and that the eminent German conductors had no desire to come here—the truth being that less had been heard here of Koussevitzky than of Furtwängler and Bruno Walter (to say nothing of Toscanini), and that not only were Walter brought over by the New York Symphony in 1923 and Furtwängler by the New York Philharmonic



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the fourth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Once loss is suffered, comforts are all awry
- 5 Mater's a regular babbling brook
- 10 According to the mode, style should conceal garishness
- 11 Electric fans
- 12 Blood-and-sandlot
- 13 Sauce for the goose
- 14 Cross-examine at the bar
- 16 Night lights
- 19 Despire nothing when interpreting special events
- 22 The Cork road to Dublin
- 24 A Latin manual
- 26 It's apparent the voter is confused
- 28 Keep cool first and last if you wish to govern
- 29 This makes a gun so much neater
- 30 Esthete set out tea to boil
- 31 "In Old -----," by Norman Douglas

DOWN

- 1 Map strategy to gain the bivouac
- 2 Gee! In the nude, but it has a light touch
- 3 The cob steals over the hurdles
- 4 Why Elaine's so delightful
- 6 Making a strait flush

- 7 Queer how Circe backed up about a penny
- 8 Merit's in the man
- 9 Rope washer
- 15 Some effrontery is to be expected from an imp and a dunce
- 17 Ha, Marconi never dreamed they'd put this instrument on the radio!
- 18 Gave Thais rye and provoked her frenzy
- 20 Oiled the sea to make it gentle
- 21 Arm us at the Netherlands East Indies
- 23 Civets disappear when he puts out the cats
- 25 Charm of the first spring moon
- 27 Egregious agent provocateur gets off with I. O. U.'s

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 225

ACROSS:—1 LOBSTER; 5 MEDDLER; 9 ROASTED; 10 NOVICES; 11 ELDER; 12 ARM; 13 LOOTS; 14 SERVANT; 16 MERRERS; 18 TEMBLOR; 21 CAPITAL; 24 ANNUL; 26 AIR; 27 STEIN; 28 AVERAGE; 29 ARTICLE; 30 LISPERS; 31 RANGERS.
DOWN:—1 LARGESS; 2 BOARDER; 3 TUTOR; 4 RADIANT; 5 MINIMUM; 6 DEVIL; 7 LECTURE; 8 RESISTS; 15 AWL; 17 RAP; 19 TRAVAIL; 10 MANNERS; 20 REAPERS; 21 CORSAIR; 22 TREACLE; 23 LENDERS; 25 LEASE; 27 SATAN.

during Koussevitzky's first season, but Mengelberg was with the Philharmonic, Reiner with the Cincinnati Symphony, and Klemperer was brought over by the New York Symphony.

In addition, when Leichtentritt writes about the music he does know from performance or from the score, it is with the lack of critical discernment and aesthetic good sense that is characteristic of these scholars, and that produces passages like this one about Copland's "Billy the Kid": "A naive foreigner . . . might ask whether this is a typically American story, and what music has to do with it. Evidently Copland asked himself the same questions, and evidently he did find something typically American in this tale and something fit for musical treatment. As a musician, Copland is concerned with Americanism in its various phases, but also with the dignity of the art of music. Yet in this particular case, one may suspect that commercial reasons prompted him to neglect the dignity of music, as he is otherwise not a specialist in stories appealing to the instincts of the prize ring."

And about Koussevitzky himself as artist and educator, finally, Leichtentritt writes with the factual accuracy and critical judgment of a corporation publicity director writing about the talents and achievements of the corporation's president: in whatever Koussevitzky has done as a musician he has been unflinching and brilliantly right, even where he has been found wrong, and for reasons and principles newly invented to meet the criticisms; in whatever he has said as an educator and propagandist in music he has been profound and prophetic.

Altogether the book is, in fact, what a corporation publicity director would turn out about the corporation and its president, dressed up in pretensions to scholarship. It is, then, a book one can understand a Koussevitzky getting pleasure from seeing published, but not a Harvard University Press publishing.

Smith's excellent book I will have to postpone to next week.

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The Shape of Things

HAD IT NOT BECOME INURED TO MASSACRE, the world would be horrified at what is going on these days in the Punjab. Reports from the region of Amritsar and Lahore estimate the weekly death toll of Moslems and Sikhs at about five thousand. Tens of thousands of helpless refugees are crowding the rain-sodden roads in a desperate attempt to find haven from gangs of fanatics bent on killing. The Prime Ministers of Independent India and Pakistan—Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan—are touring the areas where violence is most intense and appealing for an end to the communal war. So far, the appeals have had little effect. Some will say that this is the first bitter fruit of independence, the evil foretaste of greater trouble to come. Others, more accurately, will diagnose it as the logical outcome of a campaign of agitation and threats which was all too successful in making converts among extremists in the Moslem and Sikh communities. What must be recognized is that the Punjab is as yet an isolated instance of failure. The predicted general conflict between Hindus and Moslems has not materialized, and the two communities have shown a mutual toleration, and their cooperation has surprised even the optimists. The program of economic and political reform mapped out by Nehru, if challenged by the wealthy landlords, princes, and industrialists, is finding support among the masses of the people—Moslem and Hindu alike—in independent India. And, if we are to believe the words of Jinnah, Pakistan, perhaps by a less democratic road, is aiming at similar economic and political goals. The real struggle shaping up in India will not be one rooted in ancient feuds and superstitions but rather a struggle against reaction and toward a more decent life for the Indian people.

★

THREE MONTHS AGO, IN THESE PAGES, Leonard Engel predicted that atomic energy could be made available for peace-time uses within two or three years. Last week-end's announcement of the successful operation of an atomic-power plant that uses fast instead of slow neutrons, confirms this prediction. According to Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, director of the Los Alamos

Scientific Laboratory, the new process is "in a sense a controlled version of the bomb," the energy being released at a steady rate of flow instead of in one explosion. The size of the reactor is so reduced that the experts say it can be used to propel large ships and locomotives, in addition to bringing power to industries far removed from coal, oil, and hydroelectric installations. We are within sight of the second industrial revolution, the consequences of which will be scarcely less far-reaching than those of the first. All of which will, we trust, have some effect in weaning our age away from its present morbid obsession with atomic bombs. The scientists at the United Nations can hardly be blamed. They have just produced a series of reports that seem to provide an adequate basis for international accord on a system of control which, when established, will free peace-time atomic-energy development from its present shrouds of secrecy. Russia, which shows no signs of accepting the new proposals, would stand to gain perhaps even more than we from the vast flow of new power. For the life of us, we can't see what it would lose by becoming a party to a control which we now exercise as a monopoly.

★

NOT TOO SLYLY, THE NEW YORK *DAILY NEWS* suggests that the executives of I. G. Farben are on trial at Nürnberg "because the German army lost the war." There, but for the Grace of Allied arms, it concludes, go Knudsen, Ford, and the officials of General Motors, Chrysler, and du Pont. Had it mentioned Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Aluminum Corporation of America, and Dow Chemical, all of which had close dealings with Farben, its point might have been better taken, but even so it would have fallen wide of the mark. The real point of the trials is that the defendants are accused, not of maintaining the most suffocating cartel ever imposed on world trade, but of committing war crimes for which their accomplices in high office have already been jailed or hanged. We would feel better about the trials if they were, in fact, part of a coherent campaign to smash a national economic machine that twice made it possible for German governments to plunge the world in horror.

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But while the Farben executives fight for their lives, no serious effort is being made to break up their cartel, or such other monster trusts as Siemens, Vereinigte Stahlwerke, or Mannesmann. In a remarkable speech in the House six weeks ago, Representative Sadowski of Michigan demonstrated in detail how "the leaders of German heavy industries and finance—staunch supporters of the Nazi regime—have retained full control of German economic life." And why not, with our Robert Murphy undermining the denazification program and all but repudiating the Potsdam agreement? With General Draper—a vice-president of Dillon, Read and Company, just appointed Under Secretary of War—openly working to rebuild the German steel trust which his firm had financed to the tune of \$125,000,000?

★

YEAR AFTER YEAR, THE NEWSPAPERS AND officials of some chosen city go through the routine of welcoming the American Legion, putting up with its dreary horse play, and sighing with relief when the middle-aged children pack up their water pistols, whistles, and electric sticks and go home. Out of gratitude to those legionnaires who really fought for the country—thousands of them, of course, never smelled enemy powder, while thousands who did would not be caught dead in a Legion uniform—we can easily endure a few days of synthetic carnival. But while the rank-and-file members are inanely engaged in dropping bags of water from hotel windows, their officers and exploiters indulge in more dangerous mischief. Last week, the Legion bureaucrats outdid themselves. The oratory to which they exposed their gullible charges was of the hysterical, if not incendiary, war-with-Russia variety. The speeches by Louis Johnson and General Eisenhower were the only conspicuous exceptions, and cautious as they were, the retiring Legion commander had the effrontery to try to head off Johnson's or force him to modify it. The product of official incitement and membership ignorance was a set of reports and resolutions that included the following principles: The Marshall plan is worth while solely as a dam against the Russians. The Soviet Union is to be condemned for sabotaging the United Nations by its free use of the veto, and we should strengthen the U. N. by rejecting all international controls over atomic energy. The Communist Party should be outlawed and the Bill of Rights amended to make easier the suppressing of subversive elements. "Socialistic" is the word for the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, but government housing cannot be ignored entirely; we must see that it is barred to members of un-American organizations. After reviewing this "serious work" of the Legion's officials, we almost respect the wholesome intelligence of the humble legionnaire whose sole convention business was to chase blondes up the street at the point of a fake red paintbrush.

America's Guilt in Britain's Crisis

[Uncle Sam is not Uncle Shylock. But his lack of political sophistication, his small-town bankers' view of economics and finance, his belligerent conviction that he is beholden to nobody, and his incapacity, born of the smug knowledge that he is today the Croesus of the world, to realize the plight of less fortunate people or to understand how their misfortune can possibly affect him often make him act like Uncle Shylock. And American behavior in the matter of aid to Britain and Europe is a tragic case in point.]

[In the nature of the case, it is hard for Americans to realize how their behavior looks to the rest of the world. They should—and for that reason, we reprint below sections from an article in the London Economist of August 23, which seems to us both perceptive and just.]

IT WOULD be wrong to say that American opinion as a whole is uninformed about the plight of Europe or insensitive to it. The State Department, some Congressmen, and the more responsible newspapers are anxious, sympathetic, and eager to discover some method by which the inconvenient logicalities of the American Constitution can be circumvented and aid made available in time. It is a situation very similar to that of 1940-41. But, as at that time, it is the rest of American opinion that has to be reckoned with, and though there is less active hostility to Britain than at many times in the past—except among the Zionists, who probably do the British cause more good, on balance, than harm—there is equally less willingness to understand why any effort should be made to help.

Sir Wilfrid Eady has come up against a typical representative of this attitude in Mr. Snyder, the Missouri banker who found himself with some suddenness projected into the office of Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Snyder has declared himself to be sympathetic to the British case, but it has also been made clear that the sympathy is of the brand that a Missouri banker is accustomed to show to a borrower who has run through one loan and now requires both to be released from some of the conditions of that loan and granted a new one. The banker will sit and listen, but the onus of proof is on the borrower and the proof had better be a good one.

It would be a waste of time to try to explain to people with this psychological approach that the fault for the present crisis—if fault there must be—is far more America's than Britain's. The loan was far too small when it was made, as the British pointed out at the time. The conditions attached to it were unworkable, as was also pointed out at the time. The sharp reduction in the real value of the loan was due to the rise in American prices, following upon the abandonment of price control in America. The world-wide dollar crisis, which hurled the convertibility provision into a disaster, is due to the fact that the American balance of payments has got out of control. Nothing could have been done

about any of these things by any British action or inaction. Contributory negligence there has certainly been from the British side, but it has been of smaller importance . . .

American opinion should be warned that over here, in Great Britain, one has the feeling of being driven into a corner by a complex of American actions and insistencies which, in combination, are quite intolerable. Not many people in this country believe the Communist thesis that it is the deliberate and conscious aim of American policy to ruin Britain and everything that Britain stands for in the world. But the evidence can certainly be read that way. And if, every time that aid is extended, conditions are attached which make it impossible for Britain ever to escape the necessity of going back for still more aid, obtained with still more self-abasement and on still more crippling terms, then the result will certainly be what the Communists predict, whether or not it is what the Americans intend. The crippling of the British export trades that was one of the conditions of Lend-Lease increased the dimensions of the aid that was required in 1945. And the famous Articles VII to X of the loan agreement, with their obligations of convertibility and non-discrimination, have brought the British back to Washington earlier and in worse plight than was necessary.

IS IT really the Americans' wish that this process should continue? They should be warned that, every time it is repeated, something more is subtracted from the British willingness to offer genuine cooperation in building the sort of world that Americans want. Do they really prefer a resentful dependency to a self-supporting and self-respecting friend? They should realize that the British government has made very great efforts, and has been willing to run great risks, in agreeing with American conceptions of international economic policy. The risks of convertibility have proved all too real. Non-discrimination, if it is applied in the months to come, will be the means of starving the British people. Yet even now, at Geneva, the British representatives are in process of committing this country, in the proposed charter of the International Trade Organization, to sweeping general principles which, however excellent they may be in theory, are likely to prove in practice to be equally dangerous. No government could have put more of its own interests in pawn to pledge its good-will; no other government has even tried to make a similar effort. Yet those who would search in Washington for the credit that Britain has earned thereby would need the patience of Diogenes.

For the present, the Americans still retain the power to make the British government jump through any hoop they choose. For it is the ultimate calamity that, for all the brave talk of standing on our own feet, the misfortunes that would fall upon the British people if there were no dollars at all are such that no British government could face them. But this dependence will not last forever. A time will come when, by a combination of external events and internal efforts, Britain will be able to do without dollars at a cost that will be bearable. Do the Americans, when that time comes, want the British to regard the cutting loose from America, the erection of barriers against America, as a boon so great that the highest bearable price will be cheerfully

paid for it at the earliest possible moment? They can be assured that there are very many Englishmen who would regard anything of the sort as an unparalleled disaster, as the final and irremediable losing of the peace that so much common blood and treasure were spent to win. But they can also be assured that that is the way things are drifting at present.

Mr. Marshall, in his great speech at Harvard in June, called on the European nations for a great imaginative effort. They are responding, and in a more far-reaching way than might have been expected. In return, Europeans have the right to ask the Americans to make an equally great effort of imagination. Let them forget, for the moment, their own conviction that their present wealth and strength are the result of superior virtue and remember the Europeans' conviction that they are merely due to better luck. Let them worry less about what they can afford to give and more about what they cannot afford not to give. Let them above all try to realize what it feels like to be in other men's shoes.

The Palestine Report

FROM the moment it was appointed, the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine was condemned to do exactly what it did—produce recommendations none of the parties interested would willingly accept. The first reactions of Jews and Arabs are critical; those of the Jews in varying degree, those of the Arabs unanimously and without qualification. As we write, the British have said nothing, officially, but their objections are not hard to predict.

The Nation also differs with the report at several important points, particularly on the question of area and borders. Just the same, we believe both sets of recommendations prepared for the General Assembly are distinguished by a high degree of fairness and objectivity. Whether or not they are adopted by the Assembly, whether or not, if adopted, they are agreed to by the British and carried into effect, they represent an honest, intelligent attempt to find a way out of one of the nastiest dilemmas of our time. Above all, they show remarkable freedom from the constraints of power politics. Clearly, the problem was considered on its merits and not in terms of the special interests of one or another great power. That in itself is an achievement.

We favor the majority report, proposing two separate states linked by a common economic council, over that of the minority, which favors a bi-national federal union of Jewish and Arab states. Ideally, the second sounds more desirable; in a society where race and religion played a less destructive role, a bi-national Palestine would be an obvious democratic solution. But in a society divided by communal interests and sharply conflicting ways of life, a federal state such as the minority members suggest could not be trusted to protect the vital interests of Palestine's Jews. Under this scheme, the con-

trol of foreign relations and taxation and, above all, of immigration would be left to the central government. But the legislative, administrative, and judicial structure proposed would assure representatives of the Arab majority the final word on all federal matters. When one reflects on the solid, unbending opposition of every organized Arab faction to the admission to Palestine of a single additional Jew, and on the attitude of the Arab Higher Committee toward even the existing Jewish population, one can easily imagine the decisions a federal Palestine government would reach on questions of immigration and the protection and development of Jewish institutions. We do not doubt the good intention of Iran, India, and Yugoslavia, the creators of this plan, but we believe their recommendations should be rejected.

THE constitutional provisions proposed by the majority are interesting and, at first look, thoroughly realistic. They take account of the need and desire of both peoples for genuine sovereign powers, while recognizing the absolute necessity for common economic arrangements. Under the majority plan, drawn up by Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay, the two Palestinian states would be quite separate in structure and political powers, but they would subscribe in advance to a treaty creating an economic union. The functions of the union would be to establish a customs union, a common currency, operation of transportation and ports; also to promote "joint economic development especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation, and soil conservation." The economic board to be set up under the plan would have as members three representatives each of the Jewish and Arab states and "three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations." In this provision lies the promise of a future prosperous Palestine, capable not only of absorbing many hundred thousands of homeless Jews but of providing a human standard of life for the Arab masses as well.

The political proposals in the majority plan are similar to many that have been made by earlier advocates of partition, including those in the memorandum submitted to the assembly last April by the Nation Associates. They provide for democratic procedures in the election of constituent assemblies in both states (including suffrage for women!) and insist upon democratic safeguards in the constitutions to be written. They take particular care of the citizenship rights of members of the minority group in each state, insuring them the chance to "opt" for citizenship in the other state if they prefer it. But the constitutional details of the plan are less important than its broad outlines, geographical as well as political.

Without question, the commission tried to fix boundaries that met the minimum requirements of both peoples. By and large, it succeeded pretty well; at certain critical

points it failed. Arab leaders are not talking about what they like and what they dislike, since they are committed against the whole scheme. Just the same, the inclusion of Jaffa in the Jewish area must have been a particularly painful jolt, for Jaffa is, in effect, the Arab capital of Palestine, the center of Arab urban life. Under Jewish authority, it could well be a focus of trouble. Apart from this, the Arabs received all they could rationally claim in a divided state.

The Jews did not. They argued for the inclusion of western Galilee, partly because it contains many flourishing Jewish colonies and is geographically part of the coastal area assigned to the Jewish state; partly because it reaches up to and borders upon Lebanon. Close relations between Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon are most desirable. In spite of Lebanon's resistance to Zionist claims in the United States, its long-range interests unquestionably lie with the growth of a vigorous Jewish community, able to resist—and help Lebanon to resist—the pressure of the Moslem majority in the Levant. To establish an almost detached wedge of Arab Palestine between Lebanon and the Jewish state is, in our opinion, a serious mistake.

On the other hand, the commission showed independence as well as good sense in allotting the Negev to the Jews. This arid, almost empty area, forbidding to the ordinary settler, represents one of the pioneering dreams of Jewish Palestine. Several colonies have already been planted there, and others will come as fast as land is made available. But the large-scale development of the great sandy triangle as a productive area capable of sustaining a settled population will depend upon the building of a Jordan Valley project to provide power and water. If the Negev is finally included in a Jewish state, the British will have lost an important future base for military installations outside, but adjacent to, Egypt. For this reason, among several others, it is not likely that Britain's delegates at the Assembly will welcome the commission's majority recommendations.

THE other reasons are large and obvious. Whether or not Britain wants to find a way to withdraw from Palestine—and most close observers believe it does not—it can hardly enjoy being asked by an international commission to get out. Point 1 of the unanimous recommendations that open the report calls for the ending of the mandate at the earliest "practicable" moment. Point 4 would permit Britain to continue to administer Palestine "during the transitional period" under authority of the United Nations, a rather dubious privilege in view of Points 2 and 3, which call for independence for Palestine after a brief period of preparation, and of the majority suggestion that 150,000 Jewish immigrants be admitted to the proposed Jewish state at a regular monthly rate of 30,000—beginning right away. To administer Palces-

tine on these terms would be like assisting at one's own wake, and Britain is not likely to jump at the chance. If Bevin feels forced to acquiesce in the general scheme of independence and partition, he will surely demand help, presumably from America, in liquidating his country's power under conditions of which he violently disapproves. The most one can expect is that he will live up to his promise to accept unanimous recommendations, which means at least accepting the end of the mandate; beyond this, one can only hope. To Bevin, Palestine is not India; it is a strategic area he wants to hold on to, in spite of past promises to a people he doesn't much like under any circumstances. Bevin's admitted anti-Semitism may yet be a factor to be reckoned with.

In any case, the idea of keeping Britain on the job as administering power while the new states are being defined and set up seems to us thoroughly impractical. British rule in Palestine is discredited in the eyes of the world and detested by both Arabs and Jews. A far better plan would be the one proposed in the Nation Associates memorandum: to withdraw the mandate from Britain and place Palestine under the direct authority of the United Nations with the protection of an international police force, perhaps on the Trieste model since no permanent United Nations force has been agreed upon.

The Arab position is settled. No bargaining or cajoling—far less, reasoning—is going to affect it. If either plan is adopted, it will have to be imposed upon the Arab leaders in Palestine and upon the Arab states which have made the Palestine case their own. Persons who shrink from an imposed decision should recall that no modification or compromise will produce agreement; the Arabs themselves have officially made that clear.

The Jewish position is uncertain. Moderate Zionists seem inclined to accept the majority proposals with certain specific qualifications. The more extreme elements, who have opposed partition right along, will undoubtedly raise many arguable objections. In the end, Jewish approval is likely, except among the terrorist fringe, if only because the alternative is a future of endless, destructive struggle—and further unthinkable misery for the refugees. The voyage of the *Exodus* will help rally Jews to the commission's plan.

What about the United States? The attitude of this country may be decisive in the U. N. even though it is not a primary "party in interest." For months, as Thomas J. Hamilton points out on page 219, the State Department has been pretending that we have no policy on Palestine—despite a generation of firm commitments. Oil and Russia have intervened to throw doubt on American honesty and steadfastness, but the commission's report will put the Administration's intentions to an early test. A strong voice from the country may help to crystallize them.

Politics and People

BY ROBERT BENDINER

[With this column we introduce a new feature by Robert Bendiner, intended to keep our readers posted on the ways and wiles of politicians as the country heads toward the quadrennial spasm of a Presidential election. People and Politics will appear at frequent intervals from now to November, 1948.]

SUCH are the palates of politicians that no words of their own are ever too bitter to swallow. Senator Pepper, who for at least a year has not been noticeably kinder than the Republican National Committee in his references to President Truman, now finds him not merely sincere, honest, and humane, but the very "salt of the earth." And A. F. Whitney, blandly supporting Truman for reelection, is in no visible way embarrassed by the fact that only last summer he pledged himself to raise a million dollars to defeat the President who had smashed the railroad strike, the man about whom he delighted in telling the kind of off-shade stories that Westchester commuters once told of Roosevelt as they rode to work on the "Assassination Special." But Pepper, as an associate of mine neatly puts it, is always to be taken with a grain of salt; and Whitney's ire, largely personal in its inspiration, faded out with the issues that roused it.

There are others, however, for whom an about-face will not be so simple, and some for whom it will hardly be possible. The Communists and many who follow them, even at a respectable distance, are guided exclusively by considerations of foreign policy. To them the man who promulgated the Truman Doctrine regained not an inch of stature by vetoing the Taft-Hartley bill. And in foreign policy there is no apparent prospect of a change that they can regard favorably. One of the more speculative aspects of the Presidential campaign, therefore, will be the course chosen by these anti-Trumanites, who are neither impelled to reverse themselves for reasons of domestic policy, as Whitney did, nor committed, like Pepper, to the Democratic Party, right or wrong, win or lose.

THAT these voters will find solace in a third party of national dimensions becomes every week less probable. Actually their hope was doomed when Philip Murray turned a deaf ear, thus depriving them of the use of the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee as a spearhead. Murray's position has now been made clear beyond all doubt by David J. McDonald, his lieutenant in the Steel Workers' Union and secretary-treasurer of P. A. C. "The drive for labor goals," Mr. McDonald says flatly,

"will be made through the established parties." Without the C. I. O., without the A. F. of L., which was never counted on, and without the Railway Brotherhoods, which were, the campaigners for a third party in 1948 are left nursing an empty threat and pondering a nice dilemma. If they persist in following a mirage, they either isolate themselves from labor or divide its ranks; and if they abandon the idea, what choice have they but to back Truman against a probably worse opponent?

For the moment the course appears to be one of laying down the third-party issue and Presidential talk altogether. When the subject recently threatened to produce in New York's American Labor Party one of those amoeba-like divisions that characterize leftist politics, the Communists immediately relaxed their pressure. Reaction, the party's state secretary lamely explained in the *Daily Worker*, "is attempting to identify the third-party movement in New York and elsewhere solely with the prospects of a third Presidential ticket in 1948, and on this issue is attempting to divide and disintegrate the natural adherents and supporters of the third-party trend." The Communists, he indicated, were ready to subordinate the issue to the larger ones of preserving the unity of the A. L. P. and building nationally for the future. Even taking this explanation at its face value—always an unwarranted course in politics—it appears that the comrades are resigned to forgetting the notion of Wallace in '48. And if they have given up, it is not far-fetched to imagine that the Progressive Citizens' Committee, left to itself, will quietly drop the idea before long.

DOES this mean that disaffected Democrats will creep back to the Truman camp? Probably. But two other possibilities are still open. First, they might choose to ignore the Presidential campaign entirely and confine their activities to the Congressional races. In the event that Dewey or Taft is the Republican nominee, it would be understood, probably, that Truman was to be preferred and voted for, but enthusiasm for him would be kept to the level reserved in politics for Lesser Evils.

An alternative is one that the Republicans themselves ironically might provide, to wit, the nomination of General Eisenhower. It would be rash to anticipate the reaction of the left to such a move, and I make no predictions, but it would be foolish to ignore the possibilities. Eisenhower sentiment has not yet reached the boom stage, and it may never do so, but it is unquestionably growing, and all the faster because of the likelihood of a Dewey-Taft deadlock at the convention. Ike-for-President buttons have bobbed up in various parts of the country, and Wall Street money is reported to be quietly slipping away from Dewey and moving in the direction of the General, whose publicity grows steadily in volume.

A Gallup poll last week showed that 35 per cent of those questioned would like to see Eisenhower run, which is startling when one recalls that in earlier polls not more than 4 per cent of Republicans and 6 per cent of Democrats ever mentioned him when asked to make a choice for 1948.

THE pertinent aspect of the Eisenhower build-up is that it originated in labor circles. The inspiration was Sidney Hillman's, acquired in the course of his last trip to Europe, and the idea made headway at the 1946 convention of the C. I. O. Eisenhower, as guest of honor, made a notably favorable impression. Not only did he eulogize labor in general, which is standard operating procedure for men in public life, but he spoke warmly of the "benefits that have been brought to the American working people" specifically by the trade unions. He had already pleased the left by telling audiences here and

in Europe that he was "convinced that no major nation in the world wants a global war," but this has probably been canceled out by the sharp references to Russia's free use of the veto which he made in the course of his speech to the American Legion. Many delegates at the C. I. O. convention read significance into Murray's carefully enunciated farewell to the General. "Every man and woman in this hall," he said, to great and prolonged applause, "is a friend of yours."

Of course that was before Truman had preempted the Democratic nomination and before the Republicans had revealed themselves to the country in all their legislative glory. As a Democratic nominee Eisenhower would sweep in the union vote, but to ask labor to support him as a Republican, with all the political baggage he would necessarily carry along with him, would admittedly put an appalling strain on the friendship proclaimed by Mr. Murray.

Washington and the United Nations

BY THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Lake Success, September 2

WHETHER it is because of the ineptness of Soviet diplomacy or for the more fundamental reason that Soviet aims are incompatible with a peaceful and orderly world, the United States will play an even more important role at the coming session of the United Nations General Assembly than heretofore. In particular, the Soviet attitude toward the Balkan problem, which is likely to be the most bitterly contested issue, has won friends and influenced people for the American side.

Considerations of *Realpolitik* are never overlooked in the most technical diplomatic conversation, and it would be unrealistic to disregard the fact that the United States is now not only the greatest military power but the only source of food and machinery for war-crippled countries. But new strength has been given to the American position by the succession of Soviet vetoes and by the general intransigence of Soviet officials at Lake Success and everywhere else that the Soviet Union is in contact with the outside world.

The United States is therefore able to raise a standard around which the wise and honest may rally. If it does so, it can completely dominate the meeting at Flushing Meadows. The permanent delegates are saying that this will be a critical session, that the future of the United Nations largely depends on it. The position taken by the United States on the principal issues therefore will be of

fundamental importance in determining whether the basis of an enduring peace can be laid.

The United States hardly lived up to its opportunities or its responsibilities at previous sessions of the General Assembly. A year ago, when the Assembly held its first meeting in this country, Mr. Molotov was allowed to take the initiative with his disarmament proposal. It was largely because of the efforts of better-briefed delegations, particularly the Canadian, that the resulting storm blew itself out in a resolution that at least did not jeopardize the work already done by the Atomic Energy Commission. Other countries took the lead on such matters as the Franco regime in Spain and the discrimination against Indians in South Africa, and the American delegation found itself in a position where it could soften but not hold up the resolutions that gave mortal offense to Franco and Marshal Smuts.

On the other hand, although the Assembly was hard-put to keep up with the astonishing reversals of position by Warren R. Austin, the chief United States representative, it followed through to the end on the site question, and accepted Mr. Rockefeller's offer of the East River location. Even more inexorably the United States held fast on the matter of supplying international relief after the liquidation of UNRRA, and Secretary General Trygve Lie was authorized to ascertain the need without being given the slightest means of doing anything about it.

At the special session on Palestine the leadership of the United States was noticeable mainly in a series of procedural maneuvers which somehow or other

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created the impression that we were sympathetic with the Arabs. We said nothing about President Truman's reiterated demands for the admission of 100,000 Jews, though we did not say anything particularly friendly to the Arabs either. We were not showing our hand, and neither were the Russians; so the Assembly managed to set up a committee of inquiry with relatively little difficulty. A panel suggested by the United States contained most of the countries placed on the committee. We declared we had no policy on Palestine and would not have any until the committee submitted its report. That gave us a delay of four months, but this reprieve is now coming to an end, and sooner or later the walls of the skating rink at Flushing Meadows will echo with a statement that will give mortal offense either to the Arab countries and the American oil companies doing business with them or to the pro-Zionist Jewish vote in the United States, or to both.

Partition now appears to be the best hope of settling the Palestine question, and Mr. Gromyko has already indicated that he would accept it as a last resort. It is apparently agreeable to the United States as well. If the committee of inquiry proposed the return of the twelve lost tribes to their former home, the General Assembly would acquiesce if both Washington and Moscow wanted it. No solution is conceivable unless the United States and the Soviet Union do agree.

Looking at the situation from the most hopeful point of view, the vital question now is what steps can be taken to carry out the General Assembly's recommendation. It is obvious that force must be used, and it is equally obvious that the United Nations has none at its command—even the long-talked-of "international police force" would be at the disposal of the Security Council, not of the Assembly. Judging from the recent fighting in Palestine, in which Arabs as well as Jews are now taking part, a major effort will be required.

The British have the only immediately available troops, and they are less and less inclined to carry the burdens of empire in the Mediterranean. In any case, they have made it clear that although they will *accept* any decision on Palestine by the General Assembly, they will not *carry out* any decision which does not square with their conscience and their means, or which is unacceptable to both sides. The British will certainly have an out if they choose to use it.

A FEW months ago, in the relatively halcyon days of the United Nations, it appeared that plans for the permanent headquarters would be the second outstanding problem. It is still a problem, although other and even more controversial issues have arisen. As for the site, it is obvious that the other members of the United Nations will find the greatest difficulty in supplying the dollars required for their share. Sixty-five million dollars, the latest revised estimate, is not much when it is

divided among fifty-five countries, but the accentuated austerity program in England is a fair indication of the foreign-exchange situation in many countries.

It may be that the undignified device of mortgaging the new buildings to Massachusetts insurance companies is the only way, though hard-boiled insurance men cannot be expected to put up the full amount. This seems to be the opinion of some of the members of Mr. Lie's high command, who obviously hope that such an example of self-help, if not thrift, will wring the heart of Mr. Taber and thereby bring an appropriation from the United States Congress for the remainder. The other alternatives are to get the United States to put up its entire share at once and perhaps lend the balance; to require the fifty-five member nations to come across with United States dollars in time to pay the contractors; to postpone—or abandon—the whole idea of a "workshop for peace" among the topless towers of Manhattan.

It is to be feared that dollar-poor members will raise niggling objections to the magnificent design prepared by Wallace K. Harrison and his international committee unless the United States delegation is able to offer generous financial support. Undeniable difficulties stand in the way of such an offer, for Congress is not in session, Senator Vandenberg and Senator Connally will not serve as members of the delegation, and the State Department is justifiably cautious about committing the guardians of the nation's purse strings. On the other hand, the digging of foundations and the erection of steel girders for the permanent home of the United Nations would undoubtedly have a tonic effect on world opinion.

Already, of course, the less stout-hearted champions of collective security are beginning to say that they are afraid the United Nations will be mostly a debating society by the time the headquarters is built, if it is built.

THE last few weeks have certainly provided a field day for the pessimists. A succession of Soviet vetoes on the Balkan question and the related question of new members has left little of the principle of great-power unanimity. The fact that France invoked the veto on the Indonesian question was at least as damaging as any baker's dozen of Soviet vetoes, for it removed the notion prevalent among many that the veto is a diabolical Russian device which is eschewed by the four other right-thinking great powers. Until now these right-thinking countries have had the votes to block any resolution in the Security Council without having to rely on the veto. The French veto left many with the suspicion that even China, even Great Britain, and even the United States, might invoke it if things started getting tough for their side.

In any event, the veto question will be raised in various guises: in the report on the rejected applicants—ten this year, instead of the five of 1947; in the formal

protest by the Perón regime against such an undemocratic device; and finally, and most serious of all, in the formal United States appeal to the General Assembly from the Soviet vetoes on the Balkan question. It is to be noted that the new United States proposals for defining the veto, if they mean anything at all, do not really limit its operation on important questions. They even confirm the use of the veto on all matters arising out of Chapter VI—matters that threaten peace—as well as out of Chapter VII, which applies to shooting wars. Nevertheless, the United States very clearly means business in the Balkan situation, even though the General Assembly, equally clearly, has the power to make recommendations only, not to give orders binding upon all members of the United Nations.

Some delegates think the United States will have trouble in getting the required two-thirds' majority for Assembly recommendations on the Balkans. But it is to be hoped that the State Department is giving the necessary consideration to the steps to be taken if the Assembly accepts the United States resolution, and the Soviet-dominated countries of Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria refuse to pay any attention to it. Mr. Johnson has already suggested that in such a case we would invoke Article 51 of the Charter, which authorizes both individual and collective action for self-defense pending action by the Security Council. It seems obvious that this is a dangerous policy, however necessary it may be to prevent the Communist coup which the State Department still anticipates as an answer to the Truman doctrine.

The threat seems to be part of a full-scale diplomatic offensive that the United States has launched in the United Nations in the past few weeks. We are now giving blow for blow, and every now and then Mr. Johnson lets Mr. Gromyko have one for old times even when the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister is apparently just looking at his shoestrings. These tactics no doubt will be continued and stiffened when the interest shifts from Lake Success to Flushing Meadows. There is every reason to welcome more adequate statements of the American point of view, which certainly have been deficient in contrast with the arguments *ad hominem* of the Kremlin's representatives. But it seems worth reminding our delegation that the United Nations organization, imperfect though it certainly is, is based on the hope that prevailed at San Francisco for cooperation among the great powers, and specifically between the United States and the Soviet Union. If the other countries are forced to choose, an overwhelming majority will certainly take our side. With respect to the issue of the creation of a Balkan border commission, our side is obviously right. But it is to be hoped that the United States delegation will ponder the results of a series of victories that might leave the United Nations unalterably divided into two camps. If the United Nations can weather this meeting of the General Assembly without a marked loss in prestige, it can look forward to a healthy future, but it is still too young to survive a decisive contest. Perhaps if the showdown is postponed, and if the peace treaties can be written before the 1948 Assembly convenes, no showdown will be necessary.

Crisis for British Labor

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, August 20

TO PEOPLE who, like your correspondent, have lived through the past half-century there is something disquieting in fine weather over England. The sky was cloudless when a defeated British army reeled back from Mons; over London the days and nights were halcyon as Hitler's armored divisions drove across Poland; and this August a cloudless heaven has given England unbroken sunshine while a crisis has developed which threatens not only next winter's food rations but something much more important—the success of Mr. Attlee's government and the whole future of British Social Democracy. As the sunlit weeks have passed, the question to emerge has been not so much whether Britain's Ship of State has a compass as whether it has a rudder.

The story begins with the private meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party on July 30. M. P.'s assembled for that meeting in considerable disquiet. It had become clear that the dollar loan would be exhausted earlier than the most pessimistic had predicted; it was not understood why Mr. Dalton—flying, it was said, in the face of United States Treasury advice to the contrary—had gone ahead with plans to make sterling on current account convertible as from July 15 in spite of the mounting drain on the dollar credit; and there had been a spate of rumors, sedulously fomented by the Tory press, that the Prime Minister intended to form a coalition government and appeal to the country on that basis for a mandate. From the meeting, however, sufficient news ran the gauntlet of parliamentary privilege and appeared in the press to make it clear that Ministers had assured their supporters that the crisis would be tackled resolutely and on Socialist lines. Mr. Attlee appears to have forestalled attacks from the "Keep Left" group

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by promising a drastic scaling down of the armed forces; and the keynote of his speech, forecasting the program to be laid before Parliament, was that there would be no whittling down of socialist policy and that Britain would seek at all costs greater economic independence from the United States.

A week passed, a week in which the Cabinet met and met again. The press gave the crisis a tremendous build-up: ruthless economies in imports were forecast; a real siege economy was to be enacted; there was to be no more temporizing with the problem of dollar scarcity; unparalleled sacrifices were to be demanded all around. Newspaper readers really sat up and took notice: there was something of the Dunkirk temper in the atmosphere. But when Mr. Attlee announced the government's crisis plan in Parliament on August 6, it became only too clear that the series of Cabinet meetings had witnessed not the final formulation of a logical, precise program for dealing with the emergency but the reassertion by Ernest Bevin of his fatal supremacy over his colleagues. Contrary to what the Parliamentary Labor Party had been led to believe, no radical modification in Britain's costly foreign policy or its commitments abroad was indicated: a derisory cut of 80,000 in the strength of the services was all that Mr. Attlee promised for the next six months, and it appeared that by the end of 1948 there would still be the economically intolerable total of 840,000 in "uniformed unemployment."

The shock administered to government supporters on the back benches was profound; and the rest of the government's program only increased the bewilderment. Faced with a deficit of at least £700,000,000 in Britain's balance of foreign payments, Mr. Attlee gave no sign that a serious attempt would be made to bridge the gap. There were to be, it is true, some fresh austerities—a 12 per cent cut in the number of points available for the purchase of certain non-rationed foods, a mild reduction in petrol allowances, and a stiff tax on imported films. By these cuts and by letting stocks of foodstuffs and raw materials run down during the next twelve months perhaps the foreign-payments' gap might be narrowed by £200,000,000. But what of the balance of £500,000,000? Mr. Attlee had no suggestions to offer beyond expressing the hope that the coal and steel industries would attain higher production and that by the end of next year we should be exporting half as much again as we are today. In key industries, he hoped, longer hours would be worked; and he spoke encouragingly if vaguely of the possibility of taking steps to correct the present maldistribution of labor as between essential and unessential occupations. Parliament was left with the impression that it had been presented with a hastily gathered bagful of improvisations.

The immediate consequence was a memorial to the Prime Minister from Labor M. P.'s of all shades of opin-

ion demanding another meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party before Parliament dispersed for the recess. That meeting was held on August 11, by which time the House of Commons—the Lords subsequently assenting—had given the government the widest possible powers to deal with the crisis by means of administrative decree. What Labor M. P.'s wanted to know was whether the government intended in fact to make use of the powers accorded it. Above all, had the Cabinet really said its last word about the possibility of service retrenchment, and were the patently ineffective measures so far announced for dealing with the economic crisis to be regarded simply as a piece of window-dressing paraded in the hope that the United States Treasury would be sufficiently impressed to provide further dollar credits in anticipation of Congressional approval? And, if so, did this mean that part of the price to be paid would be the shelving of the promised bill to nationalize the steel industry in Britain and the indorsement of American plans to revitalize the heavy industries of the Ruhr on the basis of private enterprise? The party appears to have got a dusty answer. They were told that the size of the armed forces would be kept constantly under review; that it was for the Cabinet to decide if and when the steel industry should be brought under social control; and that nothing could be said at present about coming negotiations in Washington with reference to the future of Germany. "Have we a policy?" one Labor M. P. asked another as they left the meeting. "Have we a government?" was the retort.

The crack is, in one sense, unfair: the government is functioning, and from a strictly departmental point of view is functioning efficiently enough. What is missing is a coordinated plan stated simply and intelligibly so as to evoke a positive response from the common people. That such a response would be given to an appeal couched in clear terms is beyond doubt. Even as it is, the miners have agreed in principle to work longer hours, and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress is raising no objection to the proposal that labor should be directed into undermanned key industries—a proposal which Mr. Churchill attacked with extravagant vehemence last week-end. The trouble is that too many people realize that the measures which the government proposes are at best a half-hearted compromise. For example, the plan for the direction of labor is apparently to apply only to men and women who become unemployed; that is, before essential industries can be provided with "directed" recruits from unessential industries, the latter will have to be gradually slowed down by being given smaller quotas of fuel and raw materials—a slow process which can do little to reduce employment in wasteful occupations, such as the betting industry and the host of middle-men transactions, in which raw materials are not a relevant factor.

Compromises are not a spur to individual effort, least of all when the ultimate objective is not clearly discerned, and complete uncertainty about where we are going is beginning to impair both the nation's will to work and the morale of the Labor Party. The impression is universal that a great opportunity to rouse the country in support of a dramatic five-year plan has been lost, and that a divided Cabinet cannot yet make up its mind whether Britain's economy is to be geared to Wall Street or whether we must abandon hopes of multilateral trade expansion and seek outside the dollar area countries whose specific needs we can supply in return for the food and raw materials we cannot do without. At the moment bewilderment at the government's apparent complacency, mixed with vague apprehension that every month the situation is going to get more and more out of control, is leading to a sense of frustration and to cynicism.

August 29, by Cable

THE developments of the past weeks have done nothing toward modifying the impression that the Cabinet is prisoner to adverse circumstances and hopelessly deficient in a positive policy. Stopping the convertibility of sterling was an inevitable reaction to the grossly underestimated drain on dollar resources after July 15. Significantly, Eady, according to Snyder, did not ask for an American waiver to Article 9, which suggests that

the Cabinet is unable to face the implications of the breakdown of multilateralism and is reluctant to risk American displeasure by developing discriminatory but vitally essential new avenues for British trade with the dominions and Europe.

The ban on pleasure motoring and travel abroad, announced last night, adds only £30,000,000 to foreign-exchange savings as previously published, leaving a two-thirds' gap which still has to be bridged. Public opinion is increasingly disquieted by the likelihood that a negative policy on import restrictions will be continued and is reacting adversely to foreign ability to purchase British exports, such as motors. Both the left and the right press are universally hostile and deplore the absence of any constructive proposals to increase production.

This is particularly regrettable in the coal industry. The miners' offer to work every Saturday was rejected by the government on the unconvincing excuse of inability to afford payment for the overtime; it preferred to substitute eight hours for seven and a half on Monday and Friday. Rightly or wrongly the miners believe this proposal, which admittedly is less efficacious in terms of increased output, represents the first step, as dictated by the United States, toward the permanent abandonment of the seven-and-a-half-hour day and the subsequent enforcement of a forty-eight-hour week. The suspicion is causing bitterness in the coal fields and prejudicing the chances of a voluntary increase in effort.

Is the Constitution Un-American?

BY I. F. STONE

THE pro-fascist character of the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee was best displayed in the contempt proceedings against the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. In other cases of this kind fundamental issues have been obscured by divisions of opinion about the nature of the Communist Party and of Communist activity; the pro-fascist bias of the Dies committee and its successors has generally been covert and implicit. In the action against the J. A. F. R. C., however, the motives, the purposes, and the philosophy of the Un-American Activities Committee have been explicitly affirmed by the committee itself.

The committee's attack on the J. A. F. R. C. began with its inquiry into the anti-Franco rally held at Madison Square Garden on September 24, 1945. The committee's report of June 7, 1946, the outgrowth of that inquiry, is largely devoted to exposing "the lies and deceptions used by the Spanish front organizations . . . to create in the minds of the people of America the impression that the streets of Spain are covered with blood." The report operates on a familiar non-sequitur: the Communists are

against Franco; therefore to be against Franco is to be Communist. It equates opposition to Spanish fascism with un-Americanism. A Congressional committee presumably established to expose alien propaganda against American free government has succeeded thereby in jailing for contempt Americans accused of engaging in propaganda against a totalitarian regime in Spain! In the annals of American politics there is no clearer case of indecent exposure.

The attack the report made on Harold Laski may serve to indicate how far the committee has wandered. Laski, at that time chairman of the British Labor Party, was stigmatized for a broadcast address to the anti-Franco rally: the committee objected to his criticism of the Vatican and to his opposition to a monarchist restoration. Adopting the subtle language of Union Square controversialists, it said censoriously that Laski "poses as a Marxian Socialist." A person who reads this report for some guidance on what the Un-American Activities Committee regards as un-American may reasonably conclude that it is un-American to criticize the political

activities of the Vatican or to pretend to be—presumably without being—"a Marxian Socialist." Here we find Dies's successors, Comrades Thomas, Rankin, and Adamson, deep in the heart of the dialectic.

THE sequence of events in this case is typical of the Un-American Committee's methods. On December 1, 1945, Ernie Adamson, counsel of the committee, asked the President's War Relief Control Board to cancel the license of the J. A. F. R. C. to collect and distribute funds for the relief of Spanish Republican refugees abroad—the committee's custom is to sentence first and investigate afterward. Seven days after making the demand, Adamson sent the J. A. F. R. C. a letter suggesting "that you permit one of our investigators to make a preliminary investigation of your organization to determine whether or not this committee is *interested in your activities*" (my italics). A few days later the committee, without benefit of this preliminary inquiry, issued a subpoena asking Miss Helen Bryan, executive secretary of the J. A. F. R. C., to bring all its books, records, papers, and documents to Washington; the list of contributors and the names of all receiving help from the committee were specifically requested. The J. A. F. R. C. objected to this on various practical and legal grounds: that the transfer would stop its work; that the disclo-

sure of contributors would subject them to character assassination by the Un-American Activities Committee; that to give out communications from Spanish Republicans in exile might mean death for their families in Spain.

Miss Bryan is to be tried under a separate indictment. The other sixteen members of the board have been tried and convicted. Five have purged themselves of contempt; eleven have been sentenced to serve from three to six months in jail and to pay fines of from \$500 to \$1,000. The convicted include the distinguished novelist Howard Fast; Lyman R. Bradley, who has been removed as chairman of the German Department at New York University; and Edward K. Barsky, chairman of the J. A. F. R. C., whose work as a doctor on the Loyalist side during the Franco rebellion will be honorably remembered by a future free Spain. Former Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge is counsel for the convicted, and the case is now on appeal. It is one of a number of cases headed for the United States Supreme Court which will test, in legal and constitutional terms, the authority of the Un-American Activities Committee. A court test of this kind has been long overdue, and success in defying the committee would be a major victory for civil liberties. The Un-American Activities Committee is the John the Baptist of American fascism, and it has already cowed a large section of Congress and of public opinion.



SENTENCES imposed for contempt on the directors of the J. A. F. R. C., as on Eugene Dennis and Gerhart Eisler, have increased the committee's power to terrorize. The nature of these cases has created fears and nourished illusions which enable the committee to enlarge its area of political persecution with a minimum of public protest. Because these and pending cases involve either Communists or organizations within the Communist sphere of influence most liberals have been (1) wistfully hopeful that only reds and fellow-travelers are endangered, and (2) unmistakably fearful of defending the accused lest this be taken as evidence of Communist sympathies. One need only recall the committee's attack on the non-Communist and anti-Communist Union for Democratic Action, predecessor of the equally chaste Americans for Democratic Action, to see that the hope is hollow and the fear dangerous.

Effective protest and action are further paralyzed by the notion that nothing can be done about the abuses of so important a function of government as Congressional investigation. This is not true. "We are concerned here," Rogge said in his brief on motion to dismiss, "with the basic democratic right to be free from intimidation with reference to one's personal beliefs." There are ways of protecting that right in the courts. The Congressional power of investigation is not unlimited. A Congressional investigating committee is limited by the terms of the resolution which created it. The terms of the resolution must be within the powers of Congress, and those powers must be exercised within the framework of constitutional injunction as to fair procedure. "Neither house," the Supreme Court said in 1927, "is invested with 'general' power to inquire into private affairs and compel disclosures . . . a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded." Subpoenas cannot be so sweeping as to provide for fishing expeditions. "It is contrary to the first principles of justice," Holmes once ruled, "to allow a search through all the respondent's records, relevant or irrelevant, in the hope that something will turn up." These quotations indicate the nature of some of the questions raised on appeal. Can a committee set up to investigate "un-American propaganda activities in the United States" fish in the private papers of an anti-fascist relief committee on the ground that aid to Franco's opponents and victims is un-American? The resolution setting up the Un-American Activities Committee is broad, far too broad for safety, but it is not that broad.

IF the J. A. F. R. C., was carrying on improper activities, the government had ample remedies at its disposal. The J. A. F. R. C.'s books and financial records were exhaustively examined by the Treasury last year; it was liable to loss of tax exemption if carrying on propaganda or otherwise misusing its funds. That the

J. A. F. R. C., retains its tax exemption indicates that nothing damaging was uncovered. If this did not satisfy the law-enforcement agencies of the government, they could summon a grand jury at any time and subpoena all the J. A. F. R. C.'s records. But in such a proceeding secrecy would protect the J. A. F. R. C.'s contributors and relief clients from unfair attack and unwarranted exposure. Grand-jury proceedings also protect the government from making a fool of itself as it did in the Eisler case, where an atom-bomb-spy scare fizzled out into conviction on tenuous passport technicalities.

One of the questions raised on appeal in both the J. A. F. R. C. and the Dennis case* is whether a Congressional investigating committee can properly assume the functions of a grand jury with a roving commission for the prosecution of crime. Wigmore's classic work on evidence says of the power of a legislative committee to compel testimony: "Not only does the logic of the legislative needs call for a strict limitation of this power, but also the policy of the situation; for the legislatures are not bound by, do not employ, the evidential rules that in judicial trials protect parties and witnesses and check abuses of power." Moreover, Wigmore continues, "legislative inquiries are sometimes conducted for partisan purposes and personal aggrandizement, and there is a particular temptation to pursue the inquiry beyond the necessities of contemplated legislation and to assume improperly the function of a grand jury." The impact of the committee's abuses in this respect may for the moment affect only a vulnerable faction of the left; the issue itself is basic and the abuses easily extensible.

THE J. A. F. R. C. was convicted under a statute which makes it a misdemeanor for a witness before a Congressional inquiry to refuse "to answer any question pertinent to the question under inquiry." But what is the "question under inquiry" by the Un-American Activities Committee? Un-American activities. But what are un-American activities? "The law," the *New York Times* once said editorially, "defines crime against the state and persons committing such crimes as admittedly un-American. But is it un-American to hold an unpopular opinion or take an attitude that is also held or taken by the Communists? . . . Had he [Dies] pushed his

* The Dennis affair was a less than exemplary demonstration in the dignity and decorum of free government. The Un-American Activities Committee scheduled public hearings last March on two bills to outlaw the Communist Party, but at first declined to hear Eugene Dennis, the general secretary. When Dennis finally won the right to appear, he was not allowed to testify against the bills and was put off the witness stand after a twenty-minute wrangle over why he had changed his paternal name, Waldron, to his mother's name, Dennis. Later the committee subpoenaed Dennis, but this time he refused to appear, challenged the legal authority of the committee, and was cited for contempt. The trial elicited the embarrassing information that J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the committee, had also changed his name in early manhood, taking his mother's name of Thomas; the chairman was born J. Parnell Feeney. This, in Ireland, might well be considered subversive, though it was difficult to see the relevance of either change to an American Congressional inquiry.

opinion to a logical end, more than one-half of the population of the United States might have been denounced." The resolution creating the committee sets up no ascertainable standard of guilt; after ten years no one yet knows just what the committee considers "un-American."

A study in the April, 1947, issue of the *Columbia Law Review* points out that one threatening letter by Ernie Adamson, counsel to the committee, "intimates that harping on 'democracy' may be considered suspicious behavior." The vanished minority of the Dies committee which protested against the attack on the U. D. A. contended unsuccessfully for "the right of loyal American citizens to disagree politically with a majority of the Dies committee without being branded as subversive and un-American." The resolution as applied provides a dragnet for the punishment by public obloquy and contempt proceedings of anyone who holds opinions with which the committee disagrees. In such a context investigation becomes a new form of inquisition, and thus a committee of Congress may substantially, if obliquely, restrict fundamental liberties of thought and expression. "The harassing effect on political dissidents of an inquisition like that undertaken by the committee," says the *Columbia Law Review*, "has been noted. Patently, if it is well known that expressing novel political ideas and advocating certain types of change in government frequently subject individuals to burdensome investigation and disparaging publicity, many persons might . . . refrain from such activity. . . . Since the First Amendment protects against the infringement of the rights of

free speech and press by executive, judicial, or legislative action, any attempt to curb these rights in the guise of a Congressional investigation may also be illegal."

THE purpose of legislative inquiry is to provide the knowledge essential to legislation. But an inquiry into political ideas can have only a limited expression in legislation without running athwart the Bill of Rights. The point is clear if transplanted to a less controversial sphere. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to set up an established church or to interfere with religious freedom. Could a Congressional investigating committee summon Baptists, Jews, or Catholics before it for theological examination? Could it use the excuse of the international character of the Vatican to harass Roman Catholics in their religious activities? How far can Congress go in exercising the power of investigation in a field where the power of legislation is severely limited? Can Congress use the power of investigation to restrict fundamental liberties guaranteed by the Constitution? The only parallel in Anglo-American legal history to the Un-American Activities Committee is the "high commission" established under Queen Elizabeth to look into "all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities whatsoever." The difference is that the purpose of the high commission was to coerce conformity in theological doctrine with the established church of England; the Un-American Activities Committee can coerce conformity with anything a few untutored bigots may consider "Americanism."

Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

III. Foreign and Domestic Politics

Warsaw, August

IF CZECH opinion, with its essentially "Western" slant, was upset by the government's refusal to go to the Paris conference on the Marshall plan, Poles received the news that Poland would not go with resignation or cynical amusement. A Warsaw taxi driver remarked to me: "When Daddy doesn't want to go, his son can't go either." Since then the government press has constantly stressed a single aspect of "Paris"—the top priority which the Americans, it alleges, wish to give to Germany. This has not been without effect on Polish opinion. There was also some malicious gratification among government supporters when they learned that the American Congress would not consider the Marshall plan for another six months. That Poland would welcome dollar credits nobody denies, and one of the points made by Mr. Modzelewski, the Foreign Minister,

when I saw him, was that if the Americans had not for political reasons held up their \$90,000,000 credit to Poland, Polish coal production would now be much higher.

Many of the principal members of the Polish government, including the Communists, were in fact anxious to go to Paris. But it is significant that both Foreign Minister Modzelewski and Prime Minister Cierankiewicz, when I saw them, expressed the hope that some new, more acceptable offer would yet be made. Both also were emphatic in declaring that they did not wish to see Europe split into two blocs. But at the same time Mr. Cierankiewicz insisted that it was vitally important for Poland to "keep in" with Russia—because of the danger of a German military revival—and that Western Europe must recognize this necessity. Indicating that the Slav bloc did not now exist except as a safeguard against German aggression, Mr. Cierankiewicz said: "We need the alliance with Russia not for today but for the time when Germany may become a danger to Poland again."

Germany may not be dangerous while the occupation lasts, but what will happen afterward? Our first consideration must be our alliance with our neighbors and," he added significantly, "also with France. We want the alliance with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union to become a Polish political tradition. In America there is too much talk of a "preventive war"; we know that war is neither in Poland's nor in America's interest. . . . American politicians can afford to have a day-to-day foreign policy, but we are bound by geopolitical and historical factors to find a long-term policy which will safeguard Poland's will to live." In reply to my question the Prime Minister said that he did not believe Poland's independence was threatened by the Soviet Union. "There is no 'Russian penetration,'" he declared. "What is penetrating Poland is socialism—socialism of our making."

I asked the Prime Minister whether the Polish government had any ideas on what to do with the sixty or seventy million Germans living next door on a territory little larger than Poland. To this he replied that he hoped something concrete would at last emerge during the November meeting of the Foreign Ministers. From talks with other Polish leaders I gathered that one of the current ideas on the subject is that Germany should become essentially a manufacturing country, chiefly of consumer goods, and depend on imports for raw materials and cheap food; Poland would willingly exchange its agricultural produce for German manufactured goods. The fact that Germany would have to import most of its food would be a safeguard of security. Mr. Modzelewski said that Poland, which wished Europe as a whole to be restored, might produce a general plan.

Naturally the German menace, to which every Pole is highly responsive, is an ever-recurring theme in the press. At an open-air meeting at Olsztyn (Allenstein) in East Prussia I heard a Polish officer declare, amid applause, that Poland "would fight any country that employed German troops as its mercenaries."

IT IS interesting that the policy of the present government is to "bring all the Poles back," thus reversing the emigration policy of 1919-39. Mr. Modzelewski told me that 80,000 Poles had come back from Britain and the British zone of Germany, 15,000 from each area in May and June, and that inducements were being offered to Polish emigrants of long standing in Yugoslavia and Rumania and also to Polish miners in France and western Germany to come back. "The political conception of an émigré Poland has fallen through," Mr. Modzelewski said. The Poles from Britain, I was told, have become absorbed in the general population, and I might add from personal observation that although many, in principle, are still hostile to the government, they are impressed by the improved conditions in Poland—several recalled to me with a touch of anger the horror stories

about Poland they had read in the émigré press in Britain.

While there have been some arrests lately, though not among the repatriates, not even diplomats highly critical of the Polish government claim that they have been numerous. In principle a charge must be preferred within three months of a person's arrest, and there must be a trial. There is no evidence of anyone having "disappeared." Many here argue that in the course of a revolution like Poland's some repression is inevitable, but that it is held to an "absolute minimum" and that there is "very much less of it than in the Pilsudski days."

Lately a number of priests have been arrested for "subversive activity," but though the government is in no doubt about the hostility of the church hierarchy, these arrests may be said to be the first of their kind. Despite an outward semblance of unanimity, the lower ranks of the clergy are in fact divided in their attitude to the government; many are genuinely impressed by Poland's progress in the last two years. The church also considers it to its material interest not to antagonize the government unduly, for its important estates of some 300,000 hectares have not been affected by the land reform. But generally the church is thought to be the government's most dangerous opponent, with a large influence among the peasantry. Last January the government proposed to the Vatican the resumption of diplomatic relations but has received no reply. Some satisfaction has been derived from the comments on the freedom of the Catholic church in Poland recently made by Cardinal Griffin on his return to England.

MANY of the Poles who have returned from England have been greatly reassured by the fact that the Russians are not in evidence at all. I have traveled all over Poland and have seen extremely few Russians except on their own communication lines to Germany. It is true that there are still many Russian officers in the Polish army, but this is largely due to the shortage of trained Polish personnel; after the First World War, one is reminded, French officers remained in the Polish army till 1928. The Russians in general are not liked, and the "Russian occupation" of 1944-45 has left some bad memories; discipline among some of the Russian troops, especially after victory, went to pieces completely. A growing number of Poles, however, are beginning to realize that it was the Russians, after all, who drove the Germans out of Poland, and the fact that "they did not stay on" is also put to their credit.

It would take too long to discuss the complex relationship existing between the four government parties, and especially between the Socialists and Communists. The Communists as the tougher and more coherent party tend to capture many of the key positions such as the governorships of the provinces, but without the support of the Socialists and trade unions they could not do much.

I shall confine myself for the present to quoting the statement Mr. Cirankiewicz, the Socialist Premier, made to me on the subject:

We are two parties, each with its own particular "dynamics," and there are therefore inevitable difficulties; but the Communists cannot rule without the Socialists, and since there is no other practicable government formula, we are going to stick together, and relations are bound to improve. This collaboration is important not only for Poland; it is important as an example for the whole of Europe.

Mr. Cirankiewicz made it plain that while he was all in favor of the united front he was opposed to the formation of a Unity Party. The Communist leader, Mr.

Gomulka, has been advocating such a party, though not as an immediate goal.

The Communists, despite a fairly large "bread-and-butter" membership, feel that they are "all bone and no flesh" and that a Unity Party would give them greater physical substance. But the majority of the Socialists will not hear of it for the present. In compensation they tend to condone the repression of the old-line Social Democrats who refuse to cooperate with the Communists at any price, and who frequently display a dangerous sympathy with the right. The coming trial of twenty-three such Socialists should be revealing.

[The fourth article of Mr. Werth's series will discuss the new lands Poland has acquired from Germany.]

The Death of Lyuh Woon-Hyung

BY HUGH DEANE

Seoul, Korea, August

IN A dispatch from Seoul reporting the assassination on July 19 of Lyuh Woon-Hyung, the outstanding liberal leader in South Korea, the *New York Times* hinted that perhaps the crime was committed by the Communists, from whose clutches Lyuh was trying to escape. On July 23 the police arrested a nineteen-year-old youth—captured in three different places according to three different police announcements—and a high police official declared that the alleged assassin "had been sent from North Korea." But almost nobody here, except of course the extreme rightists led by Rhee Syngman and Kim Koo, professes to believe that Lyuh was killed by Communists, northern or southern.

Not even the Americans, whose misinformation about South Korea is a main prop of the right, really believe it. A fair indication was General John R. Hodge's statement—read by a lieutenant—at Lyuh's funeral on August 3 that the "implications and motivations . . . are still unsolved." The Americans are rarely clear about the actions and intentions of the right; they are usually coldly certain about the malevolence of the left.

To most of the thousands of people standing in the hot sun in Seoul Stadium on August 3 the implications of Lyuh's assassination were much clearer than they were to General Hodge. Lyuh had been struck down while trying to build a broad political front to oppose the extreme right, which was using every method, including terror, to disrupt the Soviet-American negotia-

tions and to establish a separate government in South Korea. Lyuh's discussions with Kim Kiu-sic and other leaders of the moderate right were watched with some misgivings by the left, which feared that the price of an agreement might be its isolation; they were watched with dismay and violent hatred by the anti-trusteeship right, which regarded centrists, moderate rightists, and even the Americans as tools of the reds. Kim Kiu-sic, like Lyuh, was called a national traitor and threatened with the "hammer of justice."

To believe that Lyuh was killed by the left was like believing that the German Communists had set fire to the Reichstag. Lyuh's younger brother, Lyuh Woon-hong, who heads the small, middle-of-the-road Social Democratic Party, was asked bluntly by this writer whether he thought the leftists or the rightists were guilty. Lyuh Woon-hong broke with his more illustrious brother last fall, charging that the latter was being led by the nose by the Communists, and presumably has no love for the left. He replied: "Absolutely, without hesitation, I say the rightists."

A few days after Lyuh was killed it seemed for a moment that he might achieve in death what he had sought while alive. A National Salvation Committee, embracing the left, the center, and part of the moderate right, was born in the first hot abhorrence of the act of terrorism. The police, acting with alacrity, outlawed it on the grounds that it had not registered and that it would "agitate the people" and provoke terrorism. (A left-wing intellectual commented bitterly, "Are people who carry watches to blame for pickpocketing?")

If Lyuh was killed by the right, he was buried by the left. For a fortnight his body lay in state in the head-

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quarters of the Laboring People's Party, which Lyuh established last May. Tens of thousands of people came to stand before the casket, paying their last respects: white-clad women chanting and wailing, intellectuals, students, workers, and farmers. Democratic organizations from all over South Korea wrote messages on the walls in blood, pledging to continue the struggle for the people's republic, condemning the terror, echoing the fervent hope expressed by Lyuh in his last radio address that the Joint Commission would reach an agreement.

August 3, the day of the funeral, was one of the most peaceful days of the summer. Police, on foot, mounted, and in jeeps, were stationed every fifty feet along the two-mile route to Seoul Stadium, but they had little to do. Except for a few young men caught singing leftist songs, which were prohibited for the day, no one was arrested; the terrorists in Seoul took a holiday. The long procession moved gravely between the lines of white-clad, silently watching people.

The police sought to minimize the significance of the funeral. They prohibited the closing of stores, the suspension of music and dancing, and the hoisting of mourning flags "as would befit the death of the highest administrator." They banned the display of political slogans and party flags, save the flags of Lyuh's own party. But they could not ban politics. The solid ranks of the People's Democratic Front were a plain political statement. For the few hours of the service the left, the small center, and the moderate right stood united, as Lyuh would have wished. The extreme right did not participate. The Independence Party, headed by Kim Koo, who is popularly regarded as the chief of the hatchet men, disdained to offer even perfunctory regrets. A number of leaders of Rhee's Democratic Party, politer ally of Kim Koo's group, sent a thousand yen each to the funeral committee—which the committee refused to accept.

LYUH has a secure place in the history of Korea's struggle for independence. In 1919 he joined the provisional government-in-exile in Shanghai. In the early twenties he went twice to Moscow and talked with Lenin; he is said to have played a part in bringing about the entente between Sun Yat-sen and the Soviets. He later broke with the conservative provisional government and worked with the leftists. In 1929 he was seized by the Japanese consular police in Shanghai and taken back to Korea; he never again left Korea. After getting out of prison in 1933 he became president of the Korean-language *Central Daily News* and an active sponsor of Korean athletics, which he regarded as indirect resistance to Japanization.

In 1943 Lyuh saw what was happening and plunged into illegal politics. In August, 1944, he organized the underground Emancipation League, with branches in

Manchuria and China and contact with Koreans in Yenan. After the liberation this group, with the released political prisoners, led the almost magical upsurge of the People's Republic movement.

For the first month or so after the liberation Lyuh was the unchallenged leader in South Korea. He was the de facto head of the People's Republic; even part of the right, momentarily frightened, yielded to him, and for a time it seemed that he would establish himself as the Korean Sun Yat-sen. When the Americans came in, they broke him, insultingly, clumsily, but effectively. Few Koreans have forgotten a fatuous statement by General A. V. Arnold, military governor, on October 10, 1945, in which he implied that Lyuh and other leaders of the People's Republic were "foolish or venal men."

Thereafter Lyuh was never quite sure of himself. He kept thinking that perhaps the errors of the Americans were due to misinformation, that perhaps the United States was really interested in democratizing South Korea, that perhaps with patience he could influence American policy. He veered away from the left. When last December the majority of his People's Party, together with the Communist Party and the New People's Party, formed the Labor Party, Lyuh refused to go along, charging Communist domination. In May he joined a number of ex-Communists and others in forming the Laboring People's Party.

Yet at every crisis Lyuh stood with the left against the extreme right. He refused General Hodge's appointment to the Democratic Council, which was packed with rightists; he refused to be a minority figurehead in an abortive "political unification" committee selected by Rhee Syngman. He abstained from the phony elections of last November; he never had any dealings with the anti-trusteeship crowd. To his death he remained on the praesidium of the People's Democratic Front, though it was dominated by the Labor Party. So weak was the center, so compelling was the pull to the left, that even his Laboring People's Party, designed as a non-Communist organ, began negotiations to enter the People's Front shortly after it was formed.

Already some people are saying that Lyuh, like Sun Yat-sen, died at the right time. Lyuh was a man of the middle class, temperamentally a moderate, and it was hard for him to see his friends going to the right or left. Faced with the same choice himself, Lyuh sometimes leaned one way, sometimes the other, not because he was an opportunist but because his only principles were broad ones and because he was a peace-loving man with a catholic capacity for friendship. *Noryuk Ilmin* (*Toiling People*), organ of the Labor Party, wrote of Lyuh's death, "The tragedy of Lyuh is the tragedy of the people." Much can be read into this. Lyuh's personal tragedy was that he was a moderate in a society in which what little center existed is melting away.

Del Vayo—Europe Is Skeptical

Paris, August 27

THE United States is already more or less aware of Europe's growing skepticism about the Marshall plan. But it is here in Paris that one realizes how grave are the doubts of its success. "That Marshall plan is a good idea," most people say. And they say it in the same melancholy tone they use to discuss the plan for world government now under consideration "somewhere in Europe" at a congress that has aroused the interest of no one except the delegates themselves. The immediate reason for this skepticism is the contradiction between the urgency of preparing for a winter so critical that people dare not even think about it and the slowness with which the idea behind the Harvard speech is being translated into action.

For Europeans, American aid held the attraction of speed; they had a deep faith in the dynamism and aggressiveness of the United States, in its ability to accomplish quickly anything it set out to do. Now comes the news that Congressional approval is not expected before next February—which means that at best the Marshall plan will not begin to show results until several months after that date. Unfamiliar with American politics and the peculiar relations between the White House and Congress, the people of Europe are shocked by what to them is an inexplicable delay and are beginning to say, "By then we shall either have starved to death or found a solution among ourselves."

And with that disillusionment has come the growing suspicion that American credits will prove no universal panacea. Last week's agreement ending the conversion of British sterling into dollars had an electrifying effect on French opinion, which is quick to grasp the significance of international events, and it will also have repercussions in the other countries of Europe. The inability of American capitalism to establish a healthy, stable equilibrium of world exchange and commerce, together with the slowness of American aid, has shattered European confidence in the magical restorative powers of the dollar.

There are other reasons for skepticism which have existed since the Marshall plan was first formulated and which I discussed on this page some weeks ago. Perhaps the decisive one is that a Europe split into blocs cannot be reconstructed. The division conceived by partisans of a new *cordon sanitaire* against Russia can serve the politics of war, not those of peace.

East and West complement each other, and need each other. This was true before World War II; it is even more true today when European industry has in large part been destroyed, when England and France have lost most of their foreign markets, when France has reduced its daily bread ration to 200 grams per person, and when lack of coal is the great obstacle to the rebuilding of Western Europe.

France, for example, is more interested in obtaining coal from Poland now than in all the long-term-credit aid it may receive when the Marshall plan eventually goes into effect. The reception accorded Hilary Minc, Polish Minister

of Industry and Commerce, who arrived in Paris a few weeks ago to negotiate a new Franco-Polish commercial agreement, shows that France is far from considering itself part of an exclusive Western bloc. Polish coal output in 1938 was only 30,000,000 tons; by 1949 it will have reached the impressive figure of 80,000,000 tons a year. In increased trade with Poland, France sees a partial solution for the coal-hunger of its industry, one that may release M. Bidault from the necessity of accepting a decision on the Ruhr that goes contrary to the French conception of national security. Anxiety about future security has cropped up time and again in the discussions of the past month; Hervé Alphand, French delegate to the three-power conference which opened in London on August 22, is reported to have said to a closed session: "Never again do we want our mineral shipments to Germany to come back to us in the form of shells and rocket planes." This anxiety is aggravated by the fear that all the fascist forces possible of regeneration will be used to implement an anti-Russian policy based on Germany; Albert Bayet, president of the French Press Association, recently observed, "Between fascism maintained in Spain and magnates reinstalled in the Ruhr, France will not be able to breathe in peace."

But it is not France alone, with its problem—or what some call its obsession—of security, that is involved. One after another the countries of Europe, realizing that their national interests are incompatible with the policy of blocs, are directly negotiating bilateral accords between East and West. Today reliable London sources report that new feelers may soon go out to Moscow in the hope that Britain may receive 500,000 tons of badly needed grain this year; Russia would be glad to have British machinery and seems ready to promise early grain deliveries. All the Western countries are seeking to conclude trade agreements with Czechoslovakia, whose economic recovery continues to amaze those who have visited it. In short, the European nations are convinced that they must hang together or assuredly they will hang separately. That is why, despite the strong current of opinion which favors risking everything in a test of strength against Russia, the immense majority still hope that the principle of peaceful collaboration will be reestablished.

No one here is foolish enough to believe in the possibility of a return to the entente that existed before San Francisco; on the other hand, no responsible person with whom I have talked is ready to concede the absolute impossibility of reaching an agreement that will end the present tensions.

In general it is thought that at some moment or other relations between the United States and Russia—for this is the key—will reach the point where the only alternative is war or negotiation. And because most people simply cannot conceive of another war, they feel that the two countries will begin to negotiate. That will be the moment to utilize the constructive aspects of the Marshall plan and to integrate them into a serious effort for the reconstruction of a united Europe.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Shabby Goetterdaemmerung
NUREMBERG DIARY. By G. M. Gilbert. Farrar, Straus and Company. \$5.

AS "PRISON psychologist" Dr. G. M. Gilbert was given free access to the prisoners on trial at Nürnberg, and this book is the informal record of his observations. The accused were evidently glad to chat with a man who was neither a lawyer, a jailer, nor a journalist. They were delighted to find at last an American who could understand their language: the scarcity of German-speaking officers in the American army is one of the minor mysteries of the war. Dr. Gilbert seems to have struck the right attitude—human, but not effusively friendly. Although he was a mere captain, the prisoners respected him as a *Fachmann*; they even played with alacrity his little game of psychological tests. The report, although edited, does not seem to have been doctored. Untechnical, unofficial, vivid but not lurid, it inspires confidence.

The strongest impression we receive from these pages is that the Nazi gang was not homogeneous. Göring tried to impose upon his associates a single line of defense—a defiant blustering attitude which might, in a surprisingly short time, have revived the Nazi legend. But they all hated and despised "the Fat One," and went their own way. The military glared scorn at the politicians, who glared more fiercely still in return. The opportunists of the old school, Schacht and von Papen, poured contempt on the upstart and crude Nazis—whom they once had praised and served. Everybody shunned Streicher as a skunk. Hess was a grotesque and tragic figure, never able to remember for long whether his amnesia was faked or genuine. They had lived through glorious and dramatic hours; they had wielded unlimited power; yet all of them were average clever men who in normal days would have been decently successful in humdrum occupations. The Nürnberg trial was a Hamlet drama played without the prince. But the composite picture of Hitler we get from his henchmen is not that of a

genius or hero. There was a legend of the Last Girondists, fostered by Larmartine; no legend of the Last Nazis would survive the Nürnberg report. Their *Goetterdaemmerung* was shabby.

Göring, at any rate, had substance and color. But cross-examination, and the concurrent opinion of his fellow party members, made it plain that the Fat Knight was a phony. He had two lines of reasoning which were incompatible. One was the highest idealism, *deutsche Treue*, personal loyalty to a liege, right or wrong, through good fortune or bad. From these Wagnerian heights Göring tumbled down to the most cynical realism. He spoke at times with almost as harsh a voice as Professor William L. Langer. "Democracy, justice, humanity? All hypocritical nonsense. There is nothing solid in this world but the coarsest immediate interests; and for these, in spite of all dogooders, men will keep fighting world without end. "Of course," Göring adds wisely, "not the common people: there is nothing in it for them. But under whatever regime it is the *leaders* of a country who determine the policy."

Göring thus tried to shape his own figure in history: a bluff professional soldier, of a good family, with the strictest code of his caste; a German patriot to the end; above all, a pattern of old Germanic loyalty. His companions shrugged at his heroic pose. They knew that the Odinic fighter was a profiteer on the grandest scale, fond of a soft life and of vulgar luxuries, a dope addict and a moral coward. The Wagnerian trappings would not fit. In private conversation Göring assumed the tone of a Kiplingesque sergeant. His thoughts, in the various lines he chose, were rudimentary. Yet he had some skills. Next to Schacht and Seyss-Inquart, he had the highest I. Q. of the band—138—a superior man, a near-genius. But Gilbert is sensible enough to have little faith in I. Q.'s. "The day-to-day record of the conversations and reactions of the Nazi leaders proved to be more revealing than the sum of all the tests could be." Are psychologists learning wisdom at last?

The high point in the report is the testimony of Colonel Rudolf Hoess, commandant of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, who calmly explained how he had performed the incredible feat of exterminating two and a half million people in three years. Hoess's defense was perfectly simple: Orders are orders; his not to reason why. "From our entire training the thought of refusing an order just didn't enter our heads. . . . Guess you cannot understand our world." Brought up strictly, in an austere Catholic family, he had transferred from the church to the Nazi hierarchy the principle of passive obedience, *perinde ac cadaver*.

Hoess's factual report and a film of atrocities seem to have struck the Nazi leaders with genuine bewilderment. They swore *they did not know*. This strains credibility: yet how few people, even in high stations, knew of our atomic secret? The underlings, like Hoess himself, obeyed without question; those who had ordered, Hitler and Himmler, were dead. On an enormously larger scale it is the same story as in the First World War. The leaders sternly preach *Schrecklichkeit*: no humanitarian nonsense about them. But when terroristic methods are actually applied, the tough supermen turn soft and swear they meant nothing of the kind: "You know us! We Germans are cultured and Christian gentlemen!"

Only Hans Frank, Governor General of Poland, drew the full consequence from these revelations. He had experienced a religious conversion; he had abjured his criminal errors; now he accepted, and almost welcomed, full responsibility for them. But his Dostoevski attitude, self-abjection, abysmal repentance, flights into mysticism, struck Dr. Gilbert as somewhat hysterical.

All the Nazi leaders, except perhaps Streicher, confessed that before the end they had realized the monstrous imbecility of the whole scheme. Yet they kept serving what they knew to be moronic fanaticism. Blame them we can, and must: not, however, without a homeward look. When war is declared, patriotism commands passive

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obedience: even Niemöller offered to kill for the greater glory of Hitler. There was no lawful way of removing Hitler, any more than Darlan—or today Franco. But it is not easy for a man, especially for an officer, to decide that he should murder his commander-in-chief. The Jews were in Germany what the Communists are with us today: the enemies of mankind. "Here, but for the grace of God, goes John Doe." Hans did not want to be "purged" as disloyal; neither does John. John too has a career to make, a family to support; martyrdom is a sorry trade, especially if you have to suffer for the sake of people you don't like. I have faith in the common sense of the Common Man; I never believed in his mental courage.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Baudelaire and Others

ONE HUNDRED POEMS FROM LES FLEURS DU MAL. By Charles Baudelaire. Translated by C. F. MacIntyre. University of California Press. \$5.

BAUDELAIRE, RIMBAUD, VERLAINE (Selected Verse and Prose Poems). Edited, with an Introduction, by Joseph M. Bernstein. The Citadel Press. \$3.

MR. MACINTYRE worked very hard at his volume of translations, and Mr. Bernstein did hardly any work at all, merely reprinting by permission of different copyright holders; yet Mr. Bernstein's is the better book.

In order to justify the task he set himself—an almost complete translation of Baudelaire—Mr. MacIntyre is forced to insist on something which no one has yet been able to prove: the architectural structure of "Les Fleurs du Mal"; incapable of making a perfect translation of a single poem, he strategically spreads out his mediocrity over the whole. It may be valuable, for the sake of completeness, to include piece after piece like "Le-Soleil"; Baudelaire often made the mistake of writing verse *about* poetry.

He was terribly frightened, filled with panic, knowing himself the only one of his time with the terrible gift of seeing reality after the fashion of primitive man—he called it the "sense of correspondences"—and the

only one capable of using language as it had been used thousands of years ago by the early priest-poets who controlled the god through incantation, through sounds produced by the things deeply hidden in man's mind, having nothing to do with the harmony of the syllogism and giving to words their own reality, only scarcely connected with the objects they represent. It is Rimbaud who gave us the exact truth about Baudelaire: "But since to inspect the Invisible and to hear the Unheard is something else than recapturing the spirit of dead things, Baudelaire is the first seer, king of poets, a real god. Nevertheless, he lived in too artistic surroundings, and the form for which he is so praised is paltry. Inventions of the Unknown require new forms." However, in the great poems like "Un Voyage à Cythère" some amazing explosions occur precisely because new wine is poured into old bottles. Not that the reader would ever gather this from reading Mr. MacIntyre's translations, which are flat and pompous, and cheat all over the place.

To prove this I have a flock of notes which I am herding into the wastebasket; a few examples should be enough. "J'aime le souvenir de ces époques nues, Dont Phoebus se plaisait à dorer les statues" means, simply enough: "I like remembering that naked time whose statues Phoebus delighted in gilding," and not, because Mr. MacIntyre wants to rime with gold: "I love to think of epochs naked and old, Statues smiling Phoebus touched with gold," where the word *old* is the very contrary of the intent of the whole poem, which has to do with the *youth* of the race in contrast with what Baudelaire considers the effeteness and decadence of our time. In "Recueillement," one of the perfect sonnets, whose setting is Paris and the river Seine, "smiling Regret arises from the deep," because the next line ends in *sleeps*, but *deep* can only refer to the sea and fails to make sense or even a decent prose gloss to the original. As he tells us in his preface, "This effect cannot be rendered by the clever alternating of pat feminine with masculine rhymes. Nor can its disturbing, haunting quality be imitated by coyly seductive strip-tease effects, Victorian half-evasions, or explanatory padding—

often in search of rhymes." Nor by Mr. MacIntyre, who here conveniently has classified his own deficiencies. "Played without falsehood, without anxiety," if it doesn't strip-tease, more than half-evades meaning when it tries to translate "Jouissaient sans mensonge et sans anxiété," where *jouissaient* in this context means coitus and has nothing to do with Friedrich Froebel. I have read MacIntyre carefully, and in the last two months have gone back to his book in different moods to be sure I was being fair to him. He has worked so hard that it is sad to find his labor of no value. He is oddly inept. How can one write—as he does in his preface, seeming to think it necessary to praise one great poet by damning another: "Rimbaud, by his sensationalism, sold damaged goods to the Dadaists, the Gagaists (!), and the Surrealists"; and, "One can only regret that French literature, in this final stage of *décadence*, should have forgotten its old love for the lucid and the logical and have preferred to follow the crazed meanderings of a precocious boy rather than the serene classicism of Baudelaire's legitimate heirs"?

The most interesting part of the book consists of sixty-three pages of finely printed notes, translated and rewritten from the standard Crépet and Dantec editions, and interspersed with anecdotes and cute personal remarks ("I am not very pleased with my version of this poem") and an athletic Harris-tweed donnishness mixed with low wit: "Lot, whom wine made both careless and enterprising . . ."; "This brother-sister business, used so often in the book, fuddles up the later poets, too, notably Verlaine. . . ." Mr. MacIntyre's imposing bibliography omits René Laforgue's indispensable study of Baudelaire, and a reading of it might jolt him out of a priggishly purient adolescence which threatens to become static.

Mr. Bernstein's "Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Verlaine" has a good many fine translations, though the worth-while editorial job would have been to gather the best individual translations of individual poems. What is the good of having the uniformity of Arthur Symons's poetic style when it is uniformly bad. On the other hand, Symons's rendering of Baudelaire's Prose Poems is excellent. Gertrude

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RENE BLANC-ROOS

Hawks and Acorns

FOOTNOTES ON NATURE. By John Kieran. With Wood Engravings by Nora S. Unwin. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

DURING his heyday on the *Times* Mr. Kieran was not the only sports writer who could quote Tennyson and Shakespeare. As a matter of fact, poetry was rather a weakness of the tribe, as in the case, for instance, of the late Grantland Rice. But Mr. Kieran certainly was the only one who ever looked for an unusual sort of acorn during a Worlds Series or could tell one kind of warbler from another even without his binoculars. In a word, he not only knew a hawk from a handsaw but also one species of hawk from another. The present book, the second in his nature series, has nothing to say about batting averages but a good deal about walking in the New York region and what is to be found there in the way of plants, animals, and birds—the latter being his specialty. Mr. Kieran is evidently an amateur ornithologist of the very first rank, and he tells something of the boyhood and young manhood during which the interest developed. Most of the book, however, is given over to accounts of rambles taken in the company of various friends whose professions were as different as that of drama critic and entomologist. It is unpretentious, informal, and factual rather than philosophical, but it does manage in some way to communicate a good deal of the author's keen pleasure. Both Tennyson and Shakespeare do, besides, frequently raise their pretty heads.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

What Price Prejudice?

THE HIGH COST OF PREJUDICE.

By Bucklin Moon. Julian Messner. \$2.50.

WITH enviable courage Bucklin Moon has attempted an impossible task, namely, to estimate the high cost of prejudice in the United States. While he has outlined the areas that would have to be investigated in preparing such an estimate, he has not been able to prepare either a profit-and-loss statement or a balance sheet. So many

Which Magazine D'ya Read?

'CHARLES BAUDELAIRE: One Hundred Poems from 'Les Fleurs du Mal,' translated by C. F. MacIntyre (University of California Press). Here, at last, is a good modern version of this important book. Mr. MacIntyre, by the use of off-rhymes and a loose rhythm, does a remarkably successful job of keeping Baudelaire's form reasonably intact while retaining his force and meaning. He commendably adopts the arrangement of the second edition of 1861, the last overseen by the poet, but he has restored the six poems suppressed by a French court and dropped from that edition. The French texts, two portraits, interesting and unconventional notes, and an excellent bibliography are included."

New Yorker, July 19, 1947

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of the high costs of prejudice are hidden in statistics of crime, juvenile delinquency, and social services that they can never, perhaps, be disengaged from other factors. Moreover, how can one estimate the "cost," in social or individual terms, of a system that deprives millions of American citizens of normal incentives for self-improvement? Difficulties of this sort, of which Mr. Moon is well aware, can be traced to our system of cost accounting, which reckons "costs" and "profits" not in social but in individual terms.

Nevertheless, more intensive research might have provided a few more specific estimates of the cost of prejudice. For example, Mordecai Ezekiel once estimated that merely by giving Negroes equal wages for equal work the national income would be enlarged by \$6,000,000,000 annually, of which \$1,000,000,000 would go to the Treasury in taxes. It should have been possible, also, to analyze the costs of dual or segregated public institutions in a single Southern state. While specifications of this kind are lacking, Mr. Moon has certainly "blocked in" the major areas of cost in a most competent and intelligent manner.

Of particular value is the chapter on what Jim Crow has cost the South politically. By saddling the region with incompetent representatives and a one-party system that stifles political progress racial demagoguery has robbed the South of the means by which it might long ago have solved certain of its basic problems. In the absence of effective opposition Southern Representatives usually have a long tenure of office and through seniority consistently capture the key committee chairmanships when their party is in power. Thus the denial of democracy in one region is felt in every other. If Jim Crow is a burden to the South, the South is a burden to the nation. In dealing with the argument that we must proceed gradually in correcting this situation for fear of provoking a violent reaction in the South Mr. Moon has put his finger on one of the underlying fallacies. "True," he writes, "we can go on *slowly* improving the lot of the Negro at the same time we are *rapidly* bettering our own," but, at this rate, "the Negro problem" would be with us always.

At one point in his effort to prove

that prejudice does not pay, however, Mr. Moon unwittingly glosses over an important aspect of the problem. While prejudice does not pay, it can be highly profitable for certain groups. There is an oblique recognition of this fact in the statement that "perhaps" prejudice may be profitable to "a handful of persons"; but this is somewhat naive. It has been "demonstrated" *ad nauseam* that in the long run economic exploitation is not in the interest of the exploiting classes, but this demonstration has never worked a revolution in attitudes. For by the nature of the situation these classes are not permitted to take a long-range view of the issue. They are compelled to make immediate decisions on a day-to-day basis, often with the competitive factor uppermost in their thinking. Hence the immediate profit, the short-range advantage, necessarily governs their thinking. Unfortunately it is not "a handful of persons" who profit from the techniques of racial dominance in the South but a social class entrenched in power, with numerous satellite groups, powerful "silent" partners in the North, and a firm grasp on the institutions and economy of the region. Numerically the ultimate beneficiaries may be a fraction of the total population, but the power they represent and the influence they exert cannot be minimized.

Prejudice is the cement which holds together a structure of power. Admit-

tedly wasteful and costly, it is profitable on a short-range basis to particular groups in the sense that it insures their dominance over the great mass of poor Southerners, white and Negro. Hence it is difficult to imagine that the beneficiaries of this dispensation could ever be made to yield the reins of power by arguments that by so doing they would be acting in the long-range interest of their class. The exercise of power is habit-forming and can often blind individuals and classes to their real interests.

The publication of this volume is further proof of how an understanding of the factors involved in what we used to call "the race problem" has increased since 1940. Merely to compare Mr. Moon's clear, calm-mannered, realistic analysis with some of the frightened, myth-ridden analyses that appeared in the twenties gives proof of the progress that has been made. While we have not "solved" the race problem, we at least know that it is solvable and have a strategy for its solution. Now the question is, do we want really to solve it or merely to ease the tensions which are its outer manifestations? The issues cut very deep, for as Mr. Moon writes, "so long as our false concepts of racial superiority continue, the Negro can never be an American, but more than that, Americans can never be free men."

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

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Fiction in Review

BUDD SCHULBERG'S "The Harder They Fall" (Random House, \$3), the new novel by the author of the highly regarded "What Makes Sammy Run?" is full of so much interesting information about the prize-ring—how fighters are made and unmade, how the promotion rackets work—that one could wish it had narrative powers to match its powers of exposition. I do not mean that, technically speaking, Mr. Schulberg tells his story less well than he needs to; on the contrary, he is technically very gifted. But his novel is uncomfortably thin in the realm of the moral imagination, that sphere from which we derive the fresh and meaningful insights of fiction. In the sense of being fervently opposed to the greed and corruption that have reduced boxing to a saturnalia of brutality "The Harder They Fall" is an undeniably moral book. But like so many moral novelists of our day, especially those who concern themselves with the lower depths of our civilization, Mr. Schulberg is much more fervent than perceptive, much "wiser" to the methods of human degradation than wise about what would constitute a better way to act and be. He never even raises the question of why people choose to earn their livings by and off fighting. His imagination deals wholly in the soft, ready-to-hand oppositions—

loyalty versus treachery, innocence versus venality, pure sexuality versus lust, art versus mammon—which we recognize as the familiar moral baggage of the boys in the back-room.

The characters in "The Harder They Fall" immediately announce themselves as the established "types" of error or virtue. There is Nick, slum boy turned gangster, with the usual paraphernalia of expensive cigars, toilet waters, body-guard, and son in a good prep school. There is Nick's wife, an ex-Pollies beauty, secret tippler and betrayer of a husband blind to anything but the "class" symbolized by her addiction to best-selling novels. There is Eddie, narrator of the story, one-time Princeton student and now Nick's press agent, who waters his drinks with tears for the Pulitzer prize play he will never write. There is Beth of the ladylike ardor, who is Eddie's dream of decent womanhood; and Shirley, maternal madame of a house on Eighth Avenue, Eddie's dream of womanhood without a college education. There is Danny, who anaesthetizes himself with alcohol against the spectacle of the degeneration of the manly art of self-defense. And finally there is Toro Molina, a peaceable Argentinian peasant become fall-guy for the fight racketeers.

Mr. Schulberg is telling Toro's story. Toro cannot box and doesn't want to learn, but because he is enormously tall he has been brought to America as the

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new challenger from the Andes; before the story ends, this giant version of the "little man" has made a million crooked dollars for his backers and has himself been annihilated. There is a touching dignity about this sad and unheroic hero—Mr. Schulberg's communicated feeling for Toro is, I think, the best achievement of his book—and a scarcely-to-be-questioned truth in his author's conviction that money is no respecter of such persons. On the other hand, one is disconcerted by Mr. Schulberg's large reliance upon the money motivation of his characters, which gives his novel a curiously old-fashioned flavor considerably at odds with the strictly contemporary quality of its language and pictorial detail. For if the last fifteen years have taught us nothing else, surely they have taught us the insufficiency of the idea that money is the root of all evil; we have had not only psychology and anthropology to show us the degree to which money is simply a social expression of far more primitive needs, but also the lesson of the dictator countries to prove how much more fierce than the pure money drive is the complex power drive. That we no longer believe in economic determinism as we once did seems to me to be clearly demonstrated by the change that has taken place on the Communist-liberal front, where the appeal to our sense of economic insecurity has been almost entirely displaced by an appeal to dimmer and deeper emotions of fear and anger; thus the English Labor government pursues its social program with virtually no encouragement from our left-wing journals, because here was economic revolution without the terror and bloodshed which truly excite our political emotions, while Palestine, all terror and battle, excites a fierce partisanship. Mr. Schulberg's proposition that less blood would flow were there less greed is, I am afraid, a sweet throwback to an earlier day than ours.

But if Mr. Schulberg is a bit behind the times in still subscribing to the money myth, he is, as I have said, precisely on the contemporary line in the account his language and actions take of our present-day appetite for violence. "The Harder They Fall" not only has a full complement of battered heads and smashed bodies; it is also written in the walloping, slugging, jabbing vernacular

of a society in love with its own destruction. I suppose Hemingway was the last of our novelists who, assimilating the language of bar and prize-ring to a traditional cultivated idiom, gave evidence of the hope that modern and established values could work out an existence together. His followers, all too eager to throw their heritage of language into the nearest sewer, would seem to have passed beyond any such optimism.

DIANA TRILLING

[The title of Christine Weston's book of stories, "There & Then," was incorrectly given in the issue of August 23 as "There Then."]

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IF Koussevitzky could be pleased by publication of the sickening stuff that Dr. Leichtentritt wrote about him, he would be displeased by publication of Moses Smith's accurate history and discriminating appraisal of his career and achievements.* The Koussevitzky sycophants, presumably echoing Koussevitzky himself, accused Smith of malicious slanders. Actually there is a detail here and there in which malice can be detected; but it is the occasional slight malice of someone who is essentially friendly—the irresistible revenge

* "Koussevitzky," Allen, Towne, and Heath. \$4.

for the long-endured attitudes and behavior exemplified by Koussevitzky's court action to suppress a book that was critical as well as appreciative. Also it shows itself only in a minor detail, never in a large matter. Also it never expresses itself in falsehood—and I won't complain of ill-will that uses only truth for its purpose.

If Smith describes weaknesses in the man, limitations in the conductor, flaws in the musician, they are enormously outweighed by all that he finds to admire and praise. And if, after all that Smith says about Koussevitzky's service to composers of his and our own time, both in Europe and here, he adds that the record is not perfect—that the choices of new music to play have often been arbitrary and impulsive, with many instances of undeserved neglect, and that in the case of Americans it gradually became clear that "his principal interest was in youth, on whose behalf he tended to neglect youth's elders," that "he was interested also in newness for its own sake and for the attention novelty would attract to him," so that "a second performance of the . . . work might never materialize, unless it was by one of his favorite coterie"—Smith is not being malicious, for he points out that in all this "Koussevitzky was hardly exceptional among conductors in America"; he is merely stating what must be stated to complete the factual record.

But in the words of Virgil Thomson, whose article on the subject was one of his most brilliant performances, "all

Useful Information

For us the living it is important to remember how five million died at Auschwitz and Birkenau. It may be of even more practical importance to learn and remember how a few thousand survived. Both kinds of information are available in *Smoke Over Birkenau*. It is the explicit story of death in various forms: the gas chamber, typhus, starvation. It is also the story of life: of those who, "the body naked, the hands empty, kept locked within them some inner substance, a strength increasing as the need for it increased, a freedom created through the effort of their imagination, the strain of their will, and the work of their intellect."

The author was a prisoner in Birkenau from 1942 until 1945.

SMOKE OVER BIRKENAU

by Seweryna Szmagłowska

Translated by Jadwiga Rynas

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great artists loathe criticism. They do; they really do. What they want, what they need, what they live on, as Gertrude Stein so rightly said, is praise. They can never get enough of it. And sometimes, when they have come to be really powerful in the world, they take the attitude that anything else is libel and should be suppressed." Koussevitzky had complained of possible "irreparable injury"—which led Thomson to comment that "it is the big boys, the great big boys whom nothing could harm, that squawk the loudest." Actually, "his unique position in a world full of excellent conductors, many of them devoted to contemporary music, is that he has played more of it, launched more of it, published more of it, and paid for more of it than anybody else living. That is the clear message of Mr. Smith's biography. Everything else, a petulant gesture here and there, a musical or family quarrel, a pretentious remark, a vainglorious interview, the present court action, all these things serve the picture; they bring him more vividly to life. How can anyone mind knowing them? Only he himself, apparently, hasting fearfully toward Parnassus, though his throne there has long been reserved, and involved, no doubt, in a publicity apotheosis that has already begun, would see any value in posing before an already worshipping universe without the customary habillage of one human weakness. His lawsuit, of course, adds to the tableau that he has essayed to compose so carefully just that."

One final point: From Smith's book one learns how the fortune of Koussevitzky's second wife made possible for him not only the career of conductor but the life of a *grand seigneur*. Those are the facts; what follows is possible interpretation of those facts. That is, I am led to wonder whether one could say that his wife's fortune made it possible for a man who had suffered poverty, rebuffs, humiliations to compensate himself emotionally for those experiences by bestowing largesse on composers, conductors, instrumentalists, singers, critics, and all the rest. And whether one could say that his theory of the conductor's function, which makes it his right and duty to alter the scores of dead composers and to do the same even with those of living composers, is an extension of that pretentious behavior for emotional compensation. And that the spouting of portentous balderdash at Tanglewood is another such extension.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

No Contradiction

Dear Sirs: I want to congratulate you for the excellent articles by Daniel James on the A. V. C., and his account of the Communist intrigue by which our Russia Firsters try to infiltrate and control progressive organizations. But I would like to ask how you square this policy of opposition to Communist penetration and domination of progressive organizations with the attitude of Mr. del Vayo in his articles on the political situation in European countries. Mr. del Vayo, it seems to me, has excused every attempt made by the Communists to "coordinate" the Socialist parties in Europe with their own made-in-Moscow policies, and has criticized those Socialists who wished to maintain an independent and critical attitude toward the Communists because they believe that the welfare of the European workers does not coincide with the demands of Moscow's foreign policy. This might well be so, for example, because Russia's foreign policy might at times call for weakening a nation which was opposed to Russian aggression by creating economic chaos in that nation through strikes which were not justified by the true interests of the workers.

It seems to me that the same principle of preventing domination of labor or progressive organizations by those who always put the interests of Russia first applies in the case of the European Social Democrats as it does in the case of the A. V. C. Yet your articles support the Communist position in one case and oppose it in the other.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, August 15

[It is true, as Mr. Lewis says, that Mr. del Vayo believes European Socialists and leftists generally should cooperate with Communists. He sees in the divisions of Europe's left a wide-open opportunity for reactionary and fascist revival, particularly in the present period of political instability. On the other hand, he has never excused the attempts of Communists to "coordinate" or control the Socialist parties in Europe. On the contrary, he has criticized such attempts as destructive of the strategy of working-class unity the Communists so insistently advocate. A few quotations from recent articles by Mr. del Vayo will perhaps disabuse Mr.

Lewis of the ideas expressed in his letter.

Discussing the decisions of the Mont-ronge congress of the French Socialist Party in March, 1946, Mr. del Vayo wrote in *The Nation*:

The Communists must make the main effort to dispel the suspicion shared by many Socialists . . . that when a Communist talks unity, he means unity on his terms, with the Communist Party running the whole show for its exclusive benefit. It is too much to expect that any Socialist, however convinced of the need of working with the Communists, will let himself and his party be treated almost as intruders in the labor movement. It makes no sense to talk unity and then denounce a Socialist as a reactionary or a semi-fascist the moment he disagrees with the Communist line.

. . . Either the Communists feel strong enough to rule alone, or they need the collaboration of other progressive forces and especially of the Socialists. In the latter case, they must change their methods.

More recently, on June 28, 1947, Mr. del Vayo devoted his regular page to the problem of Socialist-Communist relations as it emerged at the recent Zürich conference of the Socialist parties of Europe. He ended his analysis with these words:

It is hoped that somehow the Socialist parties will succeed in overcoming their present difficulties. Europe needs them. There is a great mass of Socialist opinion, traditionally educated in freedom and radicalism, which does not fit in any other party. Its loss as an effective political force would be a great one, even for the Communists, although they often prefer to ignore this and do everything in their power to weaken the Socialist position. Only the reaction would benefit by their success.

—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Future, if Permitted

Dear Sirs: Roger Baldwin's article on Korea, in your issue of August 2, commands my greatest respect. His knowledge of the country, gained in a fortnight, is deeper and clearer than that of many army officials who have been there nearly two years.

Mr. Baldwin's description of the Korean police state, supported by the Mil-

tary Government, is true. The police use tactics familiar to survivors of war-time Japanese prison camps. Beatings are routine. Our responsibility for the dangerous position of liberal and honest Koreans cannot be denied either. An example: last March students of Korean universities walked out in protest when the Military Government seized control of their studies and classes. Many were imprisoned. They were released four months later.

One point Mr. Baldwin does not make clear: in Korea leftist and Communist are not synonyms for Soviet-supporter and Stalinist. Many Koreans believe in political and cultural democracy with economic leftism, although their position is increasingly difficult, pressed, as they are, between Russian influence and the Military Government. At least 60 per cent of all Koreans support some branch of the left, Stalinist, anti-Stalinist, or other. This at first shocked, then deeply impressed me. I grew increasingly aware, toward the end of my sixteen months in Korea, of the great political awareness of the people; of their strong and deep desire for freedom and its responsibilities; and of their honest faith in their country's future—if we and Russia permit it a future.

DELL HYMES

Portland, Oregon, August 24

For Action on Spain

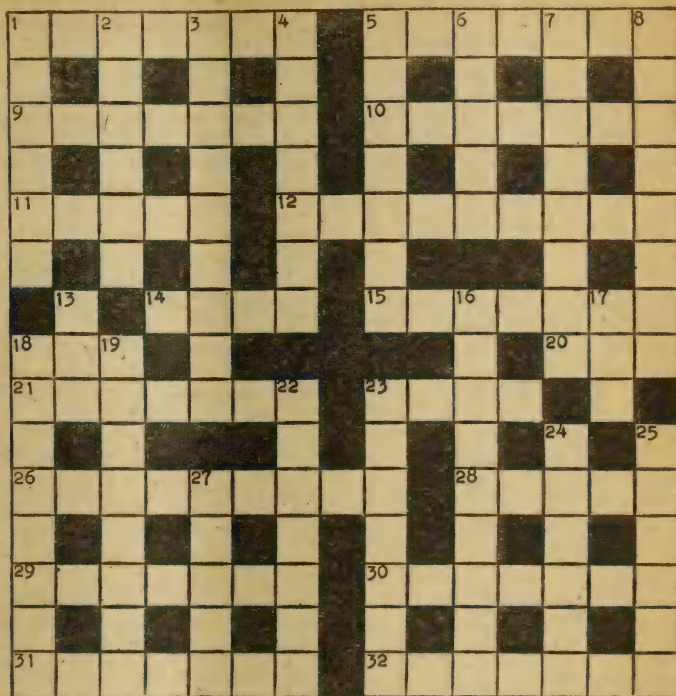
Dear Sir: The September session of the General Assembly of the U. N. will certainly be confronted with the necessity to decide on further action on the Spanish question.

In its Resolution on Spain of December 12, 1946, the General Assembly not only condemned the Franco regime and recommended the recall of envoys from Madrid, but declared that "if within a reasonable time" a government meeting democratic standards was not established in Spain, "the Security Council [should] consider the adequate measures to be taken in order to remedy the situation."

It is evident that a "reasonable time" has elapsed since December, 1946, and that no change has occurred in Spain. Political repression continues; men and women, continue to be jailed for "crimes" which in other countries are considered the simple exercise of the rights of free speech and assembly.

The Assembly resolution recalled also that "incontrovertible documentary evidence establishes that Franco was a guilty party with Hitler and Mussolini in the conspiracy to wage

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 227 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the fifth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Pons makes French gold for the angel
- 5 Arles? No, Joan came from elsewhere
- 9 In my role as a French Jeeves, I am befuddled with porter
- 10 Is it profane or is it a love match?
- 11 One raid covers the ranges
- 12 Compact to ease garment workers
- 14 Queen Bee
- 15 You can incur real ire if you provoke a Sooner
- 18 Small edition
- 20 This island is part of the Dodecanese
- 21 Thought can never be compared with action, but when it ----- in us the image of truth — Madame de Staël
- 23 Ethics of a coed
- 26 Tea vitiates when it gets too fancy
- 28 Mom has always been a matchmaker
- 29 Grow to be a general
- 30 Overlooks the seignor in the confusion
- 31 Damsels in distress
- 32 Leavens the lot of those put in bondage

DOWN

- 1 The Repubs have grown rich
- 2 Five in the wild rodeo show signs of strain
- 3 Sortie on one leg is sheer sorcery

- 4 The religious ceremonies ended with spirituals
- 5 Observe the back of the head
- 6 Fast company
- 7 Ida made a theoretical pilgrimage to Mecca
- 8 Voices that thunder in the index
- 13 Violinist's last stand
- 16 The little ones receive a dime when they make their first steps
- 17 Made one for eternity
- 18 It's rude to tease about the scales
- 19 Salt came to taunt the classic thirster
- 22 Dogs roam the streets
- 23 I live in a castle in Spain
- 24 Breastbones—easy, isn't it?
- 25 Sitter finds it rather dull
- 27 Grieve when I go out over the border

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 226

ACROSS:—1 CONSOLES; 5 STREAM; 10 MODESTY; 11 ADDICTS; 12 ARENA; 13 INSOLENCE; 14 GRILL; 16 NORTHERN; 19 EPISODES; 22 ROCKY; 24 VAIN; 26 MECUM; 28 OVERT; 30 CONTROL; 29 TRIGGER; 30 SEETHE; 31 CALABRIA.

DOWN:—1 CAMPAIGN; 2 NUDGE; 3 OBSTACLES; 4 ELYSIAN; 6 TIDAL; 7 ECCENTRIC; 8 MISTER; 9 HAWSER; 15 IMPUDENCE; 17 HARMONICA; 18 HYSTERIA; 20 DOCILE; 21 SUMATRA; 23 EVICTS; 25 MARCH; 27 EGGER.

war against . . . the United Nations." Finally, it should not be forgotten that the Department of State declared in May, 1946, that Franco Spain had "fomented foci of Nazi-Fascist influence in the Western Hemisphere" and that "Spanish diplomatic officials and persons in Spanish quasi-official organizations have for years been encouraging groups in the other American republics which opposed inter-American unity against the Axis during the war and which still strive to perpetuate the principles of the Axis system in the New World."

It is clear therefore that fulfillment of U. N. principles and the stability of the United States demand that further action against the Franco regime be taken by the world organization. What measures would be effective? It is the general opinion of the friends of the Spanish people that to deny Franco gasoline and oil would weaken his motorized armed forces and ruin his economy; to deny him industrial machinery, coal, cotton, and other raw materials would cause his economic collapse and accelerate his political collapse; to cease buying Spanish products would deny him the foreign exchange he needs.

It is to be hoped that the recently appointed United States delegation to the General Assembly and the United States representative on the Security Council have been instructed in this sense and that they will lead energetic action to help the Spanish people rid themselves of Franco and establish, "free from force and intimidation," a government of their own choosing.

LUIS MONGUIO

Mills College, Cal., August 26

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The Shape of Things

DEMOCRATIC PARTY TACTICIANS PROBABLY need no urging from us to study the political fever charts periodically issued by the Gallup Poll, the *Fortune* Survey, and other scientific seers. There is always the chance, however, that, carried away by enthusiasm over current trends, they will blind themselves to the underlying realities. The latest Roper survey shows that President Truman is now running even with Dewey and ahead of four other leading Republican candidates, any one of whom stood to beat him only five months ago. Gallup readings indicate that the percentage of voters who expect a Republican victory in 1948 has fallen from 79 per cent as of last December to 46 per cent today. It should not be assumed, however, that the remaining 54 per cent are ready to award the palm to Truman. His stock on this index has risen from a low of 9 per cent to an encouraging but inconclusive level of 30. The key lies in the remaining 24 per cent of voters, those who venture no opinion. The number in this category has doubled, indicating not only that more people are uncertain than was the case in December but that the Democratic chances of success lie precisely in this doubtful sector of the population. Presumably, they have been driven from a certainty of Republican success to their present position on the fence by the dismal record of the G. O. P. in Congress and by Truman's vetoes of the tax and labor bills. In other words, the Administration has been moving in the right direction, but it hasn't moved far enough. It should be perfectly clear to the President by now that the hope of the party lies in the Hannegan strategy of hewing to the New Deal line. That way lie the independent votes. The others are as good as cast already.

✱

INEVITABLY, THE LIMITED, CAUTIOUSLY administered "direction" of British labor into essential industries is being compared to Soviet regimentation, denounced as the inherent consequence of socialism, and mourned as the beginning of the end of British freedom. It is true, of course, that Englishmen in peace time do not relish being told where to work on pain of fine or imprisonment, but it is equally true that delegates to the annual Trades Union Congress last week voted six to one to support precisely that policy. There was some

irate debate over failure to apply the law to "spivs," or slackers, but there was no self-deception as to the dire crisis through which the country is passing, a crisis as great as any in time of war. Two overriding desires appear to have conquered the natural repugnance of British labor to the program of "direction," mild as it is and hedged about with safeguards: first, the survival of the nation as a power independent of both Russian and American domination; and, second, the success of the Labor Party. Foreign Minister Bevin drew his loudest cheers when he said to the delegates: "I am here this morning to appeal to you to fight for our independence, in the workshops, in the mines, in the fields. . . . Who can accuse me of wanting to be subservient to the East or the West? I want Britain to stand self-reliant and to come back, and I can only do that if you come forward." The response was an eloquent demonstration of the government's hold on the nation. Let those who venture comparisons with the surrender of individual liberty in certain other countries recall that in England there is no secret police to force enthusiasm, no one-party press to stimulate it, no limitation on the power of the voters to sweep men out of office and scrap their whole program.

✱

ERNEST BEVIN MUST HAVE SPOKEN WITHOUT benefit of expert advice when he told the Trades Union Congress that redistribution of the Fort Knox gold would help to eliminate world economic chaos. Certainly, he failed to make his reasoning clear. Had he referred to the American hoard of bullion as a symbol of economic futility, we would be the first to applaud. When all the world is suffering from shortages of useful goods, it is clearly insane to employ hundreds of thousands of men to dig this "hard food for Midas" from the earth so that it may be reburied in another place. But the Fort Knox pile is a symptom rather than a cause of economic disaster. It has been accumulated, partly as the result of our persistent reluctance to buy abroad as much as we sell, partly because this country has long seemed, to possessors of liquid funds, the safest haven in an insecure world. Redistribution of the gold would not of itself change these conditions unless it was accomplished by using the metal to finance an excess of

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imports. And, apart from tariff barriers, that is hardly possible at this time, since few countries have surpluses to sell us. If gifts and loans to foreign countries were the methods of redistribution, the gold would speedily return here, for it is not gold that Europe and Asia need but American wheat, coal, steel, and machinery. Redistribution of gold would, of course, temporarily provide our foreign customers with purchasing power for the procurement of such goods, but no more than would the loan of an equivalent amount of paper dollars. Presumably, that is what Mr. Bevin really desires. It is a great pity he did not say so plainly instead of dragging a gold fish across an already confused trail.

★

THE CURIOUS CONTINUITY OF REPRESSION and reaction that sets Britain's foreign policy in uncomfortable opposition to its domestic shift toward socialism—discussed by Margaret Marshall in her article on page 246—has nowhere been more strikingly dramatized than in the odyssey of the Exodus. To ship 4300 escaped Jewish survivors of Nazism back to Germany is an act which will cancel out politically, in millions of minds, the arduous and creditable struggle of the Bevin government to solve its economic difficulties. That the whole ugly performance was unnecessary, even in the context of British police rule in Palestine, was perfectly clear even before the High Commissioner fruitlessly protested against it during his recent visit to London. That it was also stupid is obvious, unless Mr. Bevin is trying to provide arguments in support of the proposals to be submitted to the U. N. Assembly by its special Palestine commission. Nothing could serve better to fortify the commission's unanimous recommendation that the mandate be ended forthwith than the spectacle of thousands of Jews forced by British clubs into German concentration camps. Against this bit of symbolic injustice, no Cadogan logic will prevail. As our issue goes to press, the refugees are still on board the three British prison ships in Hamburg harbor. Only the unlikely chance that they may decide to move docilely into the waiting camps can save the Labor government from the penalty of its folly. That, or an even less likely decision by the government to retrieve its reputation by allowing the Exodus passengers to enter Palestine as the first contingent of the 150,000 whose admission within two years was also recommended by the commission.

★

WE PREDICT EARLY DISILLUSIONMENT WITH the new government in Greece in spite of the good intentions and honesty of Themistocles Sophoulis, its venerable head. We even predict that Sophoulis himself will be disillusioned, for the shrewd and hard-boiled Tsalدارis bargained him out of several of the demands on which he had conditioned his acceptance of the premier-

ship. Tsaldaris controls 141 votes in Parliament to Sophoulis's 48; besides which, his party, the Populist, has the backing of the army and the crown. As a result, Tsaldaris, as Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, will be boss, as he was in the late Maximos government. Sophoulis wanted a majority of the Cabinet posts so that he could direct policy; he did not get them. He wanted the Ministry of War and the Interior, as well as that of Public Order—the three key posts in the operations against the guerrillas and the opposition in general; Tsaldaris put his men in the first two. Tsaldaris also forced the appointment of a Populist as Governor General of Northern Greece, with ministerial rank, which gives him direct administrative control in the chief area of disaffection. Not even the elimination of the ruthless Napoleon Zervas as Minister of Public Order will offset this Tsaldaris victory, for the success of the promised amnesty will depend entirely on the confidence of the guerrillas in the honest intentions of the men who will direct it. They can have none in Tsaldaris or his appointees. It is hard to imagine how an experienced politician like Sophoulis could accept responsibility for such a miserable coalition unless he was put under irresistible pressure by Loy W. Henderson, the State Department's emissary, who, in cooperation with Ambassador MacVeagh, has been busy "non-intervening" in the political crisis. Mr. Henderson was reported off to Washington with a "diplomatic triumph" in his pocket. We fear his gratification is a little premature.

★

ROBERT R. YOUNG, THE BAD BOY OF THE railroad business, is once more reminding his fellow-operators that a fundamental ingredient of the competitive system is competition. To railroad presidents, as to industrialists, free enterprise is the inspiration of all oratory, to be invoked at every suggestion of further encroachment by government; but in practice, as the rebellious chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway demonstrates, competition is something not to be mentioned at a board table. In polite railroad society, it is understood that convenience and profits call rather for the cozy sort of arrangement whereby freight trains moving over the shortest route between two points take exactly as long as those moving over the most indirect route. Between Chicago and California, Mr. Young points out by way of example, there are eight important freight lines, varying in travel distance by as much as 450 miles; yet over each of them the trip is scheduled to be made in precisely 118 hours and 30 minutes. Confronted with this remarkable coincidence, which Young has spread before the nation in the form of full-page advertisements, the roads have offered only the most bumbling explanation. William T. Faricy, president of the Association of American Railroads, did not

deny Young's charge of "deliberate freight slowdowns" but defended them as a device for preventing "speed wars," which would otherwise result from the "intense competition." Here is a bald admission which should interest both the Justice Department, as a practice in restraint of trade, and the Congressional committees that are about to investigate high prices. With the shortage of freight cars held to be a major factor in the inflated cost of food, it might be well to discover how many bushels of wheat and potatoes rot in the fields while freight trains inch across the country on schedules slowed down by agreement.

★

NOVICES IN THE ART OF UNDERSTATEMENT are hereby referred to a master, Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican Senator from Wisconsin and last-ditch opponent of the mild Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. "We found dead rats on the doorsteps, gas seeping from garbage, and veterans living in mud," the Senator reported after a visit to an emergency housing project in New York. "When you find conditions like that, you feel there is a problem."

The One World of Science

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S announcement that American radio isotopes will be made available for medical and biological research abroad is welcome news. During the past year, prospects have been poor for reviving the free international exchange of scientific information which has been the glory of science and the source of its achievements. In the fields of medicine and biology, the curtain has now been lifted by American action.

The cheap radioactive isotopes made in the atomic pile are the most important new scientific tool since the microscope. Their role in overcoming cancer needs no underlining, inasmuch as President Truman's announcement was made to the Fourth International Cancer Research Congress. However, they are just as valuable in other branches of medicine and biology. With radio isotopes as "tags," scientists can trace the infinitely complex processes that take place in living tissues, processes previously beyond man's ken. Within five years, hardly a medical or biological problem, from virus disease to growing old, will be tackled without the aid of radio tracers.

In sending radio isotopes abroad, we are doing ourselves as well as the world a service. Americans have no monopoly on scientific brains. A majority of the world's greatest scientists are Europeans. It was a Briton, Fleming, who discovered penicillin; a German, Domagk, who discovered sulfa; and a French couple, Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, who discovered the first radio isotopes

Given the tools and the opportunity, European scientists will repay us a thousand-fold with new achievements.

Some time will elapse before scientists abroad can actually take advantage of the American isotopes. Unfortunately, research with isotopes demands expensive equipment, such as Geiger counters. In Europe today, Geiger counters are even harder to obtain than food. Lack of equipment and food may prevent European scientists from making their full contribution for many years.

It will take a great deal more than this offer to end the suspicions that divide the world and to restore worldwide freedom of scientific exchange. Medicine and biology are, after all, only two of many vital fields of science. Nevertheless, the announcement is a step in the right direction.

The General Assembly

NEXT week, the General Assembly of the United Nations meets at Flushing Meadow. Its significance has been blanketed by the rapidly developing crisis in Europe's economy and by the actions of the leading states in the two main power blocs which have by-passed the world organization.

To some extent, this by-passing reflects the impotence of the United Nations as demonstrated by repeated deadlocks in the Security Council. And some of these independent actions cannot be put down on the red side of the international ledger. The grim fact is that the future of the world depends almost solely on the policy of the United States. In the present state of Europe's crisis, a bold and generous implementation of the Marshall plan is the essential of world recovery.

But the hope of the United Nations depends equally on American action. The major tragedy, which we have seen enacted over and over again at Lake Success, is that the overwhelming responsibility carried by the United States has been discharged in a mediocre, unimaginative, and fearful fashion. American representatives have acted like frightened little people, grocery clerks in a big-time poker game. We can only hope that the play will be different in the next weeks at Flushing.

The Assembly is going to have to grapple with some thorny questions among the sixty-odd items on its agenda. The Report on Palestine, a constructive, imaginative document, will be sunk in the cross-fire of big-power interests unless the United States gives its firm support and shows itself willing to help guarantee a new basis of peace in the Middle East.

The Greek issue is already prejudiced both by Russian intransigence in the Security Council and by American threats of independent action should the Assembly fail to back the United States position. If, in the com-

ing weeks, Greece could be stabilized with a liberal government strong enough not only to declare but to enforce an amnesty and to lay plans for the economic reconstruction of the country, the United Nations would be in a stronger position to insist on an impartial border commission to patrol the troubled northern region.

The veto, now under strong attack, has become the focus of anti-Russian feeling. There will be strenuous debate; but the veto will remain, for the simple reason that any amendment to the U. N. Charter must have the approval of the Security Council, which is precisely where the veto can be invoked. But beyond the present veto crisis is the over-all consideration that originally accounted for the presence of the veto in the Charter—that is, that no major decision in international policy can be taken, veto or no veto, unless there is unanimity among the great powers.

The overwhelming issue the Assembly must face, therefore, is this: Will the desire for the conditions of a stable peace expressed in the debates of the General Assembly succeed in narrowing rather than widening the breach between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the United States? If former Assemblies are any indication, the smaller and middle powers will take the initiative in the attempt to recover the lost ground of peace. The role of the great powers is far less certain. But, with Secretary Marshall heading the American delegation, the United States has perhaps its last chance to assert a moral leadership truly reflecting its paramount position in the councils of the nations.

Realism for Survival

AS WE go to press, we are waiting for a statement by Secretary Marshall or the President himself insisting that Congress must convene in special session to decide upon emergency measures to save Europe. That such drastic action is demanded has become clear from the reports of American observers on the Continent and from Assistant Secretary of State Robert Lovett's press conference last week. What has disturbed us from the beginning about the Marshall plan has been the casualness with which it has been presented to the American people, who, after all, have the final say in its implementation.

The emergency action that must now be taken is something in addition to the long-term plan of European recovery which has been hammered out through the summer by the representatives of sixteen nations in Paris. It is called for because Europe's food and fuel supplies are dangerously near depletion and many countries will face desperate need by mid-winter unless help is given now. If the need is not met, then the economic and political chaos will have become so widespread by

next spring that it may be impossible to put into effect any long-term program.

The storm signals have long been flying. Feverish attempts to maintain stability in England and in France, reports of bad harvests, the increasing unbalance of our import and export figures, all have emphasized the fact that a leisurely program of aid will not be sufficient to save Europe from collapse. Only the Administration's obsession with domestic political considerations and its small-town banker's approach to world economics can account for our allowing events to drift so close to the edge of disaster.

The actual progress made in Paris should prevent emergency-aid measures from being as barren of permanent results as the expenditure of \$15 billion in relief made by the United States since the war. In fact, whatever justification may be found for Assistant Secretary of State Clayton's sharp demand that the Paris Committee pare down its first estimate of \$29 billion over four years lies in his insistence that the Marshall program must lead to a going European economy. It is quite obvious that Europe now faces the urgent need of food, fuel, and equipment, without which its workers cannot increase production. But, by the end of four years, it is reasonable to expect that Europe's mines will be producing more coal and iron and its fields more grain. Moreover, it may be assumed that, by that time, the food resources of Eastern Europe will be augmenting Western Europe's supplies—in spite of the political iron curtain—and that the production of Asia and Africa will be available. Even more valid seems to be the insistence that intra-European trade be developed as far as possible on a multilateral basis. An integrated European economy along the lines of the agreement now operating among Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg may be some years in the distance, but steps in that direction can be taken now.

It has been singularly unfortunate that discussion of Europe's needs has been carried on in terms of the American dollars that must be supplied. In the first place, this emphasis is unreal since the value of the dollar—as Britain knows to its sorrow—fluctuates with the American price level. No one can predict what that level will be a few years hence, although sober economists question the prevailing belief of the politicians that the Marshall plan will step up American inflation. More important, to speak in terms of dollars obscures the real nature of the problem. During the war, we met certain objectives in terms of planes, guns, and tanks. Today, we can state similar objectives in terms of the food, fuel, and equipment needed immediately and during the next four years to get Europe's economy back on its feet. And these requirements are in turn related to the program of opening up Europe's inland transport system, the development of the Ruhr under international con-

trol, the starting up of Europe's factories. Perhaps, more than anything else, American economic aid is essential in the restoration of the democratic political life of Europe.

IT IS in this last respect that the Marshall plan has received some of the least informed criticism. "Are we to pay out good American dollars," it is asked, "to build up European socialism as a competing system to American capitalism?" In this connection, the recent report of the National Planning Association, which cannot be accused of leftist leanings, is pertinent. "The Socialist experiment in Western Europe," the report says, "unlike communism in practice, has involved no infringement upon the civil liberties of the individual. This, from an American point of view, is of supreme importance. Our primary concern should be whether individual liberty is protected, and not whether it finds expression under any particular pattern of economic life. If it is protected in any nation, that nation falls within the area of freedom which, for the preservation of our own liberties, we are called upon more insistently than ever to defend."

The success of the Marshall plan has also a direct bearing on America's economic stability. The emergency restrictions on American imports which both Britain and France have imposed during the past few weeks should be considered warnings of worse to come. An Atlantic Ocean empty of American merchant shipping would be scarcely less disastrous to us than to Europe. Already, the President's economic advisers are predicting a depression—a deep one, not a modest price adjustment. The obliteration of our export trade would hasten this catastrophe. While it is unfair to assert that the Marshall plan is solely prompted by American economic self-interest, it is only realistic to recognize that its implementation will mean that America's factories, farms, and mines will continue to export to Europe at about the same rate that has prevailed during the past two years.

Once we get beyond our dollar complex and think of the Marshall plan in terms of the needs of Europe's recovery, some of its challenge emerges. We no longer think, "Can we afford to pour into Europe billions of hard-earned American dollars?" but rather, "Can we afford to withhold from Europe the aid by means of which it can once more become a healthy part of the world in which we must live?" This is the point at which national leaders have failed the American people. Instead of fearfully estimating how much a particularly backward Congress can be cajoled into paying, they should challenge the American people to an enterprise scarcely less momentous than the one to which they responded when Europe was threatened by Hitler's armies. For we have faced no more serious threat since those armies stood at the Channel ports.

Socialism, Communism, and the West

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

EVER since July 25, the second anniversary of the British Labor victory, I have been brooding, as I had often brooded before, over the way the advent of socialism in Britain has been taken for granted, neglected, or played down by the people in this country—liberals and radicals—who might have been expected to make at least as much fuss about it as they did about the advent of Soviet communism in Russia thirty years ago. And surely anyone who was present at the time and has been around since then will have to agree that the fanfare with which that great experiment was greeted, and the continuing passionate interest with which it has been reported, explained, defended, and played up, month after month and year after year, bear no resemblance to the mild fireworks set off by the same greeters when the British people went to the polls and voted by an overwhelming majority for a Socialist society, or to the unimpassioned interest with which the progress of British socialism, against tremendous odds, has been reported ever since.

Let me make it clear, before the shouting begins, that I am not complaining because liberals and radicals threw their hats in the air when the Russian Revolution took place. What troubles me is that the same hats did not go even higher, but on the contrary were played close to the head, at the advent of socialism in Britain. For it is my own deep conviction that British socialism, granting that it succeeds, will turn out to be infinitely more relevant to the future of Western civilization than Soviet communism.

"Granting that it succeeds" is, I admit, a tall hurdle at a time when Britain and British socialism—and Western civilization—are passing through the darkest of days. But let us assume, for the duration of this article at least, that Professor Toynbee's theory of the Stimulus of Blows and the Stimulus of Pressures is correct.

My reasons will be seen to consist of well-known facts.

1. While the October Revolution took place in a country outside the main stream of Western culture, the British revolution occurred in the very center of that culture, and particularly of its political culture.

2. While the October Revolution was a drastic overturn directed by a small group of Westernized intellectuals in a backward country, the British revolution, as a thousand people have said before me, was a revolution by consent, brought about by the vote, deliberate, free, secret, and peaceful, of the majority of the people of one of the most advanced sectors of Western culture.

No one will question the foregoing facts or their

importance. From here on, however, while my facts may not be questioned, many will challenge their importance and more will deny their validity as arguments for my proposition that the British revolution is the most significant event of the twentieth century. And I am quick to admit that some of my reasons for believing that my proposition is correct spring from the very same elements in the British picture as the reasons which "the opposition" would give for arguing that my proposition is false.

3. While the October Revolution involved the shift from one extreme of social organization, feudalism (with a thin veneer of capitalism), to the opposite extreme, the proletarian state, the British revolution involved the shift to a Socialist order from a moribund capitalist order which had already been forced to appropriate many Socialist practices.

4. As a corollary, while the October Revolution repudiated the Russian past in a grand and terrible gesture, British socialism regards the British and the Western past not as a devil to be exorcised but as the matrix of the future.

5. While civil rights and freedom of thought, speech, and inquiry were, for reasons good, bad, and indifferent, not inherent in the October Revolution and are still, after thirty years, non-existent in the Soviet Union, the British revolution was accomplished without the sacrifice of these great Western concepts. On the contrary, they were the machinery by which the change from capitalism to socialism was effected.

6. As a corollary, while political fanaticism has from the beginning until now played a decisive part in the Soviet experiment, it has played and promises to play none whatever in the British experiment.

I NEED not be reminded that it is the very gradualism (point 3) of British socialism and its refusal to repudiate the past (point 4) which, as they have been manifested in Bevin's foreign policy—especially in respect to Greece and Palestine—have brought down the execration of Western liberals and radicals.

Britain's Socialist government has pursued an imperial policy in Greece and Palestine. But the same government at the same time has pursued a Socialist policy—and in a big way—by granting unconditional freedom to India. Place the two policies side by side and consider them in the perspective not of days but of a relatively few years, and I do not see how it is possible to deny that the granting of freedom to India is by far the more

significant of the two—in itself and as an indicator of the future course of British foreign policy—if only for the simple reason that freeing India was an enormous step in the breaking up of the British Empire. And this process, along with the socialization of Britain itself, must inevitably weaken and eventually remove the very motivations that determine the present policy in Greece and Palestine. But the two policies have not been considered in relation to each other. They have been execrated or praised separately, and so great has been the preoccupation with Greece and Palestine that the granting of freedom to India has been treated as if it were a side issue if not some kind of Indian rope trick. Here again, a great event for which liberals and radicals have been crying their hearts out for generations has been greeted with a few perfunctory cheers. Inevitably the violence in Greece and Palestine overshadowed the quaint ceremony replete with ancient ritual by which the King of England peacefully renounced his claim, of two hundred years standing, to be Emperor of India.

Lenin's foreign policy was a complete reversal of that of the czars. Today, thirty years later, the Kremlin's policy is in great part not only a reversal of Lenin's but a continuation of traditional pre-Soviet policy. And this cannot be explained entirely in terms of the external situation—the fact that the Soviet Union is "encircled" by capitalism. It also indicates that whatever the extent and scope of Socialist development within Russia, that development has not yet swept away the old motivations.

Bevin's foreign policy has been a continuation, not a reversal, of the imperial Churchill's. The significant thing is that the continuity which these stodgy British insist upon has not only allowed for an imperialist policy in Greece and Palestine but also for the granting of freedom to India. And there is another point: while only a Socialist government would have taken this latter step without further long-drawn-out resistance, even the British Tories had accepted, willingly or unwillingly, the loss of India as a natural sequence in British history. There is small likelihood, therefore, that it will or can be reversed. And it seems to me logical to believe that thirty years from now the present policy in Greece and Palestine will appear as the vestigial imperialist policy of the first transitional phase of British socialism, while the granting of freedom to India will appear not as a temporary trick but as a foundation stone in the by then established structure of British socialism.

Bevin's policy in Greece and Palestine has also overshadowed, from day to day, the fact that socialization has been going steadily forward in Britain itself. It has, to be sure, been steadily reported, though its great human interest has been slighted. It has even been reported in detail, because there is no censorship, it is close to home, and the facts are on display. For these very reasons perhaps the emphasis has been, not as it was in the first

years of the Soviet experiment—when no news was good news—on the larger fact that nationalization was going forward despite tremendous difficulties, but on the smaller fact that socialization in Britain has been slow and too kind to Colonel Blimp—only bad news has been news at all. But again, I think that thirty years from now the fact that the Socialist government moved slowly and overpaid stockholders will look less significant than the fact that the British economy was socialized.

THERE was a time when I shared wholeheartedly the contempt with which many liberals and radicals regard gradualism and any truck with the past. This attitude is particularly attractive to the citizens of a country with a strong penchant for violence and a deep emotional compulsion to forget the past or to regard it as having as little to do with the present and future as last week's newspaper. But my attitude has been somewhat tempered by my observation that beyond certain limits the past cannot be repudiated and that gradualism is not a theory subject to belief or disbelief but a process of history. I cannot help recognizing that today, thirty



Herbert Morrison

years after the October Revolution, the deeply engraved pattern of the Russian past is playing at least as decisive a part in Soviet policy, both foreign and domestic, as the blueprint of the Soviet future drawn up by Lenin and Trotsky. And I think there is no question that the Soviet reality will approximate that blueprint only after a gradual process which still has a long time to go.

When I was in Russia in 1935, what impressed me most was the fact that the Soviet Union was a frontier society manifesting the crudeness as well as the energy the term implies. The energy and sense of power were overwhelming. So was my consciousness of a lack of "know-how" which was almost beyond the comprehension of a Westerner so conditioned to skill that he takes it for granted. To watch Russian workmen laying brick was to feel that one could do it better—merely because for a lifetime one had watched American workmen laying brick—and also to realize that such skills are not achieved by a whole population overnight or by decree.

The Russians have made enormous strides but backwardness still plagues them—it could hardly be other-

wise, considering the historical stage of the country for which Lenin's blueprint was drawn and the catastrophes to which it has been subjected.

This backwardness is often mentioned in extenuation of Soviet policies, both foreign and domestic. But Western liberals and radicals, it seems to me, have never comprehended the extent to which it has operated in every phase of Soviet activity from the industrialization of Russia to the interpretation of Marx, and of Western ideas in general. Energy has consistently outrun skill. The present handling of the concepts of democracy and freedom is a case in point. This propaganda is generally regarded as "clever" and cynical—and it is both, in part; but in part also it reflects an



Sir Stafford Cripps

actual crudity and an actual lack of understanding which Western liberals and radicals, out of their very sophistication in these concepts, are not equipped to recognize. For this and for other very plausible reasons, their response to the phenomenon of the October Revolution and Soviet developments since then has been quite natural—but in terms of their own ultimate goals defeatist.

WESTERN liberals and radicals would not dream of substituting the Soviet industrial "know-how" for that of the West. But they have, wittingly or not, willingly or not, substituted the necessarily limited Soviet version of socialism for the far less straitened, far richer Western version. The whole train of events beginning with the collapse of the Western Socialist movement at the outbreak of World War I and the success of the October Revolution has implanted the assumption that in the end Soviet communism was the only likely left alternative to capitalism. Liberals and radicals have been constrained, in a word, to feel—with emotions ranging from devotion to dismay—that the ultimate choice lay not between Soviet communism and Western socialism but between Soviet communism and Western capitalism.

As a result, liberals and radicals of the pro-Stalinist persuasion have been put in the impossible position of defending, if only by default, the Soviet denial of civil liberties and freedom of speech and inquiry, secret police and concentration camps, party fanaticism, intense nationalism, and the distortion of facts and ideas to fit ideological and nationalist patterns on the dangerous assumption that they were not the manifestations of Russian backwardness but the inevitable and excusable accompaniments of Soviet progress. At the other extreme, liberals and radicals of the anti-Stalinist persua-

sion have been put in the equally impossible position of being almost ready to support a preventive war on the Soviet Union under capitalist auspices.

Thus the obsession with Soviet communism as the only alternative led to and has progressively deepened the tragic rift on the left; it has also had much to do with another tragic development, the abnegation of the Western ideal of socialism. And one of the terrible by-products of all this is the widespread assumption that socialism is by its very nature totalitarian.

The great significance of the advent of socialism in Britain is that it offers another alternative—a democratic socialism democratically achieved. Since this is an alternative that most of the left could accept, it offers a basis for the rebuilding of unity. And, just as important, since it has at least a fighting chance of success, it justifies the rehabilitation as a positive force of the Western ideal of socialism. For if British socialism is successful, it cannot help being the first step toward a democratic Socialist Europe.

THIS perspective may be too long and too happy. Accept it for a moment, and it will be seen to offer great advantages merely as a tentative approach. The issue of Soviet communism, whether as millennium or menace, is retired as the *central* issue on the left. The positive program of fighting for a democratic socialism takes its place.

Best of all, in this perspective the position of the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the West takes on a far less frightening aspect.

It is quite true, I think, that the Soviet Union as it is now constituted cannot exist in the same world with the Western democracies except under an armed truce which may at any moment, by accident or design, explode into war—and what a war! It is equally true, I think, that Soviet communism as it is now constituted could not maintain itself very long in a Europe which had achieved democratic socialism. But the pressure which a democratic Socialist Europe would inevitably exert on Soviet communism would be not the threat, at the government level, of military destruction but the peaceful and irresistible pressure of people on people.

The possibilities of this process are discernible even now in the theater of Eastern Europe if, again, one lifts one's eyes from today's newspaper and takes a somewhat longer view. Soviet communism is winning the battles—and the elections. It is getting away with the suppression of political parties and the purging of individual opponents. But the emergence of the police system from the shadowy, sealed, backstage recesses of Russia to the full-lighted stage of Europe, and its application to "people we know," exposes that system for the first time to the actual observation and the judgment of the West. So far the spectacle has served, it would

seem, only to increase the defeatism, happy or unhappy, which afflicts Western liberals and radicals—and for plausible reasons. It is all too easy to see in what ways Soviet communism is acting upon Eastern Europe. It is not so easy to see or to recognize evidence that it is being acted upon. But surely evidence of this sort is to be found in the Soviet denunciation of Western influence and of Russians who have "succumbed" to it, in Russia's campaign, concurrent with its movement into Europe, to discredit Western democracy, and its present attempts to justify its procedure in the countries it dominates.

It is meanwhile becoming clearer every day that Eastern Europe cannot be sealed off from Western Europe—Molotov went back to Moscow, but the trade pacts multiply. With a democratic Socialist Europe pressing upon it, Eastern Europe could turn out to be not the opening wedge of totalitarian communism moving west but the opening wedge of democratic socialism moving east, bringing in its wake the prosperity, peace, and genuine security in which the police state must wither away.

A SOCIALIST Europe, democratic and strong, would also go far toward combating the backward elements in the United States.

At the moment a Europe struggling toward democratic socialism and federation is caught between two backward giants—the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. The backwardness of the United States in relation to Europe lies primarily in the government's refusal to accept (1) the fact that the United States cannot get along without a prosperous Europe, and (2) the fact that Europe cannot afford and does not want a capitalist order. This is a menacing backwardness—which operates in every phase of official American activity; yet the pragmatic compulsion of the capitalist United States to support a Socialist Britain offers a point of pressure not to be overlooked. Neither should we forget that the present Administration—moving toward 1948—is very sensitive to the influence of labor and in general of opinion left of center as well as to the influence of the right. Through the application of pressure, the present Administration can be persuaded, out of an assortment of motives, to give aid to both Britain and Europe—and that aid can be turned to Socialist uses.

If my perspective makes any sense at all, then the main job of liberals and radicals is to unite—and unite quickly—on a program of fighting for democratic socialism in Europe, beginning with democratic socialism in Britain, not only as a goal in itself but as the *only* development that can prevent an insane atomic war and insure a peaceful prosperous world enjoying both security and freedom.

This does not mean that the Socialist experiment in Britain should not be criticized. Though its difficulties

should be given just weight—as they have assuredly not been so far—it should, since so much depends upon its success, be constantly analyzed in terms of the Western ideal of socialism.

Soviet communism should be subjected to the same test. It has given the West lessons in energy and economic planning. Western socialism can give—is under obligation to give—Soviet communism lessons in civil rights, in freedom of thought and inquiry, those "skills" which were created and have been developed over a long period of time.

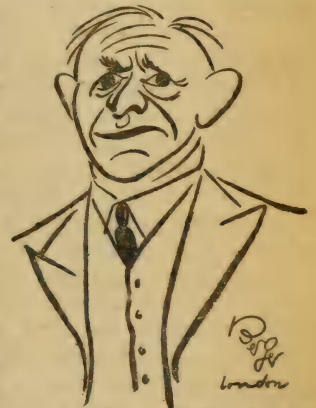
There are psychological obstacles to the program I suggest. One is the traditional American feeling toward Great Britain. It appears most often as anti-British; it is actually a feeling of ambivalence. But whatever its ingredients, this feeling makes it very difficult for Americans to work up enthusiasm for anything British.

Another is the obsession with Soviet communism, either for or against, as the only alternative. It will not be easy to dispel, even though the reason for it has lost much of its force. It has become a vested emotional interest, and Soviet propaganda is not designed to make it less so.

Still another, and very serious, obstacle is the half-conscious infatuation with violence and with power ruthlessly exercised, with the consequent carelessness of human life and minimizing of the human individual. This tendency was inevitable in a generation conditioned to cataclysm, to the mass murder of war, to the plausible, though illusory and in the end suicidal, belief that only violence works.

This complex of attitudes helps to explain why the facts (my point 5) that civil liberties and freedom of thought and inquiry remain intact in Britain and (point 6) that fanaticism—except for Churchill's resort to it—played no part in the shift to socialism have been so little stressed. To be sure, these facts, especially in the British contest, are about as newsworthy as the notation that a never-failing well has not gone dry. But their immense significance, for Britain, for Europe, and the world, is not thereby reduced.

Socialism, according to the Western ideal, is not merely a form of economic organization but a way of life. It envisages not the relinquishment of any of the



Drawings from life
by Oscar Berger

Emanuel Shinwell

goods of the Western past, in particular the great and still beautiful concepts of freedom for which our ancestors fought and died, but the addition to these goods of other goods—economic justice and social security. For while it is perfectly true that political democracy without economic justice is not enough, it is also true

that without political democracy economic justice cannot long endure.

Western socialism also looks forward to the extension of all these goods to the whole world. And in a world which can afford them all, who can believe that its peoples will ever settle, or settle down, for less?

Chicago Has One More Chance

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, August 30

ON AUGUST 13-16 the southwestern part of Chicago was the scene of the most serious racial disturbances since the widespread riots of 1919. Miraculously, nobody was killed, and the disorder was confined, but Chicago swayed dangerously on the brink of a city-wide riot.

Soon after the war Chicago began to experience violence in connection with the moving of Negroes into so-called "white" areas. The homes of Negroes were stoned and often were set afire with "Molotov cocktails." Since V-J Day there have been almost a hundred different attacks upon the person or property of Negroes—and occasionally upon other minorities. The disturbances came to a head at Airport Homes in December, 1946, when five thousand white neighbors marched on an emergency veterans' housing project because two Negro veterans and their families had been given leases. Policemen were hurt, cars were overturned, and a strong police detail had to guard the project for months, but the two Negro families stayed until one of their members was almost killed last February by the bullets of an unseen assailant. Airport Homes is an all-white project today, and residents of the neighborhood take pride in telling how they kept it so.

One of the last veterans' projects to be finished in Chicago was Fernwood, in a neighborhood where trouble was not unexpected. With the moral support of neighborhood newspapers, especially the *Calumet Index*, and of so-called "improvement" associations, such as the Fernwood-Bellevue Civic Association, the local alderman, Reginald Dubois, repeatedly said he could not guarantee there would be no repercussions in the neigh-

borhood if some of the apartments in the project were leased to Negro veterans. Mr. Dubois begged the Chicago Housing Authority and its director, Elizabeth Wood, to by-pass its non-discriminatory policy just this once. But the authority, mindful of its public trust and of state statutes forbidding it to discriminate, went right down its list of 25,000 applications. And of the eighty-seven veterans assigned apartments at Fernwood, eight happened to be Negroes.

Move-in day was Tuesday, August 12. Crowds gathered that evening but did no damage. It should be emphasized that the white veterans in the project were not among them. On the second evening things began to get out of control. The police, 168 strong, made the tragic mistake of not dispersing the crowds as they gathered in the twilight. After dark the mob marched on the project, and two police lieutenants trying to keep it back were hurt with stones. The rioters then surged on to an adjacent arterial highway and stopped automobiles. They smashed fenders and threw stones through the windows of cars, mostly those containing Negroes. A number of Negroes required hospital treatment; only two persons were arrested.

On the third evening, despite an augmented detail of 365 policemen, the mob came close enough to the project to stone it and break the windows of three apartments occupied by white veterans. Prevented again from attacking the buildings or burning them, the crowd—estimated at five thousand people—made forays as far as a mile from the project to attack automobiles occupied by Negroes. Eighteen arrests were made that third night. One of the injured told me this story:

I live in Morgan Park [a Negro community about a mile southwest of the housing project] and on Wednesday about midnight I decided to drive to the lake with my girl—it was so hot. We were rerouted off Halsted Street by police. Riding in my convertible roadster with the top down, we were waiting for the light to change at 103d Street when a brick was thrown at us. A crowd of about five hundred whites were on the street corner. I only saw three policemen. The brick hit my head and

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also my girl. I stepped on the gas and was able to get away. The police did nothing. At the hospital they told me I had a fractured skull.

After these three evenings of violence Thomas Wright of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and I had an early-morning conference with Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. We pointed out to the Mayor that proper police protection should be afforded or the militia should be called out. That evening, Friday, 1,000 police were assigned to Fernwood, the largest detail ever assigned in Chicago except for Presidential protection. Negroes continued to be attacked, however, and attempts were made to drag some off street cars and buses more than a mile from the project. One hundred and eighteen arrests were made, mostly of boys and men under twenty-five who lived within a mile and a half of Fernwood, though some came from as far as four miles away. A college student who was sent to observe the rioting reported as follows:

One of the agitators in the mob yelled that if they could stop the traffic, the cops would have to straighten it out, at which time the crowd could break through the weakened police lines and rush the project. So the traffic was impeded. Then a boy shouted, "Nigger, Nigger." A stone flew, a safety-glass window crunched. And there started a bloody game of "bash their dirty brains in" which continued unchecked for almost twenty minutes. Every Negro-driven car was attacked, its windows smashed, and its occupants bombarded with heavy stones as it slowly traversed the traffic bottleneck.

The next day there were evidences that Mayor Kennelly wanted to find "a solution" to the situation. Since he turned to the Chicago Housing Authority and not to the police department, it was inferred that he sought some way of ousting Fernwood's seven Negro families (one had failed to move in). Civic groups immediately prepared to fight to keep the seven Negroes in the project and arranged a meeting with Mayor Kennelly on Saturday afternoon, at which Professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago and the American Council on Race Relations acted as their spokesman. The Mayor indicated that he would back up the Chicago Housing Authority and promised a public statement of policy. He had made no announcement, however, a week after the conference. The situation is complicated by the coming referendum for a bond issue for public housing; this will almost certainly be voted down now as a result of the Fernwood violence.

During the disorders civic groups were busy trying to prevent them from spreading. The first need was to stiffen the city policy. The second was to allay the fears of the Negro community and prevent retaliation. As a whole the Negro community acted with rare restraint, although on the fifth and sixth nights there were a few cases of counter-violence.

TWO weeks after the rioting there is an uneasy armed truce in Fernwood, with at least 700 policemen still guarding the project. It is widely rumored that the neighborhood's residents are waiting until the large police detail is removed, when they will drive the Negroes out and burn down the whole project if necessary. Because of the continuing tension, forty-one civic groups have presented a ten-point program to Mayor Kennelly and other civic officials which they feel must be put into operation at once if Chicago is to be spared further racial warfare. The program is so applicable to most other Northern metropolitan centers that a summary of it is given here.

1. The Mayor should, by public statement, reaffirm the policy of the city to protect the person and property of all its residents regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

2. Public officials, including judges of the courts, the corporation counsel, the state's attorney, and officials of all other social-service and investigative departments should take steps, which they generally have not done, to promote the speedy and vigorous prosecution of cases arising out of the Fernwood incident and any other instances of violence against racial or religious minorities.

3. The state's attorney and other appropriate agencies should investigate the possibility that the disturbances at the Fernwood project were the result of organized activity and a conspiracy to deprive people of their civil rights, and if such investigation discloses the existence of such organized activity and conspiracy, seek indictment and vigorous prosecution. There is cumulating proof that the racial violence at Fernwood as in other sections of Chicago was well organized, and that it had the approval of a network of so-called neighborhood-improvement associations.

4. The radio and the metropolitan and neighborhood press should assume continuing responsibility for the way in which they report incidents of racial and religious violence.

5. All organizations in the Fernwood and adjacent neighborhoods, especially churches, industries, unions, veterans' posts, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, libraries, movies, and parks, should embark upon a program of education and action designed to eliminate further violence and increase the possibility of harmony within that area. One of the most difficult tasks has been the establishment of a beachhead in the immediate neighborhood of the housing project. Tentative conversations with the ministers of the Fernwood area show that churchmen behave little differently from non-churchmen in these situations. And yet the church and the volunteer welfare agencies have the best opportunities to combat overt bigotry.

6. The police department should institute a thorough-going examination of the racial and religious attitudes

of its personnel, work out a comprehensive system of policing in racial and religious tension situations, and set up a training program in inter-group relations under competent direction. If any one factor fanned the friction at Fernwood, it was the initial inept policing. The order apparently went out for the police not to make arrests unless absolutely necessary. And many Chicago policemen are too prejudiced to act impartially in a mêlée caused by racial hostility.

7. The superintendent of schools and the officials of other school systems in the city should take cognizance of the current tensions which have recently given rise to violence and put into effect at the earliest possible moment a sound program of intercultural education, including the evaluation of teachers' attitudes in our public and private schools, especially in Fernwood and adjacent neighborhoods.

8. The acute housing shortage in Chicago should be dealt with by comprehensive planning, using both public and private enterprise, and the Chicago Housing Authority's non-discriminatory policy should be continued and supported. The violence at Fernwood once more emphasizes the fact that Chicago, for all its official and unofficial housing programs and committees, has not begun its post-war housing program. Indeed, since V-J Day more houses in Chicago have had to be abandoned be-

cause they have fallen down or for other reasons than have actually been built. The task is big enough for both private and public enterprise, and confidence in the efficiency of the Chicago Housing Authority must be maintained, despite the bitter attacks on its non-discriminatory policies and on its personnel.

9. In view of its demonstrated effective work the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations should be strengthened by increased resources and by enactment of a city ordinance giving it permanent and statutory status.

10. In order to correct the basic causes of prejudice and tension, the recommendations of the commissions of the Chicago Conference on Home Front Unity should be put in effect so as to eliminate as quickly as possible discrimination against Negroes and any other groups in the fields of employment, housing, health, education, recreation, and the enjoyment of civil rights.

There is no short cut to racial peace, as Charles Abrams pointed out in *The Nation* recently. The ten foregoing suggestions may help to delay, and perhaps even prevent, violence. But fundamentally, the causes of prejudice are the devices which keep peoples apart. And so the long-run, day-by-day procedures for lessening discrimination in all areas of society and against all minorities must be continued and accelerated if Chicago is to be saved. Chicago has one more chance.

Letter from Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, August 30

THE Italian people are so deeply engaged in trying to solve the elementary problems of existence that political events, domestic and foreign, interest them only as their own situation is immediately affected. They are very skeptical about any promise of aid until they actually feel its results. Thus they are not excited by America's cancellation of the Italian debt or even by the Marshall plan. They do not realize that cancellation of the debt will leave Italy more dollars with which to buy grain in the United States and Argentina; they will be grateful only when they see the bread on their table.

One cannot blame them for this attitude, for food rations are terribly inadequate, and the government seems to be doing nothing to regulate consumption, increase production, and stop the inflation. Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, wrote recently in *Avanti*: "We are about the only country in Europe

where the only limit to consumption is the money which people have at their disposal. . . . A sort of madness for spending has seized the rich and, we must admit, also the healthier layers of the population. . . . Indiscipline in the field of consumption has its repercussion in the economic and financial fields. The lack of any sense of responsibility in the leading classes is corrupting the whole nation."

The masses know that a closed caste is already so solidly entrenched that no true democracy or social justice is possible. And this perhaps explains the continuous trend toward the left shown in the recent local elections. There are today two million unemployed, which means that ten million persons, about one-fourth of the population, are without even the minimum necessities of life. This is the country's fundamental problem, and one doubts that any Marshall plan could solve it. For lack of raw materials and coal, industrial production today has dropped to 60 or 65 per cent of its pre-war level, but even full production would not absorb all the unemployed.

The Marshall plan has become much less attractive

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for Italy since the countries of Eastern Europe refused to cooperate. Before the war one-fifth of Italian trade was with these countries, and they represent a market that Italy cannot replace. Germany used to take 70 per cent of the Italian production of vegetables and fruits in exchange for coal, iron and steel, machinery, and chemical products. Italy has therefore asked to be heard before the Allies make any decision affecting the future of Germany. Italy, moreover, shares France's concern about security. Important Americans who have been in Rome recently have spoken of the necessity of building up Germany to prevent it from going Communist. The average Italian fears that America wants to make Germany the economic center of Europe and that Italy's economic dependence will mean political dependence.

While the masses are inclined to wait and see, politically informed persons are asking a few questions. They realize that without help from America the country would have starved, but they do not forget that the United States is trying frantically to build up anti-Communist forces in Western Europe and to achieve this end is lending its support to the reactionary elements which are preventing the political, social, and economic changes so necessary if Italy is to become a progressive democracy. Many Italians are well aware that if they are being treated kindly it is because they are included in larger schemes. In other words, they fear that they are becoming more and more the pawns of forces which they cannot control. And after so many years of rule by armies of so many foreign nations they feel a strong urge to be once more the masters of their own destiny. This is a naive feeling, perhaps, in an age of super-states, when two nations are drafting policy for the rest of the world, but it must be considered nevertheless.

I DO not believe that American help in itself will buy De Gasperi more votes at next spring's general elections. The people know that certain fundamental social and economic reforms are urgently needed and that De Gasperi is not willing to carry them out. Had he really meant to do so, as he has promised so many times, he would not have formed a Cabinet representing exclusively the interests of the big industrialists and land-owners or have sought the support in Parliament of the extreme right, which is determined to maintain the status quo.

It is interesting to recall the conditions laid down by the right for its support of the last De Gasperi Cabinet. "Christian Democracy," said the Uomo Qualunque leader, Giannini, "is a great bourgeois party, is a Qualunquist party without knowing it. . . . It is Christian Democracy that has changed by coming closer to us; we have not moved toward it." His meaning was quite clear: the extreme rightist Uomo Qualunque will support Christian Democracy as long as it remains "a Qual-

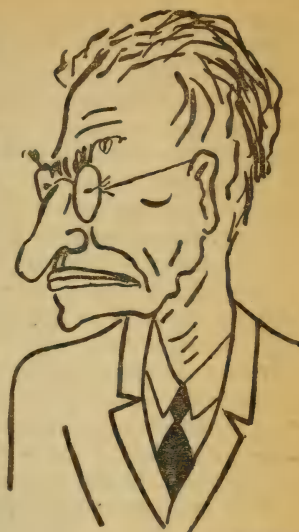
unquist party without knowing it," and follows the same line. Should the government act in any way displeasing to Giannini, whose party has only 35 seats out of 556, he would withhold his support and that would be the end of De Gasperi's present ministry.

Italian liberals point out that there is nothing very strange in the Christian Democrats having gone over openly to the right. Even while sharing power with the Socialists and Communists,

the Christian Democrats were strengthening their ties with the opposition. In the Rome municipal elections they joined forces with the Uomo Qualunque to prevent a candidate of the popular front from becoming mayor of Rome. In Sicily, where the popular front won a strong plurality, they made a deal with the Uomo Qualunque and the Monarchists to elect a Qualunquist president of the regional parliament in exchange for an entirely Christian Democratic regional administration.

To go farther back: at the referendum of June 2, 1946, six out of eight million Christian Democrats voted for the monarchy. And as for their record of anti-fascism, the 207 Christian Democratic deputies spent an aggregate of 3 years in jail and 2 in concentration camps during Mussolini's regime, while 219 Socialist and Communist deputies spent an aggregate of 295 years in jail, 17 in concentration camps, and 124 in confinement in penal islands; 3 were sentenced to death in absentia.

But the best proof of Fascist influence in the present government is the men who compose it. Luigi Einaudi, Vice-Premier in charge of financial matters, is a convinced monarchist and the president of Italy's biggest bank, the Banca d'Italia. The Minister of Transportation, Guido Corbellini, joined the Fascist Party on May 10, 1926, and on June 21, 1928, became an officer of the Fascist militia. The Minister of Merchant Marine, Paolo Cappa, supported Fascism before the March on Rome and was accused by the Socialist martyr Giacomo Matteotti of being an informer. The Minister of Foreign Commerce, Cesare Merzagora, is the director general of the Pirelli firm, one of Italy's most powerful industrial companies. Guido Gonella, Minister of Public Instruc-



Drawing by Lilly Ross
De Gasperi

tion, has been foreign editor of the Vatican's official organ, the *Osservatore Romano*. The High Commissioner for Food, Vittorio Ronchi, was head of the Ministry of Agriculture under Mussolini. The Minister of Justice, Giuseppe Grassi, is a southern land baron and president of a reactionary landowners' association.

Having come to power with the support of the Monarchists and Qualunquists, the Christian Democratic Party faced the problem of how to maintain itself in power as long as possible. With general elections due in October, it had a mere three months to get its own men placed securely in strategic positions. It therefore undertook what even Don Sturzo has called a coup d'état and managed to postpone the elections till spring.

Unless the "radical right" withholds its support, and that seems most unlikely, the new Cabinet will now have many months of life, time enough to fill the civil service with its faithful followers. Even before the last Cabinet crisis, when the situation was very confused,

the Minister of Public Instruction, Gonella, dismissed many provincial superintendents of education appointed by the Resistance and the Allies and replaced them with men of his own party. Gonella has been repeatedly accused of trying to discourage state schools in order to strengthen religious schools.

The Minister of the Interior, Mario Scelba, has replaced a number of provincial governors (*prefetti*) with men more to his liking. And in a highly centralized state such as Italy the Minister of the Interior can exercise so much power through the provincial governors and the police chiefs that the left has reason to be worried. Its newspapers warn of preparations made to influence the coming elections. While it participated in the government, even as a junior partner, the left was assured that no measure would be taken against it without its knowledge. It has now been deprived of that sense of security. And the result can be dangerous in a country so sharply divided on political issues as Italy.

Fight for Freedom in the Arctic

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Meilakatta, Alaska

IN THE high school at Nome sixteen-year-old Alberta Schenck read about Thomas Jefferson. Before the junior class she recited the wonderful lines entitling all people to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Certainly Thomas Jefferson must have felt that every girl ought to be able to go to a moving picture starring Tyrone Power or Gary Cooper, especially if she was escorted by a soldier in the United States army. That must have been what Thomas Jefferson meant by "the pursuit of happiness."

So Alberta stayed right in her seat when the manager of the theater ordered her over to the section "reserved" for half-breeds and natives. The Declaration of Independence said nothing about having to sit apart from other people because one of your parents happened to be an Indian. Alberta had learned in school that Indians and Eskimos lived in Alaska many centuries before the first white men landed there. Her ancestors, she had been told, had seen H. M. S. Discovery, Captain George Vancouver commanding, sail up Cook's Inlet in 1794.

But the manager of the theater apparently knew nothing

of Thomas Jefferson or H. M. S. Discovery. Nor did the Nome police, for Alberta was seized by two constables and forced up the aisle and out into the raw March wind from off the Bering Sea. Her soldier escort tried to comfort her, but Alberta was more indignant than tearful. She remembered what the founders of America had said about "redress of grievances." She was not quite sure what this meant, but she had a vague idea.

Alberta went to the headquarters of the Army Signal Corps and sent a telegram to the Governor at Juneau, 1,100 frozen miles away. In it she told the Governor what had happened in the theater, and not wanting to deplete the territorial treasury, she suggested that he answer her "collect." She reminded the Governor that her escort was an American soldier, and that her father had fought in World War I and both her brothers in World War II. She had paid the same price as white people to go to the show. Most of all, Alberta wanted the Governor to do something "to better conditions at once."

Today Alberta Schenck can sit where she pleases in any theater in Alaska. She can have her hair waved at any beauty parlor; she can order dinner in the main dining room of the Baranof in Juneau or any other hotel; she can enjoy what her school books told her are the inalienable rights of every American.

Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts make up 40 per cent of the population of Alaska. They are descended from the

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Territory's original owners, the people who dwelt in Alakh-Skhak, the "Great Country," long before the white man took gold from its rivers and a king's ransom in furs from its animals. They form one of the largest minorities to be found in any land under American sovereignty; but before Alberta spoke up, they were discriminated against and often segregated. At the entrance to public places they encountered signs which warned, "We do not cater to native trade." This bigotry so permeated the atmosphere that during the war many American garrison commanders issued orders forbidding their soldiers to dance or associate in any way with Indian or Eskimo girls.

When the first invasion of American soil in nearly a century and a half took place on Kiska and Attu, Alaskans became aware that if the Japanese moved along the Aleutian Peninsula and struck at the mainland, the fate of the Territory might depend on the resistance of scattered Eskimo tribes. In the haste of the crisis the Alaska Territorial Guard was formed. An officer who could speak the native tongue, Major Marvin Marston, hurried by sled and plane from village to village drilling the Eskimos in guerrilla defense. Behind him trudged quartermaster units handing out old Winchesters and blue shoulder patches to sew on reindeer parkas. If the invader landed at one of Alaska's countless inlets or coves, the natives were to wage a desperate Fabian warfare until the alarm was given and the bombers of the Great White Father could come.

The natives might not be allowed to share a restaurant table with the white man or sit next to him in a dingy theater, but they proudly wore the shoulder patches and bought war bonds with their tribal funds. In igloos and fur huts Marston found pictures of President Roosevelt and General Eisenhower. "We got \$10,000 reindeer money," a venerable Eskimo said to him. "Tell President Roosevelt we buy \$10,000 war bonds."

The white population learned of the loyalty and sacrifices of the natives from Ernest Gruening, the first governor of Alaska ever to visit the far-flung villages along the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Strait. Gruening was also the first governor to condemn the prevalent discrimination. After almost eight decades of American rule the Indians and Eskimos found that at last they had a champion in the white-columned Governor's House at Juneau.

At a Thlingit village along the Inside Passage Gruening said to the Alaska Native Brotherhood, "Since I have been governor, I can assure you that nothing has been more offensive to me than to see the sign 'No Natives Allowed.'" He urged the natives to take part in politics, to vote in the territorial primaries and at the general election. "It is necessary," he said, "that the native people be truly a part of the electorate in propor-

tion to their numbers and make their voice and their vote felt."

This had an ominous sound to Alaska's machine politicians, who have always feared full participation in politics by the large native minority. They called the Governor an "interloper" and "outsider," although they accepted with equanimity the domination of Alaska's

fisheries and gold mines by outside corporations. They even tried, without success, to get the President to send a new executive to Juneau.

When a bill was introduced in the territorial legislature banning discrimination "on racial grounds" in any public place, a member of the territorial legislature opposed it because the white



Drawing by Seligson
Ernest Gruening

man "represented 2,000 years of civilization and culture, whereas the natives of Alaska are but fifty years removed from savagery." The member also claimed that laws could not end prejudice and intolerance. He was answered by Mrs. Roy Peratrovich, president of the Alaska Native Sisterhood. She said that seldom before had a person "but fifty years removed from savagery had the opportunity to acquaint the product of two thousand years of civilization and culture with the contents of the United States Constitution." She then read the Bill of Rights, and concluded with these words: "I know that laws will not end prejudice and intolerance. We have laws against arson and murder, and yet still we have arson and murder. But at least we let it be known that civilized people are against that sort of thing. The natives of Alaska may be only fifty years removed from savagery, but we believe that our government should let it be known that we are against prejudice and intolerance."

The bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of seven to one. It failed in the House by a tie vote. But now the natives took the advice of the Governor. They put up their own candidates for the legislature and elected them. And at the next session the House passed the bill, nineteen to five. Perhaps prejudice and intolerance *can* be dealt body blows. Not one case has had to be brought under the new law. Display of one of the old anti-native signs would be punished by a fine of \$250 and a month in jail. It would cost a Nome policeman his star to force Alberta Schenck from her theater seat now.

Andrew Hope and Frank Peratrovich, Indians who hold seats in the House and Senate, have been elected

and reelected from southeastern Alaska, the long "pan-handle" in which natives make up only 25 per cent of the population. "This is an indication," Governor Gruening points out, "that individual ability and merit are stronger than prejudice. It is also sound proof of how baseless this prejudice is."

Great doors on tiny hinges swing; and Ernest Gruening's championing of the natives may have swung the most important referendum in Alaskan history. When the Territory voted on statehood last October, the corporations lined up in a well-financed phalanx against the proposal. They were afraid membership in the Union would increase their taxes and loosen their grip on Alaska's natural wealth. Many white voters were influenced by the taxation argument, for Alaska has been

the most lightly taxed entity under the American flag.

But statehood carried—by the unofficial margin of 9,565 to 6,820. Gruening stumped the Territory speaking for it, from the frozen shores of the Polar Sea to the spruce-clad coast within sight of the British Columbia railhead of Prince Rupert. And the natives stood by the man who had stood by them. The Indian villages voted more overwhelmingly for statehood than any white community. The question was decided in large measure by the people who not long ago could be dragged out of a theater if they would not occupy special seats.

"I hope," says Governor Gruening, "that the day may follow when men and women will be regarded as people, as Americans, as Alaskans, on a basis of character and ability only, and not as either 'whites' or 'natives.'"

A Backward Glance in History

BY WALDO R. BROWNE

ALL the passions are boiling over, and he who would keep himself cool and clear of the contagion is so far below the point of ordinary conversation that he finds himself isolated in every society." Thus wrote Thomas Jefferson to a friend in May, 1798. His country at this time was in the grip of acute hysteria, engendered by fear of a foreign power and hatred of a new form of government installed by that power. To the dominant political and economic classes in America, France was the menacing foe and democracy the odious subversive doctrine with which there could be no compromise. A few years before, the soil-grimed peasants and sweaty urban proletariat of France had overthrown the ancient monarchic tyranny, and their excesses had only recently subsided. Terrified by the spread of revolutionary ferment beyond French borders, the despotic governments of Europe, zealously abetted by the Vatican, were employing their ultimate resources of armed force and diplomatic intrigue in an effort to stifle the infant republic, with its dangerous slogan of "liberty, equality, fraternity." But in 1798 the armies of the Revolution were still invincible, both on their own soil and in adjacent countries. Disregarding the treaty of 1778, under which France had come to the aid of our own revolutionary cause, President Washington had given bitter offense to the French by proclaiming American neutrality in the European conflict and by strengthening political ties with France's arch-enemy, Great Britain.

In this atmosphere French-American disputes and misunderstandings and provocative incidents flourished luxuriantly, until in 1798 a "Stop France" movement had attained formidable proportions in the United States, and a virtual state of undeclared war existed between the two countries.

The American war faction, composed in largest part of what James Parton has termed "the silver-forked civilization of the country," was politically organized in the Federalist Party, then holding power, and was led by Alexander Hamilton, whose ideal of government was the "rule of gentlemen" and who believed that democracy could lead only to anarchy. The anti-war and pro-French elements, consisting in the main of small farmers and industrial workers, were led by Thomas Jefferson, champion of popular government and the common man, who thought that revolution every twenty years might not be a bad thing for any country. In the Presidential chair sat the former Vice-President, John Adams, protégé and partisan of the Federalists, a statesman considerably smaller physically and mentally than his illustrious predecessor in office, honest and conscientious but lacking in broad political judgment and obsessed by a dislike nearly as deep as Hamilton's for what he once spoke of as "those democratical principles that have done so much mischief to this country."

With the anti-French hysteria at its culmination in 1798, Hamilton inveighed against France as "a den of pillage and slaughter" and against Frenchmen as "foul birds of prey." In and out of Congress America's recent ally in the war against Great Britain was assailed as "the spawn of revolution" and "the enemy of civilization." Stories of French spy plots and of French landings on

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the Southern seaboard, with "slaves armed—masters murdered in their beds—churches burned—women outraged—girls kidnaped—horrors piled on horrors," filled the Federalist press. "The clergy were urging the hate of French democracy as a Christian duty, and converting their pulpits into pedestals of Mars." Even such distinguished patriots as Monroe and Gallatin were branded as tools and agents of a hostile foreign power, converts to "the new religion of France"; and typical of the attacks upon Jefferson himself was a contemporary cartoon depicting "Mad Tom in a Rage," endeavoring with the devil's active assistance to pull down a pillar labeled "Federal Government." War measures—then, as always, designated "defense measures"—providing for creation of a navy, a greatly enlarged army, and heavily increased taxes were rushed through Congress under Federalist sponsorship.

Nevertheless, it was becoming evident that the war party had overplayed its hand and that the Jeffersonians' efforts toward sanity and peace were beginning to enlist majority support. Realizing the political consequences if they should fail to foment war with France, the Federalists now sought an effective means of silencing the party of opposition, the party of democracy. In particular, they had long been crying for suppression of those "nests of intrigue and subversion," the local democratic societies organized throughout the country to further political education. In the summer of 1798 the Federalists pressed through Congress three bills directed in one drastic way or another against aliens, and a fourth which imposed heavy penalties on every person, alien or citizen, found guilty of trying to stir up "sedition" or of writing or publishing anything "false, scandalous, or malicious" against Congress, the President, or the Cabinet.

Although little action was taken under the new alien laws, enforcement of the Sedition Act brought an official reign of terror, and "from 1798 until 1801 liberty was mobbed in America with the zealous support of the federal courts, to the applause of the church." But with each prosecution of some prominent Jeffersonian, public opinion showed itself predominantly on the side of the victim, sometimes with rather alarming vehemence. "Thwarted in their plans against the leaders, the terrorists turned upon the weak and lowly, demanding the discharge of Jeffersonian artisans employed in the manufacture of war material. Out with them! 'It is a notorious fact,' complained Fenno, 'that a number of artisans . . . are of politics destructive of the Constitution.'" One of the most flagrant proposals for immolating a prominent citizen under the Sedition Act was directed against Dr. James Logan of Philadelphia, who went to France in 1799 at his own expense and wholly on his own volition in an effort to determine the true state of French opinion toward America. He was a Jeffersonian, a peace-loving Quaker, who felt that his own country had been

deceived by war propaganda. Upon his return there were cries that he be prosecuted for "defaming his country abroad" and holding "traitorous intercourse with the democratic conspirers against civilization." But on reflection even the more rabid Hamiltonians drew back from this extreme application of the Sedition Act, and the furor aroused by the Logan incident soon subsided.

The war party continued to rage against Jeffersonian "appeasement," but now with the knowledge that its cause was all but hopeless. "Tracy, who had wanted to arm the women and children against the French, wrote McHenry that while he had sacrificed much 'to root out Democracy,' he thought it 'to be lost and worse,'" and "Jonathan Mason was furious because 'from being respectable in Europe, from having convinced Great Britain, and from having associated with all the friends of Order, Property, and Society . . . we must again become soothers and suppliants for peace from a gang of pitiful robbers.'" The Federalists had gone much too far in their autocratic efforts to suppress opposition opinion and to embroil the country in war. President Adams broke with Hamilton and joined the forces striving for peace, charging in an angry letter that the Hamiltonians were nothing better than "a British faction." With the elimination of several prominent "war hawks" from his Cabinet and the appointment of a conciliatory minister to France, which also adopted a less intransigent attitude, French-American differences were gradually reconciled, and the war hysteria was left little or nothing to feed upon. In 1801 Jefferson succeeded Adams in the Presidency. In his brief inaugural address he said: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

If knowledge of past events is chiefly useful as a guide to intelligent action in the present, Americans would do well to ponder the chapter from our early history summarized in barest outline above. (Perhaps the best detailed account for the general reader is contained in Claude G. Bowers's "Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America," a few brief quotations from which are embodied in this outline.) "Those who cannot remember the past," says Santayana, "are condemned to repeat it." And even if any direct relevancy of that chapter to our current crisis be denied and its most obvious lessons rejected, these events of nearly 150 years ago should at least serve as salutary reminder that the seemingly novel perils confronting us today are in reality not novel at all. Only the stage and actors and particular circumstances are new; the drama itself is in all essential elements as old as the beginnings of man's harried progress toward a truly civilized collective existence.

Hay Fever, Arthritis, Longevity

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

EACH year, at about this time, the steadily growing army of hay-fever sufferers become vitally interested in new medical treatments. Dr. D. L. Engelsher, who has been administering the anti-histamine drugs, benadryl and pyribenzamine, gives an account of his experiences with them in the New York State *Journal of Medicine*. Of 193 patients—ages ranging from three to seventy-nine—who were given benadryl and pyribenzamine on a three-day trial, two-thirds either felt no relief or their condition became aggravated, while of the remaining one-third, 9 per cent showed a marked improvement and the rest had mild relief. Drowsiness, an after-effect of the treatment, occurred in a considerable number of cases and should be emphasized, since it may prove dangerous to persons employed in work involving risk, such as drivers, machine workers, and the like. Dr. Engelsher concludes that although the new drugs have proved helpful to a small percentage of hay-fever sufferers, the vast majority are not sufficiently benefited. But my own experience with the drugs suggests that they are well worth trying, of course under careful medical supervision.

DISCUSSING the new strict controls over the sale of barbiturates in New York City, the official publication of the Medical Society of the County of New York requested the director of the Department of Pharmacology of a New York medical school to discuss whether "the barbiturate addict is just as much a danger to society as the narcotic addict." I quote from his answer:

It seems that what the public needs to know is that the development of addiction to the barbiturates is much more difficult to attain and that short periods of use for mild nervous states and sleeplessness do not result in difficulties. . . . The more severe grades of barbiturate addiction are as difficult to cure as are morphine addiction. . . . Both are maladjusted individuals, incapable psychologically of coping with the problems of life, seeking an escape in the trance-like state of depression by a drug.

IN *Medicine* (New York) of August 3, 1947, Dr. William B. Rawles gives an interesting evaluation of present-day therapy in rheumatoid arthritis.

Gold therapy: Although this method has been in use for the past eighteen years, there is still a difference of opinion as to its real value. Many patients have discontinued its use because of the frequent toxic reactions. If the gold salts are employed in the early stages of the

disease, a marked improvement is felt by 50 to 60 per cent of the patients.

Intravenous injections of procaine have been beneficial in cases of traumatic arthritis and osteoarthritis. Although Vitamin D has been used as a treatment for more than ten years, it has little or no value; other vitamins are useful only for their tonic effect.

Anti-Reticular Cytotoxic Serum: In six of the first group of twenty patients receiving doses of the serum temporary improvement was noted.

X-ray therapy: Although the results of X-ray treatments have been disappointing in peripheral rheumatoid arthritis, it is of considerable value in spinal arthritis. Dr. Rawles reports a marked improvement in 60 to 80 per cent of the cases.

Prostigmin: This is not advocated as a new treatment for arthritis, but it has been found useful in relieving muscle spasm.

Arthritis is still a protean disease: 60 per cent of its victims need thyroid, 40 per cent lack hydrochloric acid, and 40 per cent show liver disturbances. Anemia is often present.

ACCORDING to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1947 promises to establish a record low in mortality. The death rate for the first six months of the current year was 7.6 per 1,000 policy holders, 3.8 per cent below that of last year during the same period. One of the favorable factors is the low mortality from influenza and pneumonia, 13 per cent below the previous minimum, recorded in 1945. Deaths from tuberculosis were 8 per cent below the 1945 minimum. Deaths from syphilis have decreased almost 30 per cent in the past decade, from appendicitis more than 70 per cent. This record seems all but incredible; happily it is true.

Among the several millions of insured children, the death rates from measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and diphtheria all add up to less than 1.5 per 100,000, which is very remarkable. Deaths from the diseases characteristic of later life have also shown a marked drop this year. The mortality from cardio-vascular-renal diseases has declined 1.2 per cent from that of last year. Diabetes mortality has declined 6 per cent. Even the number of suicides has dropped 7 per cent, and homicides 12 per cent.

If a new war does not rudely interrupt the American health race, we shall certainly fulfil the statistical prediction that by the end of the century 90 per cent of all deaths will be of persons over the age of forty-five.

Del Vayo—The Temper of the French

Paris, September 4

THE third anniversary of the liberation, celebrated throughout France during the past few days, has provided a good opportunity to gauge the present temper of the French people. Two things were immediately apparent: first of all, the commemoration of this historic event, without which France might today be a province of a new German Empire, aroused little popular enthusiasm. Secondly, the separate celebrations organized by the various parties reflected the deep internal divisions that have opened in France.

The government ceremonies were marked by a characteristically cold and solemn tone. Other functions bore an unmistakable party stamp; they were not so much commemorations of French unity during the glorious struggle for liberation as warnings to the opposing faction, issued in an atmosphere of growing hostility.

I spoke with some of the heroes of the Resistance, the real fighters in the five grim years of occupation. They did not hide their disappointment, indeed their bitterness, over these party splits and especially over the attitude of most of the French people, who give the impression, at least to the casual foreign observer, of political apathy, fatigue, or outright indifference. The crowds in the streets listened as loud-speakers blared official speeches on France's mission in the world today and the reconquest of its former greatness; their response was a wry grimace, or one of those pungent comments typical of a people who have lost everything except their wit, or simply a shrug of the shoulders.

But it would be wrong to conclude from all this that France is through, so prostrated and obsessed by food shortages and the prospect of a collapsing currency that it has lost all interest in politics. Many observers wrote France off once before, in 1940; this time an unexpected surge of fighting energy in the French people may prove them wrong again.

Beneath this apparent apathy is the profound disillusionment of those who, throughout the period of resistance, had hoped that a different France and a different world would emerge from the war. Louis Saillant, president of the National Council of Resistance and now secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, summed up their attitude in these words: "Most of the European peoples subjugated by the armies of Hitler dreamed that liberation would break the chains that bound them and open an era of political and economic independence. This expectation has been only partly fulfilled." And then Saillant ventured an explanation of Europe's frustration. "Can it be," he asked, "that influential American circles conceived the liberation as a simple restoration, as an investment which ought to pay dividends?" Refusing to accept the widespread notion that the French people were simply incapable of transforming the liberation into a true revolution, Saillant placed the responsibility for

the present critical situation squarely on those who intended from the start that the liberation should be nothing more than liberation from the Germans and not from the political and social system which caused the fall of France.

The disproportion between what the Resistance hoped for and what has actually been accomplished in the past three years becomes obvious from reading the texts of the resolutions and demands formulated in the midst of struggle when the Gestapo was torturing and executing any underground workers it could lay hands on. I spent the official holiday going through this literature. Most of the resolutions seem to have been drawn up in much the same atmosphere as that of the 1789 Convention, where the uncompromising austerity of Robespierre and the impassioned speeches of St. Just made history that is still undimmed after a century and a half. The same patriotic ardor animated the underground leaders; they exchanged their guns for pens in the hope of liberating France not only from the Nazis but from the political and economic evils that made possible a retrogressive movement like fascism. For the best men of the Resistance the armed struggle against the invaders was part of the broad struggle against fascism in which my country was the first resistant; reading these underground documents, I was deeply moved by frequent references to the Spanish republic and its heroic fight.

Since varied political tendencies were represented in the French Resistance, the documents do not make clear the nature and the scope of the revolution they planned to set in motion. But in any case it was to be a democratic, anti-capitalist revolution that would destroy once and for all the age-old privileges of the industrial and financial oligarchy gathered at Vichy.

The revolution has been paralyzed, thwarted, but many of the forces which worked for it are still active. They are continuing their activities, apart from official France. That is why they did not participate in the government's liberation ceremonies but chose rather to organize separate demonstrations and meetings. Some have fallen back on themselves, and the visitor unfamiliar with the present situation is apt to assume that they have quit or dispersed. On the other hand, the right, which last year was still cautiously measuring its every step, is now most active and vocal. A realignment of French reactionary forces has taken place. Their propaganda is subtle, audacious, and efficient, adapted to the needs of the day; they are utilizing the same demagogic approach to social questions that has proved so successful for Perón. Their patient, jesuitical politics continues to exploit the mounting popular irritation over high prices and the bread shortage, and to prepare the psychological conditions "for the day De Gaulle decides to move."

[In next week's issue Mr. del Vayo will continue this discussion with an article on De Gaulle and the October elections.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Slender Reed

THE CULTURAL APPROACH: ANOTHER WAY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Ruth Emily McMurry and Muna Lee. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

THIS volume deals not with cultural approaches to international problems but with cultural-relations programs. For ten countries of the world it describes their policies of putting themselves across internationally by means of radio broadcasts, subsidized literature, information centers and national institutes abroad, and bilateral exchange of persons. The United States entered this field late and on a small scale in the years immediately before the last war, but many other nations have included it in their national budgets for a much longer period.

The book examines official statements of policy and the dates at which various programs were adopted, not the content of broadcasts or the character of the personnel exchanged. It quotes official claims of the success of these programs in furthering the special purposes of the initiating nation but does not attempt to make any independent investigation of results. It is therefore a handbook of official pronouncements about this "arm of foreign policy."

The nations examined are pre-war Germany and Japan, Russia, France, Great Britain, certain South American republics, and the United States. They differ hardly at all in their claims that such programs facilitate that country's economic and political advancement beyond its borders. Some nations also add that exchange of persons is a valuable way of getting extensive information about other countries. The larger nations agree that they must combat the propaganda of others. A French deputy rhetorically asked the Chamber of Deputies as far back as 1900, "What political operation or armed invasion was ever able, with less expenditure, to produce such important and lasting results?" As one reads, one is obliged to recognize that cultural-relations programs, though

they are bloodless and war is not, are far from being "another way in international relations." We have them because we have also war, and not because we are eliminating war.

Cultural-relations programs have furthered many excellent objectives—from broadcasting daily news to helping a doctor or a nurse get better professional training than was available in his own country. The difficulty is in the nationalistic sponsorship. Radio broadcasts financed on some other basis than because they further economic and political penetration of another country would command more credence. The program for training doctors and nurses and teachers would be less suspect if it were run by an international board of their own profession and financed by groups working for world health and schooling. This is impossible today both because we still live under the threat of war and because only national treasuries are large enough to grant the sums necessary. This fact should not blind us, however, to the recognition that official cultural-relations programs, however honestly they are administered, are structurally ill adapted, in Archibald MacLeish's words in the Introduction, "to improve the mutual understanding of peoples by substituting for the artificial image of the state the human and living image of the people themselves." We must support them because they are what we have in the world as it is, but we shall be deluded if we bank heavily upon them.

RUTH BENEDICT

Radio's Responsibility

THE AMERICAN RADIO. By Llewellyn White. University of Chicago Press. \$3.25.

ONE of the great accomplishments of the singing commercial is the fact that it has irritated the public into an interest in what makes radio tick. During the last few years an enormous number of people have learned, to their amazement, that the public owns the broadcast channels, and that radio stations are licensed on the theory that

they will serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." To this growing awareness of the broadcasters' obligations "The American Radio" makes a very important contribution.

As radio man for the Commission on Freedom of the Press, Llewellyn White was responsible for the draft of the radio sections of that commission's report, "A Free and Responsible Press." The work of the staff consumed numerous man-years, but the report itself was a rather brief pronouncement bearing the signatures of the odd-dozen Caesar's wives who ornamented the commission's letterhead. The commission has, however, made the overflow of its investigations available in a series of volumes signed by its staff members, of which this is one.

"The American Radio," consisting of the research notes which led to the conclusions expressed in the final report, is a compendium of background material on the technology, finances, and politics of radio, dictated chronologically and carefully checked against the knowledge of experts in the field, among whom copies of the draft were circulated. It is a useful if not inspired handbook. The writing is rather uneven because it is apparent that the author has never quite decided—nor does the format make clear—whether he was speaking ex cathedra for the commission or only for himself. This is not to say that the book is inhibited or restrained in tone. Mr. White has very definite opinions. All of them are interesting, but some conflict sharply with others.

For example: On page 198 Mr. White feels that the Federal Communications Commission's "Blue Book" requirement, that stations devote a certain portion of time to public-service programs, is unconstitutional; ten pages later he proposes that the FCC set up schedules of required public service much more detailed than was ever contemplated in the "Blue Book." And he specifically denies the notion that this proposal would be unconstitutional. Then, on page 178, at the same time that he is castigating broadcasters as "men who do not understand the First

Amendment," he urges that they be given greater freedom, through the abolition of the "Mayflower" rule, to pursue their personal predilections at the expense of other points of view. (The "Mayflower" rule requires stations to act merely as public forums of ideas, presenting all sides but refraining from adopting any editorial policy of their own.)

Although he expresses a strong belief in freedom of speech, he disagrees with the FCC's unanimous opinion that atheists, no less than spokesmen for religion, are entitled to time on the air for discussion of their views. And he defends the California station which, in an adroit effort to embarrass the FCC, gave time to an atheist at an hour which it knew would offend most listeners—the hour on Sunday which has been used for many years by the Salt Lake City Tabernacle Choir.

Mr. White is at his best in his criticisms of broadcast programs—it is obvious that he put in many long and grueling hours of night work beside his receiver—and he goes to the heart of radio's worst program abuses. As an ex-newspaperman he is shocked by the realization that newspapers, if they were managed as radio is, would sell not only their advertising columns but their news and feature columns as well. Radio stations have delegated to advertisers their responsibility to create programs—practically all of the program service which stations are sworn to perform is delegated to such agencies. Mr. White makes this analogy: "It is rather like a householder who carefully investigates someone to whom he proposes to sublet his home, only to discover that quite another family, about which he knows nothing and which is not bound by any lease to take care of the property, intended to occupy the premises all along." He devotes considerable attention to the National Association of Broadcasters, and clearly reveals the hollow nature of the N. A. B. codes, which, while purporting to be serious documents of self-regulation, are in reality so much public-relations confectionery.

He is concerned most, however, with radio's apparent failure to fulfil its responsibility to keep Americans informed about the current questions which, as citizens in a democracy, they are called

upon to decide. Time is short, he feels; the atom bomb is ready, and unless the people of the world quickly arrive at a degree of sanity, we are all surely doomed. Surveys have revealed a shocking lack of knowledge of important subjects. In spite of an extremely high literacy rate and wide access to the radio, people are not getting all the basic information they need in order to vote intelligently. Mr. White finds, as many others have found, that radio has been even more derelict than other media in the performance of its duty to inform.

He makes numerous suggestions for the solution of this problem, but they boil down to these: an exhortation to the radio industry to take its responsibility more seriously and to temper its commercialism with professional standards; a demand that the FCC act more courageously, and listen occasionally to the still, small voice that is usually labeled, "Dissenting Opinion by Commissioner Durr"; a plea to the N. A. B. to improve the industry's ethics; and a suggestion to the public that it make itself heard, both in the stations and in the FCC.

JEROME H. SPINGARN

For Sages and Philistines

APPRECIATION: PAINTING, POETRY, AND PROSE. By Leo Stein. Crown Publishers. \$2.50.

WHAT a delightful man Leo Stein must have been—if this book mirrors his personality as faithfully as it seems to. Here is a statement, which, alas, recently proved to be a last testament, of a man who made an appreciation of the arts a living, active, and fundamental part of his life. Without the least trace of snobbery or obscurantism he has stated the bases of his appreciation with a lucidity and directness which should disarm the most ardent of philistines and inform the most erudite of pundits. Perhaps his sister Gertrude, whose "cubist" approach to literature he does not seem to have particularly appreciated, may have been partially responsible for his patently wonderful sense of the value of words, and for his passion for composition both in painting and writing. His tastes might well be considered conservative—among his gods are Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Giorgione, Cé-

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zanne—but his enthusiasms have all the novelty that can be engendered by real passion distilled through a sharply analytical mind.

Most of the book is devoted to a statement of what he likes in the way of painting, poetry, and prose, and why he likes it, and this embraces an expression of his personal philosophy, his views on a multitude of subjects, and some excellent critical analysis. He says that his critical analyses are sketchy and impressionistic, but to the reader they seem to be wise without being in the least didactic or pontifical. The remainder of the book is devoted to reminiscences of painters such as Picasso and Matisse—how tactfully he avoids the dreadful intimacies and quaint anecdotes by which such impressions are usually marred—and of life at 27 Rue de Fleurus, where he and Gertrude lived and started assembling their art collection. "Art for art's sake is a silly slogan," says Mr. Stein in the last pages of this book, "and art is only important as an integral part of culture." Certainly it is the fact that he had obviously integrated his own appreciations so thoroughly into his life and culture that makes this such a charming, informative, and human book.

ANTHONY BOWER

New Angle

THE WINE OF VIOLENCE: An Anthology on Anti-Semitism. Edited by Nathan Zuckerman. Association Press. \$5.

HISTORIES of anti-Semitism already exist in abundance, and new tracts, many disguised as fiction, issue from the presses hourly. But Mr. Zuckerman has a new angle. In his "Anthology on Anti-Semitism" he assembles quotations, most of them very brief, from a few hundred miscellaneous authorities, including such strange bedfellows as J. Edgar Hoover and Earl Browder, Chaim Weizmann and Adolf Hitler, Ben Hecht and Leo Tolstoy, Theodore Roosevelt and Henri Bergson. There are also liberal selections from the men who would naturally appear in such a book: A. L. Sachar, Maurice Samuel, Ludwig Lewishon, Hugo Valentin, Lee J. Levinger.

Mr. Zuckerman's impersonal method justifies itself mainly in the lively dis-

agreements about causes and cures. Most contributors urge that the fiber of Jewish life be strengthened, although Heywood Brown and others beg the Jews to solve their problem by vanishing. R. C. Rothschild cautions the Jews not to be unpleasantly insistent on their legal rights, while bolder spirits demand new legislation against race hatred. Some curious shades of belief are represented, including one point of view that this reviewer had long thought to have been invented by defenders of Jewish rights in order that they might destroy it with irony: "Let every Jewish student realize that his loud voice and tousled hair will do as much harm to Jewry as a dozen lies from Streicher, and we shall notice a diminution of the apparent discrimination in colleges." It is reassuring to learn from this evidence that Maurice Samuel had not invented his opponent when he criticized those who wish that Moses had brought Emily Post's "Etiquette" from Mount Sinai instead of the Ten Commandments. The conflict of opinion frequently dramatizes these very issues: a choice between "Etiquette" and the Ten Commandments, between an uneasy acceptance of second-class rights and a militant affirmation of democratic privileges.

The technique of the invisible editor frequently serves no purpose, especially when Mr. Zuckerman offers short and snappy value-judgments on anti-Semitism. "Is anti-Semitism moral bankruptcy?" The answer is "Yes!" twelve times. "Is anti-Semitism reactionary?" The answer is "Yes!" seven times. The editorial method becomes downright silly when Mr. Zuckerman selects paragraphs from here and there to write a history of anti-Semitism. The quotations overlap, facts are repeated, new rhetorical turns are employed for the same old entreaties. But once this unique method of assembling a work on anti-Semitism is allowed, the editor makes few additional mistakes. The scientific and economic analyses might have been more strictly segregated from the generous statements of amateurs (Orson Welles, Archbishop Spellman, and Ben Hecht are among the specialists who diagnose anti-Semitism as a disease); a more consistent employment of the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Jewishness might have helped give a pattern to the book.

The editor has granted representation to almost every shade of opinion; general disagreement is therefore to be expected. All that seems certain is that a number of Jews appear to be wilfully insistent upon maintaining their existence, their identity, and their rights and that they and their Gentile allies have worked out a variety of programs for survival. Fortunately, most of these programs are not mutually contradictory.

HENRY POPKIN

Prophet of Doom

LEON BLOY: A STUDY IN IMPATIENCE. By Albert Béguin. Sheed and Ward. \$2.75.

LÉON BLOY, who in his lifetime suffered—vociferously—from obscurity and want, is coming royally into his own. A very fine book, "Présence de Bernanos," begins with a glowing testimony to the strange and angry master. I reviewed a while ago in *The Nation* Raïssa Maritain's "Pilgrim of the Absolute." The present work also offers the life and thought of the Ungrateful Mendicant, the scurrilous satirist of "Swine-on-the-Marne." It is not an anthology but a collection of four long essays: Initiation into Suffering; Poverty, Money, and the People of Israel; The Symbolism of History and the Soul of Napoleon; A Prophet of our Catastrophe and His Impatience. It is of high and sustained merit. Its weakness is that it claims for Léon Bloy a solitary grandeur which is fictitious. Bloy was not alone in rejecting "the popular belief in the steady progress of the species and the early advent of a golden age." It would seem as if no one among the modern prophets of doom had read the second Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Taine, or Sully-Prudhomme.

The American edition of Béguin's book contains a very useful Historical Sketch of the Life and Work of Léon Bloy. Raïssa Maritain had not dwelt on the commanding influence of Anne-Marie Roulé, which was "the Secret of Léon Bloy." (Yet letters on the subject were published by Jacques Maritain in 1936.) Anne-Marie was a prostitute with whom Bloy fell passionately in love. He converted her, but she soared beyond his guidance. She saw visions, announced the end of the world, an

apocalypse in which the role of Elijah was reserved for Bloy. She died twenty-five years later in an insane asylum. But according to his hagiologist, "Léon Bloy's inner life was largely determined by these revelations, to which he never ceased to lend the utmost credence." When the validity of the mystic experience is discussed, such facts should not be overlooked.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

In Brief

ATOMICS FOR THE MILLION. By Maxwell Leigh Eidinoff and Hyman Ruchlis. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company \$3.50.

HERE is an excellent text for a man with vivid memories of high-school chemistry and physics. It is really an elementary book on atomic physics, very well written and containing lucid explanations of the why and wherefore of things—of matter and energy.

These days all roads lead to the atomic bomb. The many pages devoted to atomic physics are merely a preparation for the understanding of the final explosion. But must the atomic bomb represent the crowning glory of the work of chemists and physicists? No, indeed, if the chemists and physicists, headed by Einstein, Urey, Fermi, and others, have anything to say in the matter. The internal energy of the atom, which we can now tap, must be used for peaceful purposes, and the authors of this text wisely devote some 60 pages out of a total of 270 to this theme.

THE PROBLEM OF REDUCING VULNERABILITY TO ATOMIC BOMBS. By Ansley J. Coale. Princeton University Press. \$2.

THIS is a report prepared for a committee of the Social Science Research Council, studying the social and economic aspects of atomic energy. What, if any, are the methods which can be used to reduce vulnerability to atomic warfare? Mr. Coale analyzes this problem. While it becomes obvious that some form of decentralization will be necessary, and primitive cave-dwelling may have to be resuscitated, no specific conclusions are drawn.

BENJAMIN HARROW

THE STORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN MEXICO. By Trent E. Sanford. W. W. Norton and Company. \$6.

FOR the first time it has occurred to someone to write a popular book on Mexican architecture. As a matter of fact, it is much the same book about Mexico that we have been given, over and over, for the last ten years, only that this time it is about architecture. There are the same stories, from the

same sources; the itinerary is the same; the same buildings are described with the old familiar inaccuracies. But since there is nothing else of the kind that an intelligent tourist can put in his suitcase, we should perhaps not cavil; and in these days any publisher who will "risk" such a book deserves honest praise. The illustrations are excellent, and new, and will help to show that there *is* architecture in Mexico, and that it is worth going to see.

ELIZABETH WILDER

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Films

JAMES
AGEE

THE Italian-made "Shoeshine" is about as beautiful, moving, and heartening a film as you are ever likely to see. I will review it when I am capable of getting any more than that into coherent language and feasible space.

"I Know Where I'm Going" is a very pleasant English film by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. It is the story of an imperious young Englishwoman (Wendy Hiller), about to marry for money, who is delayed among the natives of one of the islands off the coast of Scotland and there learns better things about herself and about life in general than she might have expected to. Some of this story is told, and characterized, with slickness and whimsy as well genuine lightness; I kept realizing, as I watched and enjoyed it, how shallow and shabby it would probably seem in print. But there are engaging performances by Miss Hiller and Roger Livesey; the sensitive photography and the intelligent if not very imaginative use of sound do more than enough to make eloquent the influence of place on people; and the whole thing is undertaken with a kind of taste and modesty whose absence did much to harm Messrs. Powell and Pressburger's "Stairway to Heaven" and "Black Narcissus." Theirs is a gentle sort of talent at last, but at times they know very well how to use it, without much concession to their liabilities—inordinate ambition, bumpiousness, and a general unevenness of judgment.

"Kiss of Death," which sketches the embarrassments of a burglar who becomes a stool-pigeon, is another of Hollywood's "locale" movies. (Possibly that word will do: what I mean by it is that the picture is shot mainly or wholly in actual places; the story, as a rule, is based on fact, though that seems to me less important.) It is written, coldly and convincingly, by Ben Hecht and Charles Lederer. It is directed by Henry Hathaway and photographed by Norbert Brodine. The script, though expert, is certainly not inspired, and I can't believe that the director and camera man are better than thoroughly competent, either. All of which makes "Kiss of Death" the more striking, for apparently if good technicians pay careful attention to the actual world, they can hardly help turning out a movie that is worth seeing; and the actors who have to play up to this world

are greatly stimulated and improved by their surroundings, too. I don't care as much for this film as for the much more lively "Boomerang," but in its own way it is nearly as good a job. Victor Mature is good as the burglar. I have always wished I might cast him right; he is well cast this time. In any adequate production of the picture he would be still better in a still better role: as Diomed in Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida."

"The Roosevelt Story" is interesting to see, chiefly because it includes a good many revealing portraits of the late President, and because in most other respects it is so archetypically awful. It claims to be non-political, which is as absurd as if one put out a biography of Babe Ruth, taking care to avoid the hot subject of baseball. Its commentary approaches the low, to date, in pseudo-common-mannishness (and that is a pleonasm if ever I perpetrated one). You can't help realizing as you watch it, still more as you listen to it, that a terrifying number of Americans, most of them in all innocence of the fact, are much more ripe for benevolent dictatorship—and every dictatorship is seen as benevolent by those who support it—than for the most elementary realization of the meanings, hopes, and liabilities of democracy. It is doubtless an exceedingly well-meant film, but that doesn't exactly reduce its power to sadden and to disturb. It includes a good many shots of the dead-march in Washington. These are some of the most beautiful shots ever put on film and, properly arranged, could be as great and as moving, in their far more complex and qualifiable way, as Whitman's threnody. They were very well ordered in the newsreels just after Roosevelt's death. Here they are so used as binders, and as springboards for flashbacks, that most of their possible power is thrown away. But even in this mangled state some of the single shots are enough to stop the breath.

"The Devil's Envoys" is the work of Jacques Prévert and Marcel Carné, who made "Children of Paradise." The pretentious, hammy, romantic symbolizing and oblique philosophizing of the latter bothers me more than it used to, but I still very much like the picture; it does have style and glamour. "The Devil's Envoys" has style and glamour too, but not of a kind I can care much for. The effort is to make a movie equivalent of one of those medieval romances which have always seemed to me as overrated as they were interminable; and to lace this sleepy posset with a lot of heavy allegory about Love as Evil and Love

versus Evil. Quite a bit of it is elaborately beautiful; but I was forced to realize anew, as I watched it, just how boring unalleviated beauty can be. Once in a while this trance-like ballet of beauty and black magic permitted, almost as if by accident, a glimpse of what the actual Middle Ages must have felt and looked and smelled like. At those moments the picture became wonderful, magic and beauty and even allegory included. But most of it is like a required reading of "Aucassin and Nicolette," translated into Middle High Marshmallow. It is a discouraging sign of the times that "The Devil's Envoys" won a French Critics' award. That goes far toward helping explain why the best movies in the world, and in many years, are being made in Italy.

I was astounded to hear that some knowledgeable people think of "Brute Force," a movie about men in a big jail, as a happy return to the melodramas of the early thirties. Maybe so, in some of the jab-paced, slickly sadistic action sequences. But there isn't a line in it, or a performance, or an idea, or an emotion, that belongs much later than 1915, and cheesy 1915 at that. And terrible as the movie is, that is its considerable charm. I suspect, without malice, that the ideal audience for O'Neill's "The Iceman Cometh" is in some non-temperance Old Men's Home along the Bowery—it is in that sense a genuine and likable folk-play. I also suspect that the ideal audience for "Brute Force" is among men who have been shut off from the world, paying their debts to society—as society laughingly puts it—since Pershing was a pup. I am sure they were never like the men in this picture, even in their youth; but I'm also reasonably sure that they think they were, and think people still are. If you have ever seen a country audience taking "The Old Homestead" for Gospel, you'll know what I mean.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN "Two Worlds of Music" (Creative Age, \$3) Berta Geissmar writes about the years in which she was close friend, secretary, and adviser to Furtwängler and manager of the Berlin Philharmonic, until she was forced out of her positions by the Nazis and had to leave Germany; and about her subsequent experiences as secretary to Beecham and manager of the London

Philharmonic. The book is not without interesting details, especially in the portion about Beecham; but about Furtwängler it is sketchy, incomplete, idolatrous, and worthless, since it creates a picture of someone with no resemblance to the flawed musician and flawed human being that Furtwängler is by the testimony of more reliable witnesses, including himself.

The book is an amazing revelation of the lack of moral awareness on the part of its three chief characters—Furtwängler, Beecham, and Dr. Geissmar—in the situations in which they found or placed themselves: on the part of Furtwängler in staying in Germany, especially when there could no longer be any pretense that he might be able to get the Nazis to change their policies, or could benefit anyone but himself; on the part of Beecham in going to Germany to arrange Beecham's appearances there and to engage German artists for Covent Garden (Beecham got amusement from ramming her down the Nazis' throats; she got satisfaction from it). Their excuse was that they were acting in accordance with their contention that art must be kept non-political—in disregard of the political use the Nazis made of Furtwängler's submission after his resignation, and of Beecham's visits. And actually Beecham yielded to the request that he omit a Mendelssohn symphony from the programs of the London Philharmonic on its German tour—as Furtwängler yielded to similar German pressure not to play a Mendelssohn symphony in Budapest.

Lacking moral awareness, Dr. Geissmar can describe incidents like the one of Beecham and the Mendelssohn sym-

phony without any realization of how damaging they are. Thus she writes that when, in February, 1934, the Italian ambassador transmitted the request for a tour of Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic in Italy in April, "I told him that his request came too late. But he was so insistent that I finally promised to do my best, provided . . . that after upsetting our plans he would at least arrange an audience for Furtwängler with Mussolini in Rome. I did my work, Cerruti did his. . . . The day after the first concert Furtwängler had an audience with Il Duce. . . . The second concert was sold out, Mussolini and his daughter Edda occupied a box. . . . Furtwängler was given an Italian decoration of the highest order the country could bestow on an artist." And while the German Nazis in Rome reported home only a complaint about the non-Aryan members of the orchestra, "the German Ambassador, von Hassell . . . reported to the German Foreign Office, emphasizing the great success of the tour, particularly in view of the obviously hostile feeling of the Italians towards the Nazis."

Yet, instead of being pleased the authorities in Berlin, including Goebbels, were furious—because the tour had been arranged by her. "That their ultimate end had been accomplished did not matter: they had not accomplished it themselves." And it is clear that she reports all this without any realization that she is claiming credit for success in, and complaining of Nazi ingratitude for, an involvement of art with politics, and describing actions by Furtwängler as damning as anything he did in Germany—as, for example, his first appearance after his submission, in April 1935, at a *Winterhilfe*

benefit concert attended by Hitler and the entire government, and the famous cordial handshake with Hitler at that concert, which Dr. Geissmar rightly calls a "symbolic gesture."

The "Pavlova" edited by Paul Magriel (Holt, \$3.50) is, like the "Nijinsky," one of the volumes in the series sponsored by Ballet Society, and made up largely of material previously published in *Dance Index*. Its most important contents are the photographs of Pavlova, which are lovely, and sometimes excitingly so, though not as vivid and exciting as the Nijinsky photographs (but I doubt that any ever were or will be). In addition there are Marianne Moore's poetic comment on the photographs, Carl Van Vechten's reviews of Pavlova's first performances at the Metropolitan, her own "Pages from My Life," a brief recollection by one of her pupils, Muriel Stuart, a chronology, and a bibliography.

The Museum of Modern Art's pamphlet "The Theater of Eugene Berman" offers some of Berman's stage designs, and an introduction by George Amberg on the subject of easel painters as stage designers, in which the writing and thought are extremely unprecise and unclear.

This is true also of Mr. Amberg's long introduction to "Art in Modern Ballet" (Pantheon, \$7.50), a collection of drawings and paintings for the ballet by easel painters of Europe and the Americas. About a third of the book is devoted to an index of 833 ballets with full data concerning book, music, choreography, scenery, costumes, company, and first performance, and to further indices of the composers, choreographers, and designers.

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Letters to the Editors

The Ideal Candidate

Dear Sirs: The implications of the promotion of Lieutenant General J. Lawton Collins to Deputy Chief of Staff seem to have been generally unnoticed. Newspaper reports state that General Collins has been mentioned as a possible successor to General Eisenhower, though most army men believe the position will go to General Omar Bradley. Of course Bradley could be moved out after a sufficiently decent length of time to "honor" him had elapsed. Collins, a devout Roman Catholic, one of the leaders of the fight to merge the armed forces, equipped with a dogged determination to succeed, personal integrity, and ability as a soldier, is the ideal candidate in the eyes of certain forces in and outside government circles.

The accusation of religious bigotry will doubtless be raised should any protest against Collins's appointment be made. But there arises a most important consideration—that of loyalties. Regardless of his personal integrity and ability, a man in his high position, civil or military, who has been indoctrinated for years with the political philosophy of the Roman Catholic church must make a major decision each time loyalty to his church comes in conflict with loyalty to other policies of our non-Catholic country. Justification can usually be found for following the "directives" of the church. When the philosophies of the Catholic church and the military are combined in one person in a position of such importance as the Chief of Staff of the army, and when the Catholic church is openly engaged in a struggle against Russia, is there not danger that we might be rushed into war against Russia?

Another question arises. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the fate of capitalism will be determined within the United States. The forces of reaction have already started to use their wealth to freeze our economy along dangerous lines and eventually will try to use the military. The crisis which the economists predict is not far off will determine whether capitalism will be transformed into fascism or develop into some form of economic democracy. Since the army will play a dominant part in any ensuing disorders, and since the influence of the Catholic hierarchy may be expected to

be thrown on the side of capitalist reaction, the selection of a Catholic Chief of Staff would have tremendous economic and political significance. The appointment of General Collins, therefore, would be unwise.

HELEN WALLACE KELLEY

Washington, August 20

Courtesy or Truth?

Dear Sirs: In an attempt to "answer" the charge made in the recent Hutchins report that American newspapers are not sufficiently critical of one another, one newspaper man, Walter Locke, a columnist on the *Miami Daily News*, has offered the insipid and unconvincing "explanation" that newspaper editors have grown too polite nowadays to call one another names. He is persuaded that such politeness enables rival newspapers to live together in peace. Perhaps it does, but peace at whose expense? At the expense of the American public, the answer must be, and at the expense of the truth.

"Competitors in business develop a 'courtesy' of their own," Mr. Locke goes on to say. "Is this 'courtesy' a combination in restraint of trade? Who knows?" he asks. Mr. Locke knows. Mr. Locke also knows that in the newspaper business the trade is in ideas and facts. Tiring of the critical spirit in which newspapers once were published, "the editors," he says, "settled down to their job as purveyors of news and ideas, leaving the public to judge their rivals for themselves." Well, the public will then judge Mr. Locke for itself. It will want to know why it is really impolite for co-workers in the vineyards of the truth to point out errors—and falsehoods, too—wherever they may be found, in the common endeavor of newspapers generally to provide the public with the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Locke is talking through his hat. He is too good a columnist and too good a critic not to know that peace must be built on a much firmer foundation than mere politeness. The only worthy foundation and the only lasting one can of course be nothing less than the truth. And our age, far from having grown "polite," is characterized, more perhaps than any age before it, by criti-

cism, watchdog of the truth. We test our products and ourselves relentlessly, searching for flaws. We employ the most powerful X-rays to ferret out flaws in steel beam and human bone. We probe, probe, probe—with microscope and telescope, with fluoroscope and stroboscope. We insist on the truth. We love the truth.

The ancient Greeks also loved the truth, more ardently perhaps than we Americans do today. Even then, however, a certain Diogenes felt it to be necessary to walk about in the market place in broad daylight with a lighted lantern in his hand, the better to search out the truth in men's countenances. But Mr. Locke, who also carries a lantern, would blow out the flame before peering into his rivals' faces.

EWING ANDERSON

Miami, Fla., August 26

An Undesirable Alien

Dear Sirs: In the year of grace (or of disgrace) 1917 the United States Congress approved the Jones law, by which the Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship. Those who accepted American citizenship were granted the right to vote and the privilege to serve their country (Puerto Rico) as public officials, either by election or by appointment. But those who rejected it, preferring to remain citizens of Puerto Rico, were deprived of the right to vote and to hold public office—just as if they were convicted criminals.

I was one who rejected American citizenship in 1917. Now, after thirty years, I have made application to become a United States citizen in order to be in a position better to serve Puerto Rico, my party (the Independence Party), and my ideals of freedom.

My application was not accepted. The federal authorities here rejected it on the ground that I had failed to establish that I was not within the class of persons whose naturalization is prohibited by Section 30 of the Nationality Act of 1940 and that I had failed to establish that I was attached to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. And besides, they considered me an *undesirable alien*.

Alien means the native of another

country, and I am, according to the federal authorities, *an alien in my own country*. I, an alien in Puerto Rico, when I was born in Puerto Rico, of Puerto Rican parents, a grandson of Puerto Ricans on my father's side and a grandson of Spaniards on my mother's. And why am I undesirable? Because, when asked if I would be willing to take up arms against the Puerto Ricans in case of war between Puerto Rico and the United States, I said that I would not. Undesirable, because I believe that my country should be free and will struggle for its independence!

The gentlemen who deny me the right to be an American citizen should be ashamed to ask a decent man whether he would bear arms against his own brothers and countrymen. Only a degenerate would answer that question in the affirmative. Because I answered it in the negative I am considered an undesirable alien—in my own country of birth!

The undesirable aliens are they who have come to Puerto Rico to deprive us of our sovereignty and our personality as a nation; they who impose upon us arbitrary laws to the detriment of our commerce, our agriculture, and our industries; they who compel our children to study in a foreign language; they who deny us political and civil rights in our own country unless we are invested with their citizenship.

Perhaps they are even planning to deport me. But I am in the country where I was born and reared. Where, then, could they send me? Probably to the moon or to the planet Mars, aboard a jet-propelled rocket! In that case, you shall hear from me; I'll send my stratospheric impressions and my interplanetary adventures.

DR. EUGENIO VERA

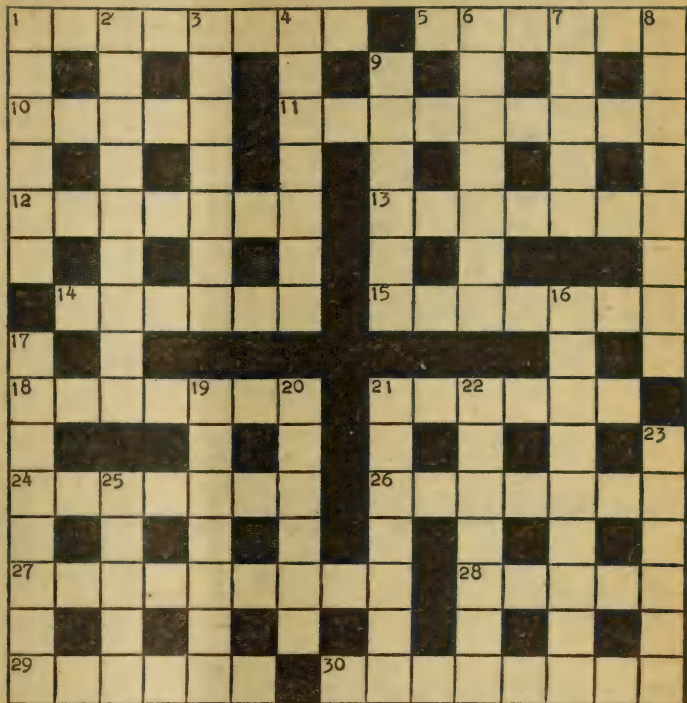
Río Pedras, Puerto Rico, August 10

The New Abolitionist

Dear Sirs: After 1,947 years of "Christianity" it is strange that the white man in America, and particularly in the South, has been unable to gain his freedom. The Negro's bondage was limited to the physical, environmental, and circumstantial, but the white man's extends to the mental, emotional, and spiritual. The slavery of the Negro was imposed from above; that of the white man is self-imposed. The Negro's master was a white man; the white man's master is fear. The white man's bondage is many times more costly to society than the Negro's ever was.

The expensive system of segregation

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 228 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the sixth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 I'm Pancho—defender of the people
- 5 Cut capers
- 10 Engine for making tea in the back room
- 11 Visit to the rune seems like trespassing
- 12 Incline to cunning to scale the parapet
- 13 Total drop in ambulances restores composure
- 14 One gets the D. T.'s when fired upon
- 15 Eastern token
- 18 We still struggle: it's not end, see?
- 21 Statue conceals its crafty touch
- 24 Is ten enough for the model?
- 26 The trusting sometimes net a liar
- 27 I came in shapeless to emerge in a natty outfit
- 28 A thing that blots out the sun
- 29 Served on tray at every meal
- 30 This pest, sirs, is always with us

DOWN

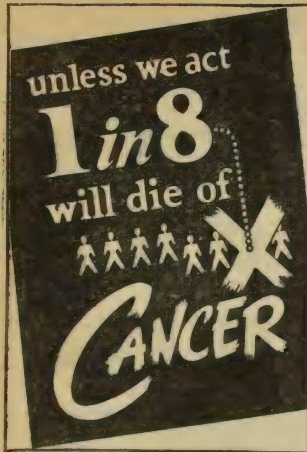
- 1 A cream room
- 2 The zombie embraces a tomato
- 3 Does the painter have a reference?
- 4 Neglected to edit mot

- 6 Twist with the curl is berled in erl
- 7 There's an incongruous lie in the article
- 8 Fundamentals for steel men
- 9 Home for the horse race
- 16 Greatness alienates people and loses friends
- 17 Luce shed light on Time publication
- 19 The exploited blow up when they lose it
- 20 Movies in bed
- 21 I'd go in a barge to make a shortcut
- 22 Free gifts
- 23 Tastes vary in different countries
- 25 A trio running amuck

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 227

ACROSS:—1 SPONSOR; 5 ORLEANS; 9 PIERROT; 10 VIOLATE; 11 RADII; 12 AGREEMENT; 14 BESS; 15 EARLIER; 16 TOT; 20 COS; 21 AWAKENS; 23 CODE; 24 TITIVATES; 25 MATER; 29 ENLARGE; 30 IGNORES; 31 SISTERS; 32 ENSLAVE.

DOWN:—1 SUPERB; 2 OVERDO; 3 SORTI-LEGE; 4 RITUALS; 5 OBYVERSE; 6 LOOSE; 7 ACADEMIC; 8 STENTORS; 13 BOW; 14 RUDIMENTS; 17 BON; 18 TACTLESS; 19 TANTALUS; 22 SETTERS; 23 CASTILE; 24 STERNA; 25 TRISTE; 27 VERGE.



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2. A painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip or tongue.
3. Progressive change in the color or size of a wart or mole.
4. Persistent indigestion.
5. Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing.
6. Bloody discharge from the nipple or irregular bleeding from any of the natural body openings.
7. Any radical change in normal bowel habits.

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which the white man selfishly contrived is retarding the progress of the whites and advancing the cause of the Negroes. The white man is forced to pay the tremendous price of the dual social, economic, political, and religious systems he maintains. In the "Solid South" he has to pay for two of everything—two schools, two churches, two drinking fountains, two swimming pools, two bus and railroad ticket offices, and so on.

How can the white man be considered free in the South today when he is constantly told where he can and cannot sit on public carriers, where he can and cannot eat, where he can and cannot live, with whom he can and cannot associate? If this is the liberty and democracy which declares, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," then give me no part of it.

Why do so many millions of our American citizens have to be subjected to such bitter prejudice and cruel discrimination? I think the white man suffers these hardships and indignities because he chooses to. He does not seem to realize that he is enslaved by the operation of an irrational system which was created by himself. Therefore, the Negro, who has been too busy with his religion and too fearful of his God to do anything about it, should struggle to see that our white brothers gain the freedom that the Constitution guarantees to all.

MORRIS H. TYNES

Greensboro, N. C., August 15

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NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

SECRETARY MARSHALL MADE TWO IMPORTANT statements last week. The first was a sharp challenge to all who cling to a policy of drift in the face of Europe's mounting crisis. The Secretary of State said plainly that Europe's needs this winter would be so acute that emergency measures would have to be taken to prevent mass hunger and all its economic and political consequences. When asked whether such measures could be taken without Congressional sanction, he said no. When asked whether a special session would be called, he hedged, saying that the facts now being assembled and the reports of returning Congressional tours of inquiry would provide President Truman with the information necessary for a decision. But if Secretary Marshall's own statements were accurate, the need of a special session is already established unless the World Bank abandons its ordinary criteria and lends money in large amounts on the basis of need. In Europe, matters have gone far past the point where conventional credit methods have any meaning. As Mr. del Vayo says about France, a bread ration of 200 to 150 grams is itself a "revolutionary factor." Unfortunately, it is one whose meaning a Republican Congressman usually has immense difficulty in understanding. The job facing the Administration is to replace swiftly in the minds of the people—especially including the Congress—the idea of a leisurely debate, sometime after January 1, on plans for long-range support of European recovery with the realization that if emergency aid is not dispatched before the cold comes, long-range support will not even be worth debating. The legislative processes of a well-fed democracy, keyed to the exigencies of an imminent Presidential campaign, are likely to seem somewhat irrelevant to people hungering on 150 grams of bread. It is this that Secretary Marshall and the President must somehow convey to the public—right away, without evasion or any concessions to the political maneuvers of Senator Taft and his cohorts.

★

THE SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. MARSHALL was obviously intended as the keynote for the General Assembly, opening two days later. The Secretary of State made several points which must be taken as encouraging since they reveal a firm determination to

work through the United Nations for the aims set forth in the Charter. He indicated that, while changes in the Charter were not ruled out, he believed progress could best be made in the immediate future "within the general framework which we now have"—an obvious reference to the veto. But the most interesting section of his talk dealt with the political issues of Greece and Palestine. In regard to the first, he made it clear that the United States would press for a solution and that the "solution must be the cessation of the threat" to Greece's borders. This is, of course, sharp notice to Russia that the United States will take the offensive on the Greek border problem. He gave no indication that the Balkan states might also have a legitimate complaint of frontier violations. On Palestine, Secretary Marshall was less forthright, contenting himself with the hope that the Assembly might arrive at a "definite solution of this complex matter." In contrast to his statement on Greece, he left out any reference to an existing American policy, an omission which will not pass unnoticed.

★

CAUGHT BETWEEN THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW and John L. Lewis's love for a good fight, the American Federation of Labor faces its liveliest convention since the Mineworkers' leader knocked down Big Bill Hutcherson in the session of twelve years ago. Under the new labor law, trade-union leaders are obliged to swear that they are not Communists if their unions are to have access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board and be recognized as bargaining agents. Denying members of a legal party equal treatment under the law, the clause would appear to be unconstitutional beyond a doubt, and the board's general counsel, Robert B. Denham, has reduced it to an absurdity by ruling that refusal by a single officer of a labor federation to sign the anti-Communist affidavit is enough to disqualify every member union. The entire hierarchy of the A. F. of L. was prepared reluctantly to yield on the issue, but Lewis's determination to withhold his signature makes their surrender meaningless. Without his agreement, all 43,000 locals of the federation will be denied standing before the board. To get around this obstacle,

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SURE OF HIS PLACE IN THE FAMILY OF United Nations, Perón is proceeding systematically to stamp out the last traces of freedom in Argentina. The latest victim is the Argentine press. Big dailies like *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, whose journalistic independence has long been a source of pride among Argentines, are now faced with the alternative of surrendering to the government or going bankrupt. A few weeks ago, the owners of all printshops were summoned to police headquarters and warned that if they continued to print newspapers and magazines hostile to the regime, they would do so at "great risk." The owner of one large Buenos Aires press demanded a written order. The police chief refused; they must act "voluntarily," he said, "out of patriotic motives." Some papers—notably the Socialist *Vanguardia*, which has shown magnificent courage throughout this shameful period—carried front-page stories of what had happened and announced that this would probably be their last issue. In the case of the well-to-do publishers of *La Prensa*, Perón has devised a new form of financial pressure: the daily has been accused of violating customs regulations in its purchases of newsprint abroad since 1939 and is liable to retroactive duties that may run into millions of pesos.

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are now revealed to be living safely in Madrid. Though the Spanish dictator, like his mentor Mussolini, has always proclaimed himself the defender of "order," more attacks, assassinations, and other acts of violence have been recorded since last December than in any corresponding period in the past five years. The plebiscite which Franco staged this summer to impress the United Nations proved a flat failure. American correspondents who covered the event were unanimous in describing it as a farce; and Assistant Secretary of State Norman Armour admitted that it had in no way altered the Spanish situation. Hunger is endemic in Spain, while the *straperlo*—black market—continues to flourish and Spanish industrialists negotiate desperately for financial support from American private firms. In the light of the record, it is the duty of the United Nations to implement last December's resolution with effective measures against Franco. Lord Templewood, Britain's Conservative ex-ambassador to Madrid, speaking in the House of Lords, recently demanded economic sanctions to end this international plague.

✱

"THE PEOPLE," AS THEY ARE LIGHTLY referred to by those who presume to know what it's all about, have a way of knowing what it's really all about that we find very heartening. Take the latest British by-election—in the Edge Hill district of Liverpool. We'd been told (1) that this was a real test of the Labor government's hold on popular support and (2) that the Labor Party had a hard fight on its hands. It sounded ominous. On August 26, the New York *Herald Tribune*—we cite it merely as an example—published a dispatch from its London correspondent who wrote with a kind of happy "ominosity" that "the Labor Party is confronted, in the midst of Great Britain's economic crisis, with what promises to be the toughest political fight it has faced since the general election. . . . The Conservatives, therefore, are going up to the campaign with even more than the usual political fervor. There is no doubt that if the Conservatives win, they will trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is on the way out." And furthermore: "It would be fair to say that if the Labor Party holds onto the seat in the face of the heavy odds of politics and the five-way split in voting, it will be a victory of great political importance. It would, in fact, be a much more important result than a Conservative victory." On September 9, the day before the election, Herbert L. Matthews of the *Times*—to take another example—writing from Liverpool, took the line, also, that this contest would provide the first real test of Labor's "toehold on the country." But in Mr. Matthews' dispatch on September 10, the election had become merely "something of a test case" and he observed blandly that "All signs tonight pointed *more than ever*" to a Labor victory! Well, Labor won "com-

fortably" the thirtieth by-election since the Labor Party took over. (It also won the other twenty-nine.) We are now waiting for the *Times* and the *Tribune* to trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is not on the way out.

✱

EVERYBODY WAS VERY PLEASANT AND proper about it and talked of "schedules" and "commitments for the winter programs," but the end result is that Max Lerner has been dropped as a news commentator by WOR. So still another has been added to the long line of silenced liberal voices. Abandoned by his sponsor, a tea company, some time ago, Mr. Lerner had been speaking on network sustaining time for the last ten weeks. Perhaps the station chose this delayed method of lay-off in order to ease the sponsor's problem in disposing of Mr. Lerner; or perhaps WOR meant well at the beginning of Mr. Lerner's non-sponsored appearances, but simply lacked the stamina to keep a controversial, left-of-center commentator on the air on its own time. In either case, there is little point in making an individual martyr of Mr. Lerner, as liberals have tended to do with each of their successively stifled radio spokesmen. What is important is the moral of these cases: In spite of the fiction that the air belongs to all of us, in practice it is controlled by and run for those who use it as an advertising medium. There will be little competitive play of ideas over the air until the listening audience, through federal power and through concerted consumer demand, reclaims the air from those whose only interest in it is commercial.

In Freedom's Wake

THE communal riots in India continue to engage the attention of the governments of India and Pakistan. The loss of life and property has been serious. For over a month now, the American press has been highlighting the riots almost to the exclusion of any other news from India, with the inevitable result that a widespread impression has been created that the entire subcontinent is aflame. That, however, is not the case.

East, South, and Central India have been virtually free from communal warfare. Behar, Bombay, the United Provinces, and Assam, which witnessed some bloody riots before power was transferred to the Indians, have also seen no fighting. Calcutta, once the scene of ghastly massacres, has been brought under control by the new government of India. Gandhi's presence in that city has been a great factor in restoring intercommunal harmony. He has again demonstrated his phenomenal hold on the hearts of his people—of both religious groups.

The present disturbances are confined largely to the Punjab, the Northwest province, Baluchistan, and, more

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are now revealed to be living safely in Madrid. Though the Spanish dictator, like his mentor Mussolini, has always proclaimed himself the defender of "order," more attacks, assassinations, and other acts of violence have been recorded since last December than in any corresponding period in the past five years. The plebiscite which Franco staged this summer to impress the United Nations proved a flat failure. American correspondents who covered the event were unanimous in describing it as a farce; and Assistant Secretary of State Norman Armour admitted that it had in no way altered the Spanish situation. Hunger is endemic in Spain, while the *straperlo*—black market—continues to flourish and Spanish industrialists negotiate desperately for financial support from American private firms. In the light of the record, it is the duty of the United Nations to implement last December's resolution with effective measures against Franco. Lord Templewood, Britain's Conservative ex-ambassador to Madrid, speaking in the House of Lords, recently demanded economic sanctions to end this international plague.

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"THE PEOPLE," AS THEY ARE LIGHTLY referred to by those who presume to know what it's all about, have a way of knowing what it's really all about that we find very heartening. Take the latest British by-election—in the Edge Hill district of Liverpool. We'd been told (1) that this was a real test of the Labor government's hold on popular support and (2) that the Labor Party had a hard fight on its hands. It sounded ominous. On August 26, the New York *Herald Tribune*—we cite it merely as an example—published a dispatch from its London correspondent who wrote with a kind of happy "ominosity" that "the Labor Party is confronted, in the midst of Great Britain's economic crisis, with what promises to be the toughest political fight it has faced since the general election. . . . The Conservatives, therefore, are going up to the campaign with even more than the usual political fervor. There is no doubt that if the Conservatives win, they will trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is on the way out." And furthermore: "It would be fair to say that if the Labor Party holds onto the seat in the face of the heavy odds of politics and the five-way split in voting, it will be a victory of great political importance. It would, in fact, be a much more important result than a Conservative victory." On September 9, the day before the election, Herbert L. Matthews of the *Times*—to take another example—writing from Liverpool, took the line, also, that this contest would provide the first real test of Labor's "toehold on the country." But in Mr. Matthews' dispatch on September 10, the election had become merely "something of a test case" and he observed blandly that "All signs tonight pointed *more than ever*" to a Labor victory! Well, Labor won "com-

fortably" the thirtieth by-election since the Labor Party took over. (It also won the other twenty-nine.) We are now waiting for the *Times* and the *Tribune* to trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is not on the way out.

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EVERYBODY WAS VERY PLEASANT AND proper about it and talked of "schedules" and "commitments for the winter programs," but the end result is that Max Lerner has been dropped as a news commentator by WOR. So still another has been added to the long line of silenced liberal voices. Abandoned by his sponsor, a tea company, some time ago, Mr. Lerner had been speaking on network sustaining time for the last ten weeks. Perhaps the station chose this delayed method of lay-off in order to ease the sponsor's problem in disposing of Mr. Lerner; or perhaps WOR meant well at the beginning of Mr. Lerner's non-sponsored appearances, but simply lacked the stamina to keep a controversial, left-of-center commentator on the air on its own time. In either case, there is little point in making an individual martyr of Mr. Lerner, as liberals have tended to do with each of their successively stifled radio spokesmen. What is important is the moral of these cases: In spite of the fiction that the air belongs to all of us, in practice it is controlled by and run for those who use it as an advertising medium. There will be little competitive play of ideas over the air until the listening audience, through federal power and through concerted consumer demand, reclaims the air from those whose only interest in it is commercial.

In Freedom's Wake

THE communal riots in India continue to engage the attention of the governments of India and Pakistan. The loss of life and property has been serious. For over a month now, the American press has been highlighting the riots almost to the exclusion of any other news from India, with the inevitable result that a widespread impression has been created that the entire subcontinent is aflame. That, however, is not the case.

East, South, and Central India have been virtually free from communal warfare. Behar, Bombay, the United Provinces, and Assam, which witnessed some bloody riots before power was transferred to the Indians, have also seen no fighting. Calcutta, once the scene of ghastly massacres, has been brought under control by the new government of India. Gandhi's presence in that city has been a great factor in restoring intercommunal harmony. He has again demonstrated his phenomenal hold on the hearts of his people—of both religious groups.

The present disturbances are confined largely to the Punjab, the Northwest province, Baluchistan, and, more

recently, Delhi. A vivid, first-hand account of a fragment of the conflict is provided in an article by Andrew Roth on page 280. The important thing to remember is that the riots do not represent a clash between the two dominions as such. On the contrary, the two governments are wholeheartedly cooperating in their attempts to restore peace. They have agreed on the strongest measures against the armed bands. They have made joint arrangements to evacuate the refugees through all possible means of transportation. The Prime Ministers of both dominions have been touring the stricken areas, exhorting their followers to abandon murderous assaults.

The rioting in the Punjab presents a complex and serious problem. Partisan assertions that the Sikhs alone are responsible are unfounded. It is true that the splitting of the Sikh community into two has aroused that martial people. Like the early Christians, the Sikhs were fiercely persecuted by the Moslem rulers at one time. The memories of those days are still vivid, and the Sikhs have been obsessed with a fear that they might suffer similar persecution under the new Moslem Dominion of Pakistan.

To get a proper perspective on the whole Indian situation, we must also bear in mind that India's four hundred millions are going through political, economic, and social revolutions simultaneously. The period of transition between the end of an imperial regime and the emergence of a people's government is bound to be difficult. Many encouraging things are happening in India whose significance has temporarily been eclipsed by the riots. The Constituent Assembly has laid down the fundamental principles of the new constitution, based upon agreements among all sections of the House—Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Parsees, and Sikhs. The Report on Minorities, which has been hailed by everyone, declares that a Statutory Commission will guarantee full protection to the minorities and will enforce safeguards. All the Indian states with the exception of Hyderabad have joined India or Pakistan, thus recognizing the control of the dominion governments over foreign affairs, defense, and communications. In many provinces and states, untouchability has been banned. Provisions are being made for free and compulsory education. Landlordism is being vigorously assailed. These and many other measures hold promise of steady progress. What we are witnessing in India is in a large measure the aftermath of alien domination.

Beginning next week, King Gordon will become a Staff Contributor, acting as The Nation's correspondent at Flushing Meadow. He will report and comment regularly on the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Gordon will also do special broadcasting for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

How to Check Prices

EVERY day that passes brings a flood of figures and charts to show what no housewife needs to have demonstrated: that since the end of May we have had sixteen weeks of unchecked inflation, that food prices have soared to the point of imposing serious hardship on lower- and middle-income families, and that unless there is swift and decisive action we are moving toward something very like disaster. Calling for a special session of Congress, Representative O'Toole of New York warns of a winter that "will be one of the most severe economically our people have ever faced." And this in a year when the fate of Europe depends on our aid.

Four lines of attack on runaway prices have been advanced: drastic curtailment of exports, consumer resistance, prosecutions for price-fixing, and a restoration of government price controls—and all four have their weaknesses.

A curb on food exports, increasingly urged by isolationist opponents of the Marshall plan, is surely the most fatuous and dangerous of all. While it might have a temporary effect on the domestic price index, it would forfeit American leadership in the world and throw Europe to the wolves, with long-range consequences to our economy that can hardly be imagined. Those who attribute high prices to our food shipments abroad should be reminded that present relief exports and the most generous aid likely to be granted under the Marshall plan taken together would hardly be more than a tiny fraction of what we sent overseas during the war—in food, guns, tanks, trucks, and a hundred other commodities; yet we had no inflation then, thanks to controls.

Consumer resistance—refusal to buy at exorbitant prices and the purchase of substitutes—is of course highly desirable, but even if it were far more generally practiced than it is, it would still be of limited value. As one official of the New York League of Women Shoppers explains, "We've been recommending that housewives use eggs, poultry, fish, and cheese as meat substitutes. Now we look at the price of eggs and poultry and other substitutes, and we can't recommend any more, because we feel like hypocrites."

Prosecution of price-riggers, which appears to be the current approach of the Administration, is good as far as it goes. But it is so slow a process, involves so small a part of the entire problem, and is so unlikely to be fruitful that it need not be seriously considered as anything more than a contributory solution.

Thus the experts are brought reluctantly but inevitably to a reconsideration of price control by government. Sentiment in its favor is building up both in the President's Council of Economic Advisers and in the Cabinet. Chester C. Davis, a key member of the Harri-

man Foreign Aid Committee, appointed to study the country's resources for implementing the Marshall plan, told a press conference last week that "it may be necessary to attempt to reinstate government controls of food" in order to carry out the aid program. And while the bulk of the press is still chary about replacing price ceilings, editorial sentiment is unquestionably moving in that direction. Even the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* concedes that under the emergency circumstances "there is precedent for abandoning the free market."

Against this course the arguments most commonly advanced are these: (1) for a Republican Congress to restore controls would be a politically fatal admission of responsibility for the current inflation; (2) price controls without rationing would create a vast black market which would either defeat the purpose of the move or make necessary a tremendous corps of agents and inspectors; (3) the restoration of rationing would be political dynamite in an election year and would stir fierce opposition to the entire foreign-aid program; (4) all such moves would be meaningless without allocation of materials such as we had during the war.

Granting the difficulties, both political and technical, we believe that government action is not only feasible but mandatory. It is probable, as some former OPA officials believe, that the entire economy would bog down at this point if the government attempted to reimpose controls at the wholesale and retail levels. But that is not where the problem lies. What is desperately needed is price control—at the source of production—in industrial and building materials, especially steel, and in basic farm commodities like grains and livestock.

Given price ceilings and a system of allocations on these goods, along with reenacted import-export controls, the price level on other commodities could safely be left to the rules of the market place, without the necessity of an army of agents or the difficulties of rationing. It would still be possible, of course, for a retailer to charge too much for a loaf of bread, but he would not have to do so in order to get back his own money, plus a normal profit. Consumer resistance could then take care of the retail profiteer.

As for political considerations, the Republicans in Congress have a choice between this limited surrender and the burden of responsibility for a fast-approaching débâcle—provided of course, the Administration takes the lead and makes the choice clear, both to the gentlemen on Capitol Hill and to the country at large.

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[NOTE—The caricature in last week's issue by Oscar Berger labeled "Sir Stafford Cripps" was actually, of course, a drawing of Philip Noel-Baker. Our apologies to the two statesmen, the artist, and our readers.]

Politics and People

BY ROBERT BENDINER

AFTER the remarks attributed to Herbert Hoover in this month's *American Magazine* it is clear that the country has yet to solve the problem of what to do with its discarded Presidents. Certainly the use to which the Republicans have put Mr. Hoover hardly seems compatible with the dignity of his station as Elder Politician. Granted that someone with a name had to be found to test the risks involved in making the war a campaign issue, it was nevertheless rather shoddy to assign the sapper's task to the Grand Old Man of the party.

It is possible, of course, that Hoover's repudiation of America's role in the war was purely an inspiration of his own, offered as a public service and without a thought of its effect on his party's fortunes in a pre-election year. Yet for the McCormick-Taft sector of the G. O. P. it has clearly been a daring and valuable contribution. No politically active Republican could have afforded to take the lead, as Hoover has done, in reviving the kind of isolationism that once flourished in America First circles. Not even Taft, who publicly deplored the Nürnberg trials, dared to offer what Hoover has now made a respectable opinion: that it was unnecessary for us to get into the war, that it was a mistake to believe "Britain was in danger of defeat," and that "we would never have been attacked by the Japanese if we had not given them provocation." But now that the plunge has been made, it will be possible for the Tafts and McCormicks to judge the public reaction with a view to introducing a bit of Roosevelt war guilt as a campaign issue in 1948.

It is noteworthy in an ominous way that while a bevy of Democrats have denounced the new Hoover doctrine, no word of condemnation has yet been heard from a Republican source. Indeed, one Republican Senator has been emboldened to go the Elder Politician one better. Senator Hawkes of New Jersey not only agrees with Hoover but adds that both "Japan and Germany would have been defeated without our active participation."

Unless the Hoover doctrine is promptly squelched, we may expect more of this sort of thing between now and the elections—as much more as the traffic will bear. For the benefit of those inclined to do the squelching let me uncharitably recall a few other remarks by the Elder Politician which he would perhaps prefer to forget. "American soil," Hoover solemnly announced on December 7, 1941, "has been treacherously attacked by Japan." (Why "treacherously" if we provoked the attack?) "Our decision is clear," he continued. "It is forced upon us. We must fight with everything we have." And in case anyone thinks it was Roosevelt who did the forcing, I hasten to draw once more on Mr. Hoover,

speaking this time on December 8 of the same year: "The President took the only line of action open to any patriotic American."

IN SAD cases like the defeat of Phil Storch in Pennsylvania's Eighth Congressional District last week, it is not uncommon for the alibis to be in before the final returns. They are rarely comforting and even more rarely convincing, but in this instance they do point up some facts that should dampen any Republican jubilation.

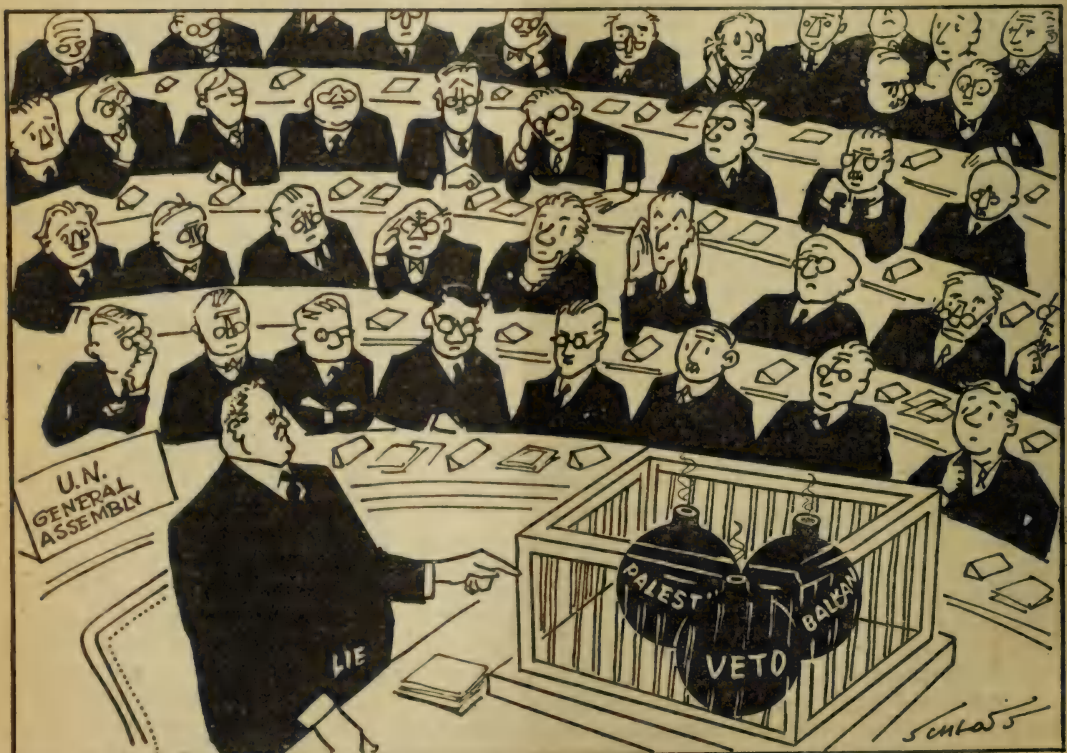
To begin with, there was never a chance that Storch, the Democratic candidate and a C. I. O. Newspaper Guildsman, would actually defeat Franklin H. Lichtenwalter, the Speaker of Pennsylvania's Republican House of Representatives, in a district that goes Democratic only when the banks crash. The mystery is why labor should have chosen to puff up a campaign in which the registration figures doomed its man from the start by a count of 70,000 Republicans against 46,000 Democrats. The reasoning seemed to be that if Storch even ran his opponent a close race, a moral victory would have been scored and the Taft-Hartley Act would have been publicly repudiated. But moral victories are dubious political assets, and in any event Storch fell far short.

At this point the forces working against Storch should be considered. The mere fact that labor, at least locally,

seemed bent on making the campaign a test of sentiment on the Taft-Hartley Act brought out the Grundy machine in all its power. The money said to have been spent on Lichtenwalter was certainly not matched for Storch either by labor or by the Democrats. Local trade unions of all hues put on a remarkable demonstration of co-operative zeal; but national labor leaders chipped in nothing more substantial than words of encouragement, feeling no doubt that it would be strategically unwise to invest funds in a lost cause.

As for the local Democratic machine, observers report a persistence of that old custom of the Philadelphia area whereby the Congressional seat and its favors go regularly to the Republicans without much opposition, in return for which Democrats get a good share of local offices and the patronage that goes with them.

In the light of these circumstances and the real gains made by the Democrats in the industrial areas of Bethlehem and Allentown, the Taft-Hartley law can hardly be said to have had much of a test. Its proponents who are inclined to crow prematurely are referred to Mr. Lichtenwalter's many avowals during the campaign that the law was not an issue at all, since it had been passed by a bi-partisan majority. They might also consult the most recent Roper poll, which shows Taft's stock dropping like a barometer in dirty weather.



"HANDLE WITH CARE"

Atomic Bombs or Atomic Plenty?

BY LEONARD ENGEL

EARLY this summer President Truman vetoed a bill for a National Science Foundation on the ground that its somewhat unusual administrative setup was unsound and possibly unconstitutional. Although his objections have some point, the veto was a blunder. For Congress will not pass a bill more to his liking and may indeed for several years pass no legislation of this sort at all.

Every day without a National Science Foundation is a national calamity. In the first place, the United States is currently suffering from a grave deficiency of scientific man-power as the result of a singularly shortsighted wartime conscription policy. Student scientists were drafted just like students of beauty culture, as though the one were no more important to the nation's future than the other. Nearly ten thousand Ph.D.'s and scores of thousands of engineers were lost. The shortage can only be made up, because of the length of time it takes to turn a young man or woman into a scientist, by an extensive federal-scholarship program, such as was authorized in the vetoed bill.

In the second place, lack of a civilian National Science Foundation is giving control of basic or "pure" scientific research, the most important type of scientific work, to the army and navy. During the war science crossed a great divide. The ultracentrifuge, the electron microscope, the atom smasher, and the atomic pile became universally necessary scientific tools, and basic research grew into an activity requiring expenditures beyond the capacity of universities and other private institutions. In the absence of other "angels," the army and navy have become key factors in the financing of research. This year, for example, military appropriations are furnishing half the \$400,000,000 which is being spent on basic research. The supplier of funds, of course, becomes the boss. The army and navy are even active in medicine and atomic energy, fields in which there are well-endowed civilian governmental agencies.

To put it bluntly, there is no greater evil conceivable than military control of scientific research. It means a gradual cessation of progress in pure science, for the "army mind" and the spirit of free scientific inquiry do not go together, and competent scientists will not work for long under military direction. And it means the

perversion of such scientific knowledge as is gained, for armies and navies are ultimately concerned not with the preservation and enrichment of human life but with its destruction. Whatever the good-will of individual officers, military control in the laboratory leads inescapably to atom bombs and man-made plagues instead of atomic plenty and conquest of disease. The logical end result of militarized science is the Nazi *Vernichtungslager*, the annihilation camp with its gas chambers, mechanized ovens, and other gear for mass murder.

I would like to expand on this. To begin with, I do not mean to imply that the United States army and navy are officered by monsters who are contemptuous of science and who would salvage only that part of it which is useful for blood-letting. Most officers are decent and well-meaning men. Some, especially in the branches that have to do with research and development, are as broad-minded and understanding as any individuals in the nation. However, military control would stultify and pervert science even if every officer were a paragon of humane intellectual virtues, for the stultification and perversion flow from the system, and the system is stronger than any number of excellent individual officers.

LET us see how the system works. The army and navy entered the basic-research picture immediately after V-J Day. During the war little basic research was carried on; all efforts were concentrated on applying previously accumulated scientific knowledge to the tasks at hand—namely, fashioning weapons and winning the war. Thus knowledge gained in two generations of research into the atom was bent to the making of atom bombs. American scientists did a superlative job of applying science to military technology; in fact, they did such a good job that they quite literally used up the world's bank of basic scientific knowledge in several important fields. Further progress in those fields imperatively demanded new knowledge of natural facts. To give a simple example, we produced during the war as good metal alloys as can be made in the present state of metallurgy, which, in spite of its antiquity, is still more a hit-or-miss art than a science; to make really improved metals, man must finally learn something of their internal structure, a problem in basic research. Realizing this, and realizing that current research costs are beyond private means, the army and navy stepped in and awarded research contracts to scores of private institutions.

It should be emphasized that the contracts were

LEONARD ENGEL is a writer on science who has lately been paying particular attention to the application of atomic energy.

awarded on an extremely generous basis and purely as a temporary stop-gap. Thoughtful army and navy people themselves realized that military financing and control of research were undesirable and agreed to them only as interim measures, until the establishment of a civilian Science Foundation.

Armies and navies are authoritarian, hierarchical organizations in which subordinate individuals possess neither status nor initiative. Into such a framework the scientist, particularly the worker in pure science, cannot be fitted. The pure scientist is an individual who is challenging nature to yield up its secrets. His hallmark is a bold, if patient, mind. Under the stimulus of war or high pay he may consent to work under military direction for a time. But the arrangement is usually temporary, since there is little place in the depths of the chain of command for the individual who *must* exercise initiative.

This is not to suggest that scientists cannot work under any direction at all, or that basic research is an activity of solitary laboratory heroes. Quite the contrary; basic research very often demands a high degree of organization and direction. But the organization must be freely cooperative, and the direction must come from men selected for their scholarly achievements and not by the roulette wheel of the army assignment system.

A specific example will make this clear. Two acquaintances of mine at the Rockefeller Institute are investigating the electrical properties of living cells. Living cells, as one of these men expressed it, are "lousy batteries" which cease operating at the moment of death. From studies like this will come one day a new understanding of life and death and perhaps a revolution in medicine. As a preliminary to the cell studies, it is necessary to measure the electrical properties of a long list of substances. Some of these have been measured before, but the work was done by so many different individuals in so many different ways that no one knows whose figures are to be trusted. So new measurements are patiently and systematically being made by a group of Yale and Rockefeller Institute scientists of which my acquaintances are members. Now, which way is that job handled better, by a cooperative group under the guidance of a man who has done distinguished work in the field all his life or by a group under an alumnus of West Point? The question answers itself.

Up to the present the army and navy have wisely refrained from attempting to exercise even indirect control. Money has been given almost without strings to universities and recognized research institutes for work in a wide variety of fields. But this cannot continue indefinitely. Army and navy funds are limited, and sooner or later their research branches will be called upon to justify their expenditures in terms of military results—that is, new weapons developed and old weapons improved.

This will lead to close supervision of scientific contractors and gradual elimination of pure-research projects. For it is in the nature of pure research that it cannot be justified in terms of immediately useful results. It is exploration of the unknown, and one cannot know in advance whether a gold mine or a totally useless swamp lies at the end of the trail. Only applied science yields predictable results. So army- and navy-sponsored research will be confined more and more to weapons development and will involve an ever narrower group of scientists, since scientists not only resent military supervision but are humanitarians profoundly uninterested in weapons. And if no alternative to military sponsorship and domination of science is found, there will in time be no pure science in the United States, no epochal discoveries from which applied scientists can build a new world. There will be only weapons.

THERE is another destructive factor in military control of science. Armies make a virtue of suspicion. Other nations are potential enemies. Hence new scientific developments are viewed by the military as counters in a possible war and are naturally to be kept secret wherever possible. The scientist, on the other hand, is anxious to make each new advance public. He intends his contribution for the benefit of humanity and wishes to make it available to all. He understands something, moreover, which few military men ever comprehend—that all advances *must* be published in order to make further advances possible. For the enormously intricate, yet minutely organized body of techniques and knowledge called science—man's greatest achievement—is the work of numberless men, each of whom builds upon the work of others and most of whom labor in complete obscurity but nevertheless contribute something essential. Go back through the history of science; see how small a step each man takes, how all depend on the work of those who have gone before, how even the great synthesizers like Darwin and Einstein must have access to the work of others in order to erect their theories. Secrecy, in short, breaks the threads of science's continuity, and if military secrecy is imposed on American science, American science will perish.

That brings me to the final point. It is sometimes said that militarization of science with its concentration on weapons development is an evil which is at least partly compensated by by-products of value to the world as a whole. Thus atomic power is pointed to as an immensely valuable by-product of the atom bomb. It is not true that atomic energy is a gift of the bomb—they are distinctly different applications of basic atomic research—nor is it generally true that weapons development confers important incidental benefits on humanity. Very nearly a third of the research which the army, navy, and air forces are currently sponsoring or carrying out, for

example, is concerned with supersonic flight. The laws of supersonic flight are of great importance in military aircraft, artillery projectiles, rockets, and guided missiles but have only a remote connection with a peaceful world. Many other military research projects have as slight a non-military value. Of those that do have more immediate constructive aspects, few will ever yield benefits that could not be obtained in other ways at a tenth the cost.

One must make no mistake. Weapons improvement, with which military-sponsored research is becoming increasingly occupied, is applied science or development work. Development work, unlike pure science, has few

surprises and you get what is paid for. When an army pays the bills, you get weapons, not power plants or wonder drugs.

At the moment the army and navy still do not have firm control of basic scientific research. American science is a husky civilian growth, with a strong tradition. But bit by bit control is slipping from its traditional academic guardians. While it will not solve all problems—the problem of freedom of scientists from FBI witch hunts will remain—a civilian National Science Foundation will at least put the direction of scientific research back where it belongs, firmly in the hands of civilian scientists.

Wedemeyer's Report on China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE return of Lieutenant General Wedemeyer with his "fact-finding" report on conditions in China and Korea marks the zero hour for the determination of America's post-war Far Eastern policy. Many observers have interpreted the General's bitter denunciation of the slackness, incompetence, and corruption in the Kuomintang as indicating that there will be no essential change in our China policy. Certainly the statement came as a bitter blow to the groups, both in this country and in China, who had assumed that the appointment of Wedemeyer, known to be strongly anti-Communist and personally friendly to Chiang Kai-shek, automatically assured increased assistance to the Kuomintang regime.

It is quite possible that the Wedemeyer report should be considered merely the logical extension of the previous Truman and Marshall statements. If this is the case, it is difficult to see how the State Department could justify a request that Congress pour more funds into China. In view of Europe's needs under the Marshall plan Congress is unlikely to look with favor on a new loan in Asia to be administered by officials "whose conduct is notoriously marked by greed, incompetence, or both." In fact, some Congressmen, sadly disillusioned by China's past performances, are merely awaiting an opportunity to demand an accounting of the \$500,000,000 loan made in 1942. It now appears that this loan was granted despite strenuous objections from Ambassador Gauss and the State Department.

Unfortunately, Wedemeyer's caustic statement might also be interpreted as forecasting a drastic change in our China policy—a change that would satisfy those who urge that this policy be made wholly consistent with the Truman Doctrine. Close scrutiny reveals significant

differences between Wedemeyer's statement and those which preceded it. Although Wedemeyer denounced graft and corruption in language that was in many respects stronger than Marshall's, he did not even pretend to be neutral with respect to China's domestic politics. On the contrary, he placed sole responsibility for the continuation of the civil war upon the Communists, declaring that if they were "truly patriotic and interested primarily in the well-being of their country they would halt the voluntary employment of force in an effort to impose ideologies." To the Kuomintang he said merely that "military force *in itself* would not eliminate communism" (*italics mine*).

Nor did General Wedemeyer's report urge, as previous statements had done, the formation of a unified democratic regime containing representatives of all the main political groups in China. True, he called for immediate "drastic, far-reaching political and economic reforms," but the context makes it clear that he was primarily interested in eliminating inefficiency and corruption. He made no mention of the need for greater democracy, enforcement of promised civil rights, and an end to political terrorism; no reference to the previously avowed goal of American policy—the setting up of a broadly representative coalition regime. If the needed "economic reforms" include a new land policy and a general reduction of taxes—the chief demands of the opposition parties—that was not in any way suggested by the General.

Perhaps the most significant thing about his statement is the absence of the usual allusions to China's rights as a sovereign nation, the failure to disavow any intentions on the part of America to interfere in China's domestic affairs. Instead, Wedemeyer declared bluntly

that "promises will no longer suffice. Performance is necessary." Of course, the United States has been intervening in Chinese affairs since the early days of the war. But mindful of the all-important consideration of Chinese "face," Wedemeyer's predecessors were careful to pay lip-service to the principle of non-intervention. In failing to observe the amenities the President's latest special envoy played into the hands of the very groups he so roundly denounced. For the Chinese of all political leanings are highly sensitive about foreign interference, and Chen Li-fu, head of the notorious C. C. clique, and other right-wing leaders were quick to capitalize on this feeling to strengthen their political position. According to recent reports, the C. C. clique is hopeful of forcing the resignation of Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh, a moderate, on the ground that he is too subservient to the United States. It is also reported that the arch-reactionary General Ho Ying-chin may soon be back in his old place as Minister of National Defense, replacing the far abler but politically moderate General Pai Chung-hsi.

THE skill with which reactionary groups within the Kuomintang have frustrated every effort on the part of the United States to modernize or reform the Chinese government points up the essential weakness of American policy from Hurley to Wedemeyer. Stilwell, it will be recalled, was determined to maintain neutrality in China's domestic affairs and refused to extend military aid on any other basis. But since Stilwell's departure the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang has operated on the conviction that in a showdown the United States could be counted on to support the Nationalists rather than see China overrun by the Communists. Right-wing groups have been generous with promises of reform, but by failing to come to grips with the problems of inflation, high taxation, and corruption, they have stimulated disaffection and thus accentuated the crisis which the United States is expected to alleviate with the taxpayers' dollars.

Read carefully, the Wedemeyer statement is not inconsistent with the frequently expressed proposal that all future American aid be strictly supervised or made conditional upon concessions that would reduce China, for all practical purposes, to the status of an American colony. It is quite possible, as the *World Report* of August 28 suggests, that Wedemeyer may urge aid on a project-by-project basis under close American supervision. Already the military and naval assistance given to the Chiang Kai-shek regime is supervised by a military and a naval mission, and there is talk of greatly enlarging the military mission. Although these missions are supposedly neutral in the civil war, their value to Chiang in the struggle against the Communists was illustrated in the recent amphibious operations in Shantung,

where American-trained naval forces using American landing craft made a successful attack on one of the few ports in Communist hands.

The vague reports which have appeared in several American newspapers regarding possible American bases in Formosa and northwestern China undoubtedly reflect the desire of many American military leaders for advanced bases in Asia. Some American capital is said to be available for expanding the industries of Formosa under American supervision. General Wedemeyer took occasion, on August 20, to deny officially that he had been negotiating for additional American bases in China, but a Chinese source in New York has quoted T. F. Tsiang, Kuomintang delegate to the United Nations, as saying that demands of the United States for strategic facilities in China have been excessive.

If these demands have encountered resistance from China, it is presumably because the right wing of the Kuomintang is convinced that American aid will ultimately be granted without concessions in order to check Communist expansion. A further illustration of the way in which the Kuomintang is constantly seeking to play Russia against the United States to strengthen its own position is found in the recent speech by Premier Chang Chun before the fourth plenary session of the Kuomintang's central executive committee. Warning against American efforts to revive Japan's economy, Premier Chang declared that China's position with respect to Japan was closer to that of the Soviet Union than to that of the United States. Promise of substantial American aid for China would presumably induce Mr. Chang to change his mind on this issue.

Recent reports from China indicate that a number of well-known independents, together with members of several of the minor parties and perhaps a few moderates within the Kuomintang, are prepared to cooperate with the Communists in setting up a coalition regime in the event of a Kuomintang collapse. If the United States would persist in its previous policy of urging a coalition, China might become one of the few countries in a position to bridge the chasm between the East and the West. Such a role for China is conceivable because the basic interests of Russia and the United States come closer to coinciding there than in any other important area. If the United States, however, steps up its aid to the Kuomintang, the split between Russia and the United



Drawing by Seligson
General Wedemeyer

States will be extended in an area where both countries have tremendous stakes.

Wedemeyer's report may decide whether the United States will persist in its efforts for a democratic settlement of China's problems or will be maneuvered into a position of maintaining in power the elements we have consistently denounced as undemocratic, inefficient, and corrupt. If support is given to the Kuomintang, it will undoubtedly be defended as necessary to halt the spread of communism. Yet the experience of the past two years in China has shown conclusively that communism is strengthened, not weakened, by the perpetuation of a dictatorial, corrupt regime that has little or no sup-

port from the people. The United States, hailed as a liberator on V-J Day, has already lost much of its popularity among the Chinese people by its aid to a decadent regime that would otherwise have gone under. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out in his cogent analysis of the Truman Doctrine, a weak ally is not an asset but a liability. America's strategic position is not strengthened by the friendship of a government that requires constant propping up to prevent it from being overthrown by its own people. Nor is America's interest advanced in any way by feeding the flames of a civil war that has set China back for at least a decade and threatens, unless checked, to start a world conflagration.

Students Map the Future

BY CURTIS FARRAR

Madison, Wisconsin, September 8

SEVEN hundred delegates from colleges attended by a million American students very nearly split down the middle on two grave issues, one domestic and one international, during the constitutional convention of the National Student Association held here last week. If they had split, it would have been proof positive that prejudice, sectionalism, and nationalism have hamstrung America's most hopeful generation. Instead, under pressure of time, they hammered out two intelligent compromises. They were able to do this because of their tremendous enthusiasm and their real desire to find a program with which they could all work together for the progress of America and the peace of the world.

The domestic issue was the race issue. A great effort had been made to get a pre-convention agreement on the stand the organization should take on the question of racial discrimination in education. A compromise had been reached on the same issue at the preparatory conference held at the University of Chicago in December, but the dispute had left a bad taste in the mouths of some of the Northern delegates. As the Madison convention opened, various groups of Northerners urged a stronger stand against segregation. A few of the farthest left students approached Southern Negro delegates one by one and asked them to hold out against any compromise whatsoever. Immediately Southern white delegates rallied in violent reaction to the Northern "pressure." They insisted that it would be impossible for them to carry back to their campuses any resolution save

one condemning "inequality of education." A few conservative Southerners seized the leadership of the entire group, and it looked as if the war was on.

The most critical hour came at four o'clock in the morning on the day the issue was to come up on the floor. As a last hope the steering committee sent two Negroes and two white Southerners off into a corner to try to work out a resolution that would be acceptable to all. No one believed it could be done. But it was done. A statement was produced which all four thought might provide a basis for an effective program to eliminate the injustices of the dual educational system in this country. It took cognizance of regional variations in statute and custom and yet advocated a program "to secure and maintain equal rights for all people . . . regardless of race . . . especially by securing the eventual elimination of all forms of discriminatory educational systems anywhere in the United States."

The compromise statement was passed from hand to hand among the members of the steering committee and overwhelmingly approved. A few hours later the plenary session convened in an atmosphere of great tension. There were hours of long, throbbing speeches, hours of taut discussion of the compromise. Then Jim Smith of Texas, president of the preparatory committee for the convention, got to his feet, so tired he could hardly stand, and in a slow drawl read the resolution as finally amended. It was carried unanimously, the tension snapped, and the delegates went out together happily to celebrate on Wisconsin beer.

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THE international issue was the definition of the relationship between the newly formed N. S. A. and the year-old International Union of Students, whose headquarters is in Prague. The I. U. S. is unquestionably

oriented far to the left of the student body of the United States, as all observers who were at its council meeting this summer agreed. Many delegates here shuddered at the thought of having to explain the I. U. S. to isolationist student bodies and suspicious deans. At the same time they realized that their one chance for real knowledge of the students of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would come through the union. In addition, they were told, the I. U. S. has a service program, and its relief work and provisions for low-cost travel throughout Europe will soon be in operation.

All through the week a compromise was carefully worked out, under the direction of Robert Smith of Yale, in the panel on international activities. It was designed to protect the N. S. A. from the political tentacles of the I. U. S. while allowing the American organization to cooperate fully in the constructive projects of the international group. It provided for a negotiating committee to go to Prague next summer to attempt to secure the I. U. S. council's approval of N. S. A. terms. It proposed to try to get as many students as possible from I. U. S. countries to come to the United States next summer, in exchange for working and traveling students from America.

By the time the resolution got to the floor, it was a carefully constructed and balanced piece of work. It was not naive, and it embodied the students' basic distrust of politics and partisan activities. And yet it showed

an interest, a curiosity, and a desire for cooperation. The American student, this resolution clearly indicated, must learn to live with people he disagrees with.

It was passed, in the warm morning sun—somebody had forgotten to make arrangements for procuring the theater—by a vote of 436 to 35.

A GOOD many other things were threshed out here last week, none of them unimportant. But none of them came so close to wrecking the association, before it had truly set on its course, as the issues of discrimination and the I. U. S. The delegates discussed their right to take part in political activity, the place of student government in education, and the troubles of housing and costs which plague students all over the nation. Above all, they emphasized the fact that they consider their education just not good enough to prepare them to act as intelligent members of a world community.

Now Bill Welsh of Berea College, the new president, and Bob Smith, the vice-president in charge of international activities, have a good directive to work from. They have a sound yet flexible constitution and a broad and detailed program. Though they have very little money, they have a lot of eager man-power. If most of the colleges and universities which were represented here decide to join the new organization, N. S. A. will represent over half of the two million college students of the United States.

On the Sikh-Moslem Frontier

BY ANDREW ROTH

Murree, Pakistan, September 3

MURDER, arson, and rape are insuring that the line running through the Punjab dividing Western Pakistan from the Indian Dominion will not be a mere boundary line but an angry scar which for years will hinder the well-being of the two regions. Lahore and Amritsar, the two chief cities on either side of the border, have the crumbling, burnt-over look of blitzed London or Rotterdam. From the air one can still see bands of one community attacking the isolated villages of the other. The latest authoritative estimates give more than 50,000 dead in the last six months, most of them Moslems of eastern Punjab.

During the past week I have seen the main roads leading from eastern Punjab to Pakistan crowded with tens

of thousands of poor villagers fleeing for their lives. The more fortunate families are perched precariously atop groaning, wooden-wheeled bullock carts. Others straggle afoot. Young mothers slog wearily along suckling sickly-looking newborn babies. Old men carry their grandchildren on their shoulders and tell of the father's death and the mother's abduction by raiding bands.

The boundary commission's report, leaving minorities of some four million on each side of the border, has caused one of the greatest exchanges of population in modern history. The exodus from the Pakistan areas now amounts to about half a million people, three hundred thousand having left Lahore alone. More than two hundred thousand Moslem refugees from eastern Punjab have entered Pakistan, and hundreds of thousands more are awaiting transportation and military protection. Only makeshift facilities have been provided for them. In Lahore twenty thousand miserable Moslems tax the capacity of the barracks which once housed the Chinese troops being trained for General Stilwell. In a

ANDREW ROTH has been in the Near and Far East for more than a year studying political developments in countries emerging from colonial status.

caravan of a hundred people who had been walking seven days, one woman arrived without a stitch of clothing, clutching newspapers to cover her shame.

The trains plying between the new dominions are crammed with refugees, hundreds clinging to the roofs of the cars. I was in Kasur station when a train came in with its grisly freight of dead and wounded Hindus and Sikhs who had been attacked by Moslems while fleeing to safety. The train reeked with the sickly-sweet smell of death, and flies buzzed around the bodies of men, women, and children cut to pieces because they belonged to the wrong community. On the same day the crack Punjab mail arrived in Lahore from Delhi with some four hundred dead passengers. It was stopped first when passing through the Sikh state of Faridkot; armed Sikhs pulled out Moslem passengers and slaughtered and robbed them. Later, on the Pakistan side of the border, a Moslem mob killed the Hindus and Sikhs aboard. After these outrages train service between New Delhi and Lahore was halted.

Desire for loot has played a part in all these communal conflicts, and rape and abduction figure largely in them because there have always been fewer women than men. The attacking bands often contain thugs who use the religious-political warfare as a cover for their crimes. This is a time when an unsavory character can kill a member of another community, loot his possessions, carry off his wife or young daughter, and receive the approval of his own community.

BACKGROUND OF THE BUTCHERY

Behind this unprecedented communal butchery is a half-year of bitter political conflict over the strategic Punjab. The Moslems formed a 57 per cent majority in the undivided Punjab, and the Moslem League was determined to win this rich, food-producing province for Pakistan. The plan was opposed by the Sikhs, four-and-one-half million of whom—out of a total of five-and-one-half million Sikhs in India—live in the Punjab. It was also opposed by the Hindus, who, although forming less than 30 per cent of the population, have dominated industry, commerce, banking, and the professions in the province and who felt that if it went to Pakistan, discriminatory legislation would drive them out of business.

The first wave of communal riots in the Punjab came when the League tried to seize power early this year. With the support of the British governor, a provincial Cabinet had been scraped together from all the minorities; the League attempted to overturn it and to shake the strong police rule which had been imposed. Gigantic demonstrations by League followers reached strata of the Moslem population which had never before participated in politics, and the Sikh leadership decided to stop the movement by a show of force.

It is impossible to understand events in the Punjab

without some knowledge of the peculiar mentality of the Sikhs. Recognizable everywhere by the fact that they never shave or cut their hair and always wear a *kirpan*, or sword, the Sikhs have incredible confidence in their own fighting ability. They ruled the Punjab before the British came and became favorites of the British when they helped quell the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. Having supported Britain wholeheartedly in World War I, they were favored with land grants, special legislation to protect their holy places, permits to carry their swords, and much praise for their "martial character."

The Sikh community is led by one Master Tara Singh—"master" because he was once a schoolmaster—who suffers from delusions of grandeur, if not other delusions. When British fortunes were at their lowest ebb in World War II, he and other prominent Sikhs made plans and collected arms for seizing power in the Punjab if Britain collapsed. Last April I asked him if he hoped to establish Sikh rule in the province after the departure of the British. He smiled and said hopefully, "Who knows what can come out of chaos!" At the end of August I asked him again about his hopes to rule the Punjab, and he replied, "I always hope there will be Sikh rule," adding, "Just as the Jews hope to rule Palestine, it is my superstition [*sic*] to rule Punjab."

Last March, under such leadership, the Sikhs opened their campaign by slaughtering Moslem inhabitants of the Chowk Pragadas district of Amritsar. The Moslems of western Punjab, inflamed by grossly exaggerated reports of the Amritsar killing, retaliated by slaughtering three thousand Sikhs and Hindus. In this they were urged on by the landlords, who would rather see the hungry Moslem peasants killing and looting Sikh and Hindu shopkeepers and moneylenders than agitating for lower rents.

The present round of killings was occasioned by the division of the Punjab, on which the Indian Congress insisted before it would agree to the secession of Pakistan. Much to the surprise of everyone, the Sikh leaders indorsed the decision of the Congress; their idea was to divide the Punjab in such a way as to give India not only the eastern part, in which non-Moslems were a majority, but also those areas in which the Sikhs had temples or heavy investments—which would have taken the heart out of western Punjab with its Moslem majority.

Claims and counter-claims were pressed so hotly that the fires of communal conflict were ignited in Lahore, commercial center of the Punjab and sometimes described as the "Paris of India." First there were knife battles; then the Moslem *goondas* (thugs) began to set fire to the business houses and residences of the substantial Sikh and Hindu minority—consisting of 300,000 of the 800,000 inhabitants of Lahore. Moslems justified this as a way of establishing the claims of the majority. "Destroy their houses," they said, "and with them their claims to

Lahore on the basis of property." Retaliation on the Hindu side came from a fascist-minded organization called the Rashtriya Sevak Singh, whose whispered reasoning was, "Bomb the Moslems to death and wipe out their majority in Lahore."

Despite curfew laws which kept people inside tight-shut houses in the 120° heat, and despite the presence of British troops who shot on sight, this grisly game continued. In Lahore the Moslem majority won out, and virtually all of the minority population fled from the city. In Amritsar the slight Hindu-Sikh majority drove out the Moslem minority.

THE BATTLE OF THE VILLAGES

When the conflict shifted from the big cities to the villages, the Punjab Boundary Force, composed of mixed Moslem, Hindu, and Sikh units under a British commander, proved utterly inadequate to check it. Maps at headquarters were sprinkled with colored pins marking villages that had been attacked, burned, looted. And the predominant color of the pinheads showed that in an overwhelming number of cases they were Moslem villages attacked by Sikh bands. Thus, in Amritsar District 100 Moslem villages were attacked as against 7 Sikh. A plane flight over Jullundur District on August 22 disclosed the same pattern.

The Sikh bands may contain as many as 800 men under the command of blue-turbaned leaders of the warrior caste. They usually attack in four waves. The first wave, armed with rifles, Bren guns, and Sten guns, aims to drive the Moslem villagers from the rooftops, where they have accumulated stones and perhaps a shotgun or two for a primitive defense. The second wave throws grenades, army-type and home-made, into the village to cause damage and confusion; the third wave follows with spears tipped with burning rags. As the terrorized villagers emerge from their houses, the fourth wave attacks the young men with swords, spears, and axes, carries off many of the young girls, and drives the others away with the warning: "Go to your Pakistan! If you dare come back here, we'll kill you to the last child!"

The Khan of Mamdot, Premier of West Punjab, accidentally received a first-hand account of an attack on a Moslem village from one of the participants. While driving back from peace conferences with officials of the East Punjab government he passed a smoldering village in which Sikh looters were prowling. One of them, seeing the Sikh soldiers accompanying him as a bodyguard, took him for an official of the (non-Moslem) East Punjab government and proceeded to boast of their deeds. "I myself," he said, "speared five persons to death." This man declared that the band had received a message from a Sikh member of the Legislative Assembly directing them to attack the village at a certain time. His story, coupled with the fact that hundreds of Mos-

lem villages were attacked simultaneously by well-prepared Sikhs strongly suggests a planned operation.

Many British military and civilian officials believe that the Sikh leaders are responsible, though they may not have wanted the violence to go to such frenzied extremes. It is suspected by some that the operation may have been planned by Sikh veterans of the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army, including General Mohan Singh, who deserted to the Japanese after three days' fighting in Malaya. No direct evidence links the General with the Sikh attacks, but there is evidence that Colonel Narinjam Singh Gil, who was associated with him in the formation of the I. N. A. and is still with him, is connected with one of the big Sikh bands. When I interviewed Colonel Gil, he told me that a civil war to prevent the Moslem secession would have been preferable to acceptance of partition. "The United States fought a civil war to prevent the secession of the South," he reminded me.

An added complication is the role played by the Sikh princely states in the area, particularly Patiala and Faridkot, in the center of eastern Punjab. Both apparently feel they will derive advantage from furthering Sikh expansion at the expense of the Moslems. Jeeps and trucks belonging to them have been repeatedly reported carrying arms to the Sikhs, and some weeks ago the Lahore residence of the Maharajah of Faridkot was found to be a storehouse of arms. For the last six months the Maharajah of Faridkot has been recruiting a "special police force" of ex-service men and offering a bonus of five rupees a month for men with mortar experience. This is a strange requirement for a policeman, but military authorities have been noticing that some of the Moslem villages have been attacked with mortars.

Considerable criticism is directed at the British, particularly for their location of the boundary line. While it is true that no boundary would have made everybody happy, a good many Sikh areas were left on the Pakistan side and a good many Moslem areas on the Hindustan side for no apparent reason. Among Moslems there is also criticism of the small size of the Boundary Force and its lack of observation and attack planes. The force was automatically limited in size by the decision not to use British troops, and its efficiency has been lessened by the fact that the soldiers are beginning to take sides. Sikh troops have stood by while Sikh bands have attacked Moslems, and Moslem troops have allowed their coreligionists to attack Hindus and Sikhs.

Perhaps the most incomprehensible mistake made by the British was their refusal to do anything substantial about the Sikh preparations for the current butchery, although these were fully reported by Political Intelligence. When Lord Mountbatten was warned beforehand about Sikh plans he is said to have replied, "Don't worry about the Sikhs; I can handle them."

EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

The past fortnight has seen several conferences of officials on both sides, culminating in the meeting of Pandit Nehru, Lord Mountbatten, and M. A. Jinnah in Lahore at the end of August. One of the great obstacles to peace is the inflamed feelings on both sides; people believe and spread the most exaggerated versions of the atrocities of the other side but never seem to hear or remember what their own side has done. Even Pandit Nehru has revealed this lack of objectivity. On one occasion, although impartial reports indicated that probably twenty Moslems were being killed in his own dominion for every one non-Moslem in Pakistan, he made a statement emphasizing the terrible happenings on the Pakistan side of the border. And Nehru is certainly the least communal-minded of India's leaders.

Pakistan, which is smaller and weaker than India, is having great difficulty absorbing the two hundred thousand refugees thrust upon it. There is considerable sus-

picion among Moslems that some leaders of Congress, including its "strong man," Sardar Patel, regard the border crisis with equanimity because they think it will weaken Pakistan and hasten a request for admission to the Indian Dominion. Apparently Mr. Jinnah shares this suspicion, for in his appeal of August 24, calling on Moslems to exercise restraint, he declared, "Let me warn Moslems to beware of their enemies who . . . would like to see [Pakistan] destroyed at its very inception and would like nothing better than that widespread disorders should break out within its borders."

One day as I sat with a political leader discussing the situation, a villager came in with a new tale of death and destruction and ended by asking, "Tell me, sir, has war been declared between Pakistan and Hindustan?" To this villager and to tens of thousands of refugees on the roads across the blood-spattered boundary, the Dominions of Pakistan and India do not seem like the brave new world they hoped for.

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk

BY ROBERT BASS

TEN years ago, on September 14, the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic died. He was President of a country which attracts relatively little attention, but it is still appropriate to recall Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, for his teachings and his example have something of importance for our times.

His life shows what a man can accomplish. It is a success story hardly rivaled by the classic success stories of American history. Masaryk was born of a peasant family and was obliged from the very start to make his own way in surroundings much less favorable than he would have encountered in the United States of that day. In spite of everything, he was able to get the best education, and he began his professional career as a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna. Later he was transferred to the Czech section of the University of Prague. His work there was eventually to lead him to the Presidency of the newly created Czechoslovak state.

The first step consisted in learning to understand the problems which his nation faced inside the Dual Monarchy. The second was to educate the Czechs through his work as a teacher, writer, and journalist. He realized early that Czech intellectual life was dependent on two developments: the reawakening which was begun by

Palacky and Havlicek in the mid-nineteenth century must be carried forward; and the romanticism which had stimulated that movement must be replaced by a genuine historical insight and self-imposed criticism. The Czechs, he felt, must learn to evaluate their culture, abandon their narrow horizons, and try to relate their problems to the whole pattern of European affairs. Through his personal influence Masaryk stimulated the mental life of the university, and through his writings he introduced Czech students and intellectuals to the main currents of European thought and led them to examine carefully the true historical bases of Czech national life.

Masaryk's political career began in 1891 when he was elected to the Austrian Parliament. There he began to study the position of the Czechs and the other minority groups in the empire and found an urgent need for a redistribution of political power. It was necessary to devise a way by which the empire's many component groups could live together harmoniously and share the responsibilities of government. Greater political and cultural autonomy for the Slavs would have to be achieved if the regime was to continue in existence. That was Masaryk's conception of the problem, and it was a sound one.

In practice, of course, he could accomplish nothing against an aristocratic German oligarchy and a corrupt bureaucracy, but his efforts in the years before the First World War gained him a European reputation. In the Hilsner ritual murder case of 1899 he exposed the prejudice-ridden administration and the narrow-minded

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bigotry of its chiefs. Later, in the Agram treason trial which followed the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he revealed to all Europe the scheming ambitions of a ruling class which overestimated its own strength and tried by fraudulent means to extend its power in the Balkans. The first case won Masaryk the friendship of Jews all over the world and of men of every race who abhorred religious and racial prejudice. The second helped him to establish effective contact with the southern Slavs and proved him to be the champion of certain broad principles rather than a mere defender of his country's interests.

On the eve of the Great War Masaryk went into voluntary exile. He saw that no effective reform was obtainable inside the empire and chose the courageous alternative of working for the emancipation of his people and other Slav groups from abroad. The difficulties of the task were tremendous. Little thought had been given to the matter before, and no adequate plans existed. The foreign offices of the Allies were not acquainted with the details of the situation or aware of its urgency. The Czech resistance group was without funds and could give no material assistance to the cause.

Masaryk's genius as a statesman and as an organizer was proved in those years. He went first to Geneva, then to France and England. His primary task was to get a hearing and eventual acceptance of his ideas. To this end he believed he must create through the press an enlightened public opinion which would first understand and sympathize and then help him in his work. No less necessary was a real agreement with the Allied war leaders, which Masaryk achieved through a persistently historical and sane exposition of his own nation's stand. Both his purposes were accomplished when his program was made a part of the official war aims. His next mission carried him to Russia on the eve of the military surrender and the Bolshevik revolution. In spite of the difficulties he encountered there, he succeeded in organizing a Czech army which began its journey to the western front via Siberia, Japan, and America under his personal direction.

The end of the war found Masaryk in America, rallying American Czechs and Slovaks to his cause and extending his agreement with the American war leaders. He was in this country when news came of his election to the Presidency of a free Czechoslovak state.

During the seventeen years of his Presidency Masaryk was able to exert unchallenged influence in the state. His reputation was tremendous, and his personality soon became a tradition among the Czechs. Until his retirement in 1935 he worked untiringly to make Czechoslovakia a progressive democracy—as it turned out, the only one in Central Europe. Under his guidance and within the framework of the constitution, the government proved to be the most stable on the Continent and the

parliamentary system very nearly as well disciplined as that of England or America.

MASARYK was unquestionably a world figure, and his services to the cause of democracy were many. His activity as a statesman was his historical contribution. In the realm of political theory he made another contribution which gives immediate pertinence to his memory. This was his appraisal of the scientific outlook as the really democratic one. Democracy, in his view, meant a complete outlook on the world and on life. He conceived of it as a condition wherein men live by knowledge and principle and order their lives through a concrete awareness of the nature of things. He saw that what passed for democracy in his day did not correspond with his idea of it, and he hoped that what he saw was not yet its full-blown form. His own concept of a "more profoundly humanitarian democracy" was a departure from the traditional concepts of individual irresponsibility. He saw clearly that one of the great problems of the present day was the disintegration of organized group and political life, and he felt that the only real chance for the formation of a stable political structure and ideology lay in making secure the principle of democratic authority in society. He pointed out that this principle would have to penetrate deeply into the consciousness of modern man and become the guide for individual conduct and thought. That meant, of course, a new emphasis on the ideal of citizenship, of which he was such a fine embodiment. It meant also that democracy could not be associated any longer with the middle class, which gave it its modern form. Implied in Masaryk's view is the active participation of everyone in the political life of the state. Healthy democracy is an organic thing, and it becomes the role of the individual to understand its cohesive character and to contribute to it. Masaryk sensed that anything which works to destroy this basic integrity of the social system is eventually itself destroyed, but he observed that the increasing complexity of the large democratic state does not necessarily foster disruptive tendencies; rather it makes the possibilities of individual participation in the working of the system infinitely greater.

Education was the crux of the new democratic ideology and action. The application of knowledge and intelligence to the conduct of life was democracy itself. An accurate appraisal of individual and social relationships became, when acted upon, the essence of democratic life. Ignorance, on the other hand, was the worst enemy of social living. It gave rise to false values and actually built the whole structure of social life on a lie.

These ideas are important today when everyone stands confronted with the need of understanding the bases of world conflict, and when a wholesale revaluation of world ideologies seems required. Masaryk, we feel, still

has real pertinence to the effort. His analysis of the problem and the solution he envisaged are modern and fundamental. It is fitting, therefore, not only to pay him homage as an outstanding European statesman but to remember and study him when we face the questions on whose solution our survival actually depends.

Sun, Sea, and Sand

BY HORACE SUTTON

Hamilton, Bermuda

IT HAS been about a year since automobiles were introduced to Bermuda's roads, and six years since the United States came down to build an airfield at one end of the island and a naval base at the other.

These two events have caused marked changes in post-war Bermuda. The colony's cost of living has risen anywhere from 68 to 100 per cent. A beach hotel on the American plan which charged from \$9 to \$16 for a room and bath in 1939 is currently asking from \$16 to \$35 for the same accommodation. Rooms in the commercial hotels and rooming houses which were \$1.50 and \$2 are \$3 and \$5 today. Everyone made money during the war, and the colony seems to have developed a smug complacency which has been resented by visitors. One of the most barbed criticisms came from Norman Bel Geddes, who was here recently and was quoted as saying, "We are continually irritated . . . merely tolerated. Don't go to Bermuda, just send a check and stay at home."

Meanwhile, as the Bermudians like to point out, the sun, the sea, and the sand are still the same. And today, via a Colonial Airlines DC-4 Skycruiser, only three and a half hours after leaving New York or Washington you can soar over Bermuda's frosty white houses that sparkle among the cedar trees like lumps of sugar scattered on a lawn. Three air lines are flying in, but the ship service is still limited, with no relief in sight until the Queen of Bermuda goes back into service sometime next spring.

Whereas Bermuda formerly had accommodations for 4,000 tourists, only 1,621 beds are now available for occupancy. Less than ten hotels and rooming houses of those in operation follow an unrestricted policy. Among these are the Summerside, Buena Vista, Fairylands Club, Oxford House, New Windsor Hotel, American House, Everest Hotel, and Somers Inn. Three of the leading hotels—the Castle Harbor, the Bermudiana, and the St. George—have been purchased by an Anglo-American company headed by the Hilton Hotel Corporation, which includes among its interests the Plaza in New York and the Palmer House in Chicago. The St. George Hotel, the only one of the Hilton interests which is now open, maintains partial restriction, on a percentage basis. Colo-

nel Joseph Binns, Hilton vice-president, has said, "The policy of the Hilton Hotels is to run each hotel in the manner best suited to the locality and surroundings." For the manner of the locality one need only walk up Reid Street in Hamilton, where a sign on a dingy "tu'-penny, ha'penny" luncheonette reads, "Koffee Kup—Quick Snacks—Restricted Clientele—Upstairs." Travel agents knowing of the restrictions have used the code names Oleander and Hibiscus in requesting accommodations in Bermuda. Oleander signifies the applicant is Gentile; Hibiscus means Jewish.

Bermuda's new miniature taxis, of which there are several hundred, will be a godsend to anyone who might have difficulty making the transition from the speed of American living to the horse-and-carriage pace which used to prevail here. The cabs charge 40 cents the first mile, 20 cents a mile thereafter, and they afford the tourist a chance to see more of the sights than he could take in on a leisurely carriage ride.

At Devil's Hole one can drop a hookless fishing line into a pool and try to pull up a grouper, a turtle, or a shark. The Angel's Grotto serves food on a water-side terrace and offers swimming, boating, and dancing. Descending into the Leamington Caves, one can wander among the stalactites and stalagmites, choose a live lobster from a subterranean crystal pool, and sit down to eat it at the end of the tour in a handsome, cedar-paneled dining room above ground. Dinner is \$3.50. There is tennis on the government courts at Hamilton at \$1 an hour; an aquarium at The Flats allows one to walk on the ocean floor in a diving helmet; and the home of Tom Moore, the Irish poet, is open for food and drink. Some hotels have swimming pools, but many people find Bermuda's greatest attraction in its secluded beaches, where one can swim in the lime-green sea. Coral Beach charges a dollar a day if one can arrange to be introduced, but most of the south-shore beaches are open to all at no cost.

Like everything else, the prices in the shops have gone sky-high, but they are nevertheless a substantial cut below prices in the States for the same articles. Perfume is at least 40 per cent below American prices. Fine cashmere cloth costs \$16 a yard. British tweeds are about \$5 a yard. Argyle socks are \$3.50, and scotch is \$4 a fifth. Many shops exhibit hand-carved cedar objects. You can bring home \$100 worth of merchandise, including a gallon of liquor, duty free. Colonial Airlines allows you sixty-six pounds, which, if you are no clothes-horse, is about twice the amount of clothing you would need for a week's stay. The local costume for men is still knee-length shorts worn with high stockings, shirt, and tie, an ensemble born of tropical necessity and British severity.

Passports and tourist cards are not required, but American immigration demands proof of citizenship, a detail which can be established by anything from a driver's license to a strong argument.

Del Vayo—Will De Gaulle Come Back?

Paris, September 12

OCTOBER will be a crucial month for France. The municipal elections will take place. Under the constitution of the Fourth Republic general elections are not held as frequently as before; so the municipal balloting becomes an important test of the parties' strength and popularity. The new factor this time is Charles de Gaulle, for the General has decided to use the elections as a proving ground for his movement, the Rally of the French People.

Unquestionably he has chosen a propitious moment. It is a mistake to think of De Gaulle as a man totally divorced from politics, above the battle. His tactical skill in politics is no less highly developed than his mastery of military tactics. Despite repeated pleas from his friends, De Gaulle refused to leave his retreat at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises until two things had happened: the Communists had reached the peak of their popular strength, and the United States had assumed command of the drive to stop Russia.

De Gaulle's original ambition was not to head a simple rightist movement. He would have liked to lead the mass of the French people away from extremism along that middle road which appeals to his logical mind. But the struggle in France, as everywhere in Europe, is more and more between left and right, between revolution and counter-revolution, even when revolution takes only the form of nationalization, and counter-revolution that of sacrificing everything for an American loan. In Europe today the middle of the road grows less and less passable. Because they failed to see this the French Socialists have suffered a steady loss of votes. For the same reasons De Gaulle has been pushed back into the right—to which he had always belonged until the war made him leader of the non-party Resistance.

The General's return from voluntary retirement and his decision to enter candidates in the municipal elections were carefully timed. The R. P. F. will go before the voters as the "party of order," a title claimed in the past by every French movement that set out to "stop revolution." But a party of order can only justify its existence in a revolutionary period when the bourgeoisie is terrified by warnings that the country is on the edge of violent upheaval. Actually France today contains several revolutionary elements, and the reference in my last article to the 1789 Convention was no mere figure of speech. The Parisians who demonstrated before the palace of Louis XVI at Versailles were asking for bread. France's present bread ration has been cut from 250 to 200 grams a day, and a large part of the population gets even less. By October the ration may be cut again, to 150 grams. This year's wheat harvest is the poorest in more than a hundred years. Nor can the country hope for wheat substitutes; because of the severe drought the potato crop threatens to be seven million quintals below pre-harvest estimates.

Taken together, all this offers the perfect opportunity for the Rally of the French People to present itself as the

only solution. It has merely to campaign on two issues: the danger that the Communists will play on the desperation of a people threatened by famine, and the government's inability to cope with the economic crisis. De Gaulle's program becomes very simple—anti-communism and a presidential state.

The Gaullist propaganda machine seems to have large funds at its disposal; current rumors credit American sources, but it is more probable that the contributions come from French business men who, together with the professional class and women, form the bulk of his following. De Gaulle has gathered around him a band of able men, notably Capitant, Soustelle, Pleven, Palewski, and Malraux. Malraux's literary talent has full play in the propaganda of the R. P. F., and he appears to be enjoying his role as apostle of action and exponent of the ego. However, in the final analysis the main asset of the movement is De Gaulle. Among all the historical allusions applied to De Gaulle the most apt is the remark of Louis Napoleon: "My name is my program."

All these factors tend to create the impression that the Rally of the French People is an irresistible movement. Yet Parisians who have just returned from summer vacations in the provinces tell me that the country is not nearly as enthusiastic about De Gaulle as his devoted followers plus certain foreign correspondents would have us believe. The General himself, recognizing the limitations of his movement, has cautiously declared that in next month's elections the R. P. F. will support candidates, regardless of party affiliation, who join and subscribe to its principles. They are even encouraged not to leave their party but rather to become the General's "companions in the test of public salvation." In this way De Gaulle remains above parties—as he has always desired—and at the same time takes full advantage of their support.

While continuing his attacks on the Communists and his denunciations of Russian expansionism, the General realizes that he cannot depend solely on American favor—after all, in France Americans have no votes. In his speech last Sunday he came out sharply against both Russia and the American plan to rebuild a strong Germany. De Gaulle understands French opinion, and he is working hard to win the broadest kind of backing. Those who hope he will resort to a coup de force if defeated at the polls would do well to ponder a warning he issued back in 1943: "If there are still any Bastilles left, I think they would do well to open their doors voluntarily. When a fight breaks out between the people and the Bastille, the Bastille always ends up in the wrong." Last week-end a million Parisian workmen demonstrated at another historic site; but the Champs de Mars is not far from the Place de la Bastille.

[This is the second of three articles on French politics. In the last Mr. del Vayo will discuss the chances of the left parties in the October elections.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Totalitarian Myth

THE LAST DAYS OF HITLER. By H. R. Trevor-Roper. The Macmillan Company, \$3.

LIKE most other forms of writing, history is today pretty much a neglected art. A brilliant professional performance like H. R. Trevor-Roper's "The Last Days of Hitler" is for that reason the more welcome and reassuring. And Trevor-Roper's triumph is all the more astonishing because it is achieved, not at the comparatively easy game of writing about the past, but at the tougher and more complex discipline of contemporary history.

In his capacity as intelligence officer Trevor-Roper was ordered in September, 1945, to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of Hitler. He interrogated those who survived the last fantastic days in the bunker, scrutinized all the evidence with a critical eye, and put together, as well as anyone can what actually took place in Hitler's last days. But the brilliance of "The Last Days of Hitler" lies not just in its meticulous sifting of evidence and reconstruction of the crime—a job which any good private eye could do—but in the historical imagination which brings the events to life and puts them in an almost classic setting.

Trevor-Roper's characterizations of the Nazi leaders are so precise, penetrating, and almost lapidary that it is hard to think they will be seriously revised in years to come. Himmler, credulous, indecisive, the real dupe of the Nordic nonsense; Goebbels, the jesuitical intellectual; Bormann, the persistent schemer; Göring, the tired voluptuary: as Trevor-Roper sketches them, the apparent inconsistencies which have long puzzled students of the Nazi nightmare fall into place. His special dramatic triumph lies in the confrontation of Hitler, that man of demonic will, and Albert Speer, the honest technocrat who liked to build and thought that politics were irrelevant.

They were the worst and the best in

Germany. Yet, as Trevor-Roper concludes, in a sense "Speer is the real criminal of Nazi Germany. . . . His keen intelligence diagnosed the nature and the mutations of Nazi government and policy; he saw and despised the personalities around him; he heard their outrageous orders and understood their fantastic ambitions; but he did nothing. Supposing politics to be irrelevant, he turned aside, and built roads and bridges and factories, while the logical consequences of government by madmen emerged."

Though his focus is the death of Hitler, Trevor-Roper throws off many fascinating insights about the nature of Nazi dictatorship. His book corroborates the conclusion of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey that the Nazi economy was never fully concentrated on war production and that "total mobilization" remained a gleam in the eye of Goebbels. He also develops a striking theory about the impossibility of real totalitarianism. Once you have government by irresponsible absolutism, he argues, then "every man whose position makes him either strong or vulnerable must protect himself against surprise by reserving from the common pool whatever power he has managed to acquire. Thus there is, in the end, no common pool at all." The structure of the German state, far from being "pyramidal" or "monolithic," became instead a confusion of private empires, private armies, and private intelligence services.

Trevor-Roper does not refuse the opportunities for irony and moral judgment in which his material abounds. Thirty-three years old and an Oxford don, he has clearly set himself in the school of Gibbon. But the result is not the flatulent historical prose of an Arthur Bryant or the hopped-up rhetoric of a Guedalla; it is a successful transposition of the Gibbon manner into contemporary English. Like everything else about "The Last Days of Hitler," it is an astonishing and resounding success.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Prelude to Planning

AMERICA'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES. A Twentieth Century Fund Survey Which Includes Estimates for 1950 and 1960. By J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates. Twentieth Century Fund, \$5.

AMERICANS have recently emerged from a great war victorious—with homes and factories undamaged, almost unrivaled military power, much the highest national income not only in the world but in their own history, and virtually full employment. Yet they are ill at ease and filled with forebodings. They lack confidence in their economic order.

Is their anxiety justified? The recent publication of this detailed and scholarly study has led some commentators to assert that it is not, for the volume not only shows, on the basis of a great wealth of economic statistics, the amazing upsurge of production and general welfare which has occurred in the past but also demonstrates the possibility of similar progress in the future.

The average per capita income in this country grew from about \$270 in 1850 to \$1,170 in 1944. The total net output of goods and services increased twenty-seven times in the same period, but the labor force employed in 1944 was only eight and a half times as large as in 1850 and the working week decreased from seventy hours to forty-seven. This almost miraculous achievement was due largely to the substitution of power derived from coal, oil, gas, and water for the muscle power of men and animals. We used seventy times as much mineral energy per man-hour of work in 1940 as we did in 1850; and if this tendency continues we shall be using in 1960 a hundred times as much as we used a hundred years earlier.

The great question is whether or not this trend will continue. Haven't we come to a dead end? Surely we can't go on forever increasing production at the rate that was possible in a new and developing country. After all, the frontier has passed, population growth has

slowed down, and industry is already highly mechanized.

"America's Needs and Resources" makes it clear that we can still expand our production—if we satisfy all the wants and reasonable needs of the population. The authors of the report estimate the size of the population in 1950 and in 1960. They make a conservative guess at what the national product is likely to be in those years. In 1950, according to this estimate, the national product will be a little more than a third larger than it was in 1940 or, in money terms, \$204 billion; it was \$200 billion in 1946. Yet, assuming that there will be no marked change in the distribution of income and that people will continue to buy according to their means, those at the bottom of the scale will still lack enough for a "minimum of health and decency" as defined in standard family budgets. The deficiency in 1950 would be 11 per cent of the total output; in 1960 it would be 7 per cent. And progress need not stop even when everyone had been brought up to the minimum—a level which most readers of this article would find scanty indeed.

So far so good, but if this report is used only for purposes of reassurance that if we conduct our affairs in the future as we have in the past we shall have no cause for worry, the effort put into it will have been largely wasted. And in any case curves on charts showing trends of rising income are not sufficient to quell popular fears of economic disaster.

No sensible person has ever supposed that want has been abolished in America or that there will not be enough for all of us to do if human needs are well satisfied. Unemployment in 1932, 1921, or any other period did not spring from the fact that there were too many goods in the hands of those who needed them most. The fear that the nation might be equipped to produce more than people would need or want is a bogymen of the economic nursery.

"America's Needs and Resources" does not go into these questions. It does not show and does not pretend to show how we may avoid depressions and unemployment; it does not prove that production and wealth will actually grow in the future as they have in the

past—but only that the increase is possible.

Let us look at America's needs and resources from another point of view. Suppose, instead of passively accepting historical trends as the pattern of the future, we assumed that everyone in the country should have adequate food, shoes, clothing, houses, transportation, schools, doctors, hospitals, recreation, government services. Suppose we recognized that, in view of the spotty record of the past and the shortages of the present, this consummation could be brought about only by careful planning. The first necessity would be a careful survey of the facts—and that is what this report provides. In chapter after chapter experts demonstrate in detail what the needs will be in many fields; they show what big jobs remain to be done in satisfying even minimum requirements. They indicate that at the lower levels of income the major lack will be food; at other levels housing, medical care, and so on. They point out the large government expenditures that would be required. They show that with an intelligent foreign-trade policy we would not lack the necessary raw materials, and that the question of how much we can produce depends on the rate of increase of output per man-hour and the number of hours worked.

These facts have little value as prediction; they have enormous value as a definition of the problem. The report is like a map of the topography of a region which the invader is about to enter. It does not tell us where we shall go, but it does tell us what we are likely to find if we follow any given route. The rest is up to us.

The right way to deal with anxiety about the economic future, like the right way to deal with any other anxiety, is not to pretend that everything will come out all right but to formulate and carry through a program based on a careful and balanced survey of the facts.

It may be too late now to prevent the recession which is likely to follow the present inflation of prices and profits. But it is not too late to plan against the depression which will probably come when the backlogs of demand for commercial housing and automobiles are satisfied.

GEORGE SOULE

Three Poets

POEMS OF DEDICATION. By Stephen Spender. Random House. \$2.

LOVE POEMS. By George Barker. The Dial Press. \$2.

LAMENT FOR THE SLEEPWALKER. By Dunstan Thompson. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$2.50.

READING the three latest books of Spender, Barker, and Thompson—in that order—left me with an abnormal feeling. It was as strange as that. I felt as if I had traveled through three generations of poets whose family resemblance, decreasing in the ratio of one to one-half to one-quarter, was noticeable mainly through the coarsening of the features. The resemblance seemed largely a physical mystery, Thompson being present in his poems the most corporeally, and Spender the least. The less poet, the more poem.

Spender, like Barker and Thompson, writes of course from his own experience, his own feelings. But whereas Barker, to a large extent, and Thompson, almost entirely, write from *their* feelings, Spender writes from his *feelings*. The feelings are more important than the poet who feels them, simply because they are the bridge from poet to reader. Both can feel; they have that capacity in common. And if they do, understanding is at least possible. For the poet and the reader really go through the same creative process: through the medium of the poem the poet relates his own experience to universalized experience; through the medium of the poem the reader relates the universalized experience to his own experience. In that process lies the marriage of true minds in which both poet and reader are dissolved and only the poem remains.

Spender is one of the few poets today who can make his experience his reader's experience. Comparing his new book with his previous one, "Ruins and Visions," one can locate the general direction of his development. The main theme of the previous volume was separation, the struggle to relate himself to something larger than himself: the poetry derived from the struggle—not merely his own—and from the misunderstanding of it. In the new poems the theme is meeting—sometimes not quite meeting but correlation, connection: the poetry is in the coming to-

gether, the fusing, of what is inside the self with what is outside. Consequently, he can begin to express himself more fully and more truly. The title of the book is accurate; he is free to dedicate himself. In the new poems people, events, nature, function more freely and organically than before.

Spender's greatest shortcomings have always been his unsure ear and sense of form. Spender is an eye poet, and it is no accident that the eye is one of his favorite symbols. The eye to him is the intellect, meaning, the mirror which both discloses the inner world and discovers the outer world. The eye is also space as the ear is time. (Compare Eliot's use of eye symbols in *The Hollow Men*.) To a time-ridden civilization, Spender's insistence on the visible and spatial is a virtue, just as his refusal to surrender to facile sound (Barker, Thompson) is a virtue. But notwithstanding that, the meaning of a poem must be expressed through sound, which is to poetry what current is to electricity. When Spender writes, "The core of the day/Is these twin spheres of eyes," the sound annihilates any meaning the lines might possibly convey. Another poem (*Lost*) is inactivated by two bad rhymes which dissociate sound and meaning. Still other poems, while intellectually developed from stanza to stanza, fail because the sound does not bring the meaning close enough to the surface to create the current without which the total effect of the poem becomes inhibited. This inhibition, the central fault of many of the poems, occurs when, within the frame of the poem, a sure relationship of part to part and parts to the whole is not established. Then his metaphors sound forced and contrived; and it is the sound that tells the reader they are untrue. Spender also misuses run-on lines, sometimes to the point where a six-line stanza can be written just as well in three lines. It is significant that when his meaning is less directly personal, as in the third stanza of *Midsummer*, sound and meaning are beautifully fused.

On the whole, however, the new poems are more controlled and traditional; many of them contain their meanings more surely; and the general tone is less imperative than it is in "Ruins and Visions." The advance is clear, and that, in terms of Spender's



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development, is more important than the consideration that "Ruins and Visions" contains more examples of his best work, if also more of his worst, than the present collection. In the meantime, we have some half-dozen good poems—a large number—of which I would call the sixth poem of *Elegy for Margaret* and *The Trance* the most successful. I prefer the former—it is one of Spender's best—but a stanza from *The Trance* is more quotable:

To that deep care we are committed
Beneath the wildness of our flesh
And shuddering horror of our dream,
Where unmasked agony is permitted.
Our bodies, stripped of clothes that seem,
And our souls, stripped of beauty's mesh,
Meet our true selves, their charms outwitted.

George Barker's new poems do not, at least to me, reveal anything new in his poetic development. He is still almost all ear. He still produces orchestrations of sounds which move from and to the never-never land of the senses. At his best, the sounds reverberate on the senses of the reader, freeing them for a moment of physical weight like music, but as poetry, dissolving the fear rather than clarifying the meaning of the experience.

But it is seldom that "Love rises from her bed of senses." More often than not, Barker's meaning is so thin, so inexact, at times so empty, that his sound becomes disenchanted and breaks up, exposing a mere collection of now uninflated words, which, since they mean nothing, give the lie to the emotion that produced them. Most of the poems are all electricity and no current. When he writes, "I also go down all roads and/ Ask everything why," the reader can only conclude that to express a thought so badly must mean that it is not true.

Barker's love poems come in cycles; there are four of them, twenty-four poems, most of which can be read as fast as the eye can run. The best are in the Fourth Cycle where the sound rises to a distracted wail and his subjection to the burden of his experience is communicated.

Barker must find a way out of what he calls his "mnemonic room," the prison of his own experience. Right now, his endeavor to do so is unsuccessful;

mostly he just manufactures meanings when he tries to find the larger connection. He is aware of his dilemma. One can only wait and see and, if one is concerned about poetry, hope hard.

The promise of Dunstan Thompson's first book is to no computable extent fortified by "Lament for the Sleepwalker." He is so far only a thick shadow of Barker—and of Whitman. Thompson's poems do not, even in terms of sound, free themselves from the burden of their author's experience. They are sodden with sound; they never rise from the sensual floor. They get under the reader's feet; he steps on them. His eye is unable to crawl its way through them on its fool's errand to the brain. Thompson is concerned only with his own feelings, which he sees through a landscape of sex so befuddled, festooned, and tricked out with poetic claptrap that when he writes "Guilt like a rust enamels me," the reader—this reader—must, while removing the slag from his brain, substitute "gilt."

Especially in the longer poems Thompson's form is sloppy; he indulges in empty trickery with unconscionable aplomb, and writes lines which, short or long, jerk along to nowhere while his sleepwalker goes "from one bed to another in search of himself." The endings of the poems—their proof—are forced, unarrived-at, and to all poetic purpose, dishonest. Failing to communicate through sexual imagery a general feeling, his poems become as impersonal as sex. At the very least, one thinks, he could, in the words of Shakespeare's Duke in "Measure for Measure," "let the devil/ Be sometime honor'd for his burning throne." But eventually, he must, in order to find out where he is, get out of bed.

H. P. LAZARUS

Labor and Politics

HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Philip S. Foner. International Publishers. \$4.50.

MR. FONER has covered the history of the labor movement from the colonial period to the 1880's. It is a competent work, although the reader schooled in labor history will not find many new facts. The material and its division are generally similar to earlier

works in the field, except that Dr. Foner has included some information on slave rebellions.

The author's purpose is to interpret American labor history and to demonstrate that the thesis evolved by the Wisconsin School—Professor John R. Commons and his students—is erroneous. This thesis is that the American worker is not inclined to be class conscious, that he is interested in pursuing limited objectives, such as improvements in wages and working conditions, and that he avoids independent political action and is, instead, inclined to follow a policy of pressure politics. Contemporary events, the author argues, have "completely exploded this analysis of the history of the American labor movement." But have they?

The Wisconsin School has never argued that common action of labor, skilled and unskilled, was not possible. Too many examples of such action can be found in the four volumes of Commons's *History* to demonstrate that such a charge is unwarranted. Nor has it argued that labor is not or has not been active politically. Moreover, the conclusions reached by the Wisconsin School are presented not as eternal dogmas but as generalizations based upon the observation of certain tendencies. Nowhere in the Commons *History* is the assumption made that the future must inevitably resemble the past. Yet those who advocate a new course must demonstrate its advisability by a preponderance of evidence.

It is incorrect to maintain that Gompers opposed political action, or that such was the view of the Wisconsin School. Being essentially a labor leader and not an armchair philosopher, Gompers could, if conditions made it necessary, change his mind. It was under his leadership that the modern trade unions embarked upon their first large-scale political activity, and the contemporary labor movement, despite its three-fold increase in membership, still follows the pressure policies of Gompers. Take away the trimmings, and it becomes clear that both the Citizens' and the C. I. O. Political Action Committees were the Gompers Labor Representation Committee of 1906 on an expanded scale. The demise of the Citizens' Political Action Committee and the official drawing away of the

C. I. O. leadership from its successor show that an organization even mildly tainted with class-struggle radicalism is regarded as a liability by responsible labor leaders.

Certainly, the labor movement has increased its political activity, and is likely to increase it still further in the future. However, this has occurred because of the growing importance of government in collective bargaining, the establishment of programs of social security, and the belief that government should, by its fiscal and tax policies, encourage full employment. To American labor, political action is a means of getting increased job and social security and not of replacing the social system.

Dr. Foner's attempt at Marxian interpretation is more ambitious than successful. The facts of American labor history are not so easily fitted into a Procrustean bed of Marxist dogma.

PHILIP TAFT

Fiction in Review

THE only thing that makes Anna Kavan's "The House of Sleep" (Doubleday, \$2.50) worth writing about—nothing makes it worth reading—is the point of view it shares with a considerable section of our literary culture, the most "advanced" section, that madness is a normal or even a rather better-than-normal way of life. Although Miss Kavan's book is called a novel, it has no single characteristic of fiction—no narrative, no characters, no insight into or enlargement of our common reality. In fact, it deliberately avoids reality except in so far as it uses words which, however arbitrarily arranged, yet manage to evoke fleeting glimpses of a momentarily recognizable universe. A kaleidoscope of the subjective states of an increasingly disordered mind, recorded half as if from within the sick mind itself and half as if through the eye of an outsider much too closely identified with her subject, "The House of Sleep" seems to me to have been published only by virtue of our utter confusion as to what life and literature are all about. I haven't the slightest idea what it means to be told of such a pretentious piece of non-communication that it is a "penetrating insight into the subconscious world of

dreams and shadows." To me, insight necessarily proceeds from some kind of organized vision of reality. And the subconscious world of dreams and shadows is interesting only if it adds to our information about the world of consciousness, which Miss Kavan's book does not.

But it is clear that Miss Kavan has a principled disagreement with this po-

sition. She explains her own stand in an introduction sufficiently brief to be quoted entire:

The creative impulse is the result of tension; without tension life would not exist. If human life be accepted as the result of tension between the two polarities of night and day, the negative polarity, must have at least equal importance with the positive day.



jean-paul SARTRE

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At night, under the negative influence, subjected to cosmic radiations of a different kind, human affairs are apt to come to a crisis; at night most human beings die and are born.

"The House of Sleep" describes in the night-time language certain critical stages in the development of one individual human being. No interpretation is needed of this dream tongue we all, as a matter of course, have spoken in sleep and childhood; but for the sake of absolute clearness a short paragraph at the head of each section indicates the corresponding day situation.

Every sentence of this statement invites examination. It is the second sentence, however, that reveals the serious misapprehension under which Miss Kavan has conceived her book. For believing that human life is a tension between the two polarities of reason and non-reason and that non-rationality, instead of being an element in the human composition that normally is and should be under the dominion of reason, asserts an "at least equal" authority with reason, Miss Kavan sets herself firmly against our common social view. She distinctly refuses the usual attitude whereby the whole test of health lies in this delicate matter of degree, the attitude which says that when a person's non-reason approaches even a 50 per cent dominion over his reason it means that the person is sick and of only questionable use to society.

As to the sentences that follow this one, they too make rather singular assumptions. When Miss Kavan writes, "at night, under the negative influence," one is moved to ask her why negative; what makes night negative?

And when she continues, "... subjected to cosmic radiations of a different kind," one wants to know what is meant by a cosmic radiation of any kind. In support of Miss Kavan's affirmation that "at night most human beings die and are born," one asks for statistics; and in support of Miss Kavan's assertion that her text is written in the "dream tongue we all, as a matter of course, have spoken in sleep and childhood" one inquires whom Miss Kavan means by "we all." Certainly, even as a matter very much out of course, this reviewer was never capable of an infant- or sleep-speech of such fineness as the following: "the blessed genii who walk about in the light—gazing with blissful eyes of still, eternal clearness. The perennially clear eye of the Heaven-Born opens to a state of shockingly bright moonlight. The eye is located at presumptive Godheight so that the terrestrial globe is seen as if from an airplane cruising over it at about three thousand feet." And I pick my passage at random; there are others of an even more exacerbated delicacy.

But, as I say, none of this would be worth stopping over were Miss Kavan's book only an isolated instance of its kind, unrelated to the culture of our time. Actually, the author of "The House of Sleep" not only has a distinguished reputation both in her own England and in this country but also speaks for an attitude that is finding a frighteningly wide adherence among our literary advance guard. Almost in the degree that our popular writing has moved more and more into the power realm and tried to mold itself

into an instrument to control a world of the most immediate realities, our art literature has moved more and more into the realm of shadow and dreams and tried to substitute for the grimness of reality the poetry of non-rationality. The very people who are in the advance guard of complaint that ours is a schizophrenic society have themselves, it seems, little better than schizophrenia to offer as a cure. DIANA TRILLING

In Brief

DR. CAMPBELL'S DIARY OF A VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1775.

Newly Edited from the MS by James L. Clifford. With an Introduction by S. C. Roberts. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

THOMAS CAMPBELL was an Irish clergyman moved in his own small way by the same kind of curiosity which led Boswell and Walpole to record their impressions of men and manners. Most of his short diary is concerned with what he saw and heard on one visit to London, and the history of the manuscript is almost as strange as the document itself. Completely unknown for some three-quarters of a century after it was written, it was printed, in part, in Australia in 1854, and the book, because so little was known about it, came to be regarded by some students as a hoax. A few years ago, however, the relentless persistence of Professor Clifford succeeded in locating the manuscript in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, where it had lain uncatalogued for years. He has now printed it in full with an ac-

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count of the author and elaborate notes. The fact that Campbell was especially interested in Samuel Johnson will guarantee him readers, and he records several well-known sayings in unfamiliar form. In at least two famous instances Campbell either heard or at least remembered sayings as couched in language a good deal more Rabelaisian than any attributed by Boswell to "the great moralist," and one pronouncement concerning the principal pleasures of life may curl some hair. Professor Clifford's editing is a model of thoroughness which leaves very few of the many obscure references unexplained.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE last of the books on my desk for review is Kolodin's new edition of his "Guide to Recorded Music" (Doubleday, \$3.50), which I would feel no need of concerning myself with (any more than with the later editions of Hall's "Record Book") if even one of the reviews of the first edition that I saw in 1941 had put on record an adequate description of what I read in the book.

Kolodin's revisions include elimination of inconsequential errors of the kind that are unavoidable in such a compilation (one of the readers whom he thanks for pointing them out might tell him that the Bach Toccata in D recorded by Pessl is the same work as the Toccata and Fugue in D recorded by Landowska). But also eliminated is an erroneous statement of a different and not inconsequential kind. Concerning the Beecham recording of Mozart's Symphony K. 201 Kolodin wrote in 1941: "It has been my reaction, after hearing Beecham's more recent performances of this work, that the interpretation he recorded was a transitional one, tending toward the conception he holds today." I knew of no Beecham performances of K. 201 in this country after the recording; an accidental meeting with Beecham enabled me to ascertain that there had been none; and other inquiries established the fact that neither Beecham nor Columbia had received from England a sample pressing of a new recording that Kolodin might have heard. The statement appeared, then, to be an example of the interesting points

a writer can make about imagined material.

Another example was the statement that followed it, in 1941, about Koussevitzky's recording of K. 201—that "Koussevitzky has incorporated many of the virtuous elements of [Beecham's] conception into his performance." This also is not in the new edition; but still present is the similar statement that Beecham's more recent recorded performance of Mozart's K. 338 "is the authentic conception of the work, not, as Koussevitzky's seems to me, a duplicate of the previous Beecham recording." It makes interesting reading; but as I observed once, try to imagine Koussevitzky listening to another conductor's performance, if at all, with any thought other than to show how *he* did it; better still, try listening to the Koussevitzky and the old Beecham recorded performances of K. 338. Listen merely to the two statements of the opening phrase of the *Andante* movement—to the sharply clipped staccatos of Koussevitzky, then to the same notes held longer and released without sharp clipping by Beecham (and note that I am talking about such objectively verifiable physical facts, not about subjective evaluations of these facts): they constitute one of the many dissimilarities in the actual styles of the two performances that represent the differences in the two conductors and their feeling about the music—Koussevitzky's style brisk, chirpy; Beecham's slower-moving, spaciiously elaborating. And it is such dissimilarities that you will hear, not the similarities of a copy and its original.

Now my reason for discussing these details is that they are especially clear-cut and striking examples of Kolodin's method throughout the book. And I should add that the method is a normal one of Kolodin's writing: his program-notes for the works performed by the New Friends of Music, for example, have been a profusion of points about them which I have had to conclude were

mostly churned up in his own mind, since I couldn't discover the things they referred to in the works.

That sort of thing doesn't make for reliable guidance; and Kolodin is an astonishingly unreliable guide even in the simple matter of whether the recorded sound of a performance is natural and agreeable or unpleasantly false or distorted. A reader who in 1941 acquired the Stokowski performance of Stravinsky's "Firebird" that Kolodin described as "carefully defined" by the Columbia recording, or the Stokowski performance of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony that Kolodin described as "splendidly reproduced" by Columbia, would have found himself with two of the horrors of orchestral recording that Columbia perpetrated in those years; and on the other hand if fear of the "weaknesses" Kolodin found in the recording kept this reader from acquiring the Budapest Quartet performance of Mozart's K. 499, it would have deprived him of a beautiful H.M.V. recording of the performance. True, Kolodin had been using an Astatic pickup and 12-inch speaker which cut down the range of the reproduction and in this way reduced the defects of the recordings; but his book was going to be read by some people with wide-range reproducing equipment. And now he has a wide-range Brush pickup (but the same limited 12-inch speaker); but it doesn't seem to have made him any more reliable a guide. A reader will discover the realities of "Columbia's skillful reproduction of chamber music" only after he has acquired the defective recordings of the Budapest Quartet that Kolodin praises; that is how he will find out also about the noisy confusion caused by excessive hall-reverberation in the recent Victor recordings of Berlioz's "Harold in Italy," Ravel's "Daphnis and Chloë," and Prokofiev's "Scythian Suite," about which Kolodin's enthusiasm is unqualified; and the learning process won't stop there.

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Letters to the Editor

Spanish Canvas

[The following letter, recently sent to The Nation by its recipient, was written two months ago by a Yale student traveling in Spain. For the light it sheds on Franco's dominion, we print it now, despite the delay from the time of writing.]

Dear —: Yesterday at five o'clock in the afternoon my Harvard friend and I crossed the border into France after a trip of exactly two weeks in Spain—one week in Pamplona and a week in Madrid. To write all or even half of my impressions would be impossible. So much can happen in two weeks, averaging twenty hours a day of more or less complete consciousness.

Since we arrived in San Sebastian on the evening of the referendum, perhaps that story should be dealt with first. Of the cities we visited in Spain, San Sebastian was the most thoroughly propagandized. Our dinner at the small hotel near the station was accompanied by alternate male and female voices delivering their message from the national radio network. It was all very interesting for a newcomer to a government-police-controlled state. With our *caldó* we learned of the order prevailing in Spain in the midst of a chaotic world; with *bacalao*, a recounting of the atrocities committed by the foreign-dominated republic; with *chulets*, a panegyric on the success of the regime in aid of farmers, workers, Catholics, teachers, mothers, et cetera; with dessert, a warning that a vote "Si" was a vote for Spain, a vote "No" a vote for foreign intervention, killing of children, destruction of homes and churches, and all the rest. By the time we had finished our coffee the entire process had started again.

By 11 p. m. we were exploring the handsome streets of San Sebastian. Each smooth blank spot of wall between the steel-shuttered stone fronts was "decorated" with small (2' x 4'), thin, well-glued announcements. There were some dozen different types. Each was headed by a designating word—Catholic, Student, Worker, Spaniard, Soldier, Woman, et cetera—and each explained the benefit of a "Si" vote for the people falling under the various categories. There were no posters ask-

ing for a negative vote. This all was very interesting at first sight.

Midnight found us trying to pay for a cognac in a cafe of the section of the city where the streets are narrow and without sidewalks. We had been talking about life in America with the family at the next table while at other tables people were playing cards, drinking milk, beer, coffee, wine, or sipping cognac. With some shouts and the roar of a truck motor several bundles of colored circulars were pitched from a shovel into the open doorway. No one rose to pick one up. The card game continued without interruption while few even looked toward the door. There were, however, several smiles as S— walked to the front of the cafe to get a sampling of the multicolored papers.

Later when we went out into the streets we found them littered with the same colored papers. At this time occurred the only unpleasant incident. While we were watching a Falange worker pasting a poster on the wall, one of the men from the truck approached us and asked, "Do you come here to fight us?" Before I could answer one of his more sober friends told him to keep quiet and leave the foreigners alone. The people walking in the streets were paying no attention to the truck with its men, shovels, and colored papers. The first night in Spain was a realistic portent of what was to follow in the next two weeks.

I must omit the detail and write a few general impressions before I close. I talked to people of all classes in Spain. We rode third class to Madrid and first class back. We had a beer at Cuatro Caminos and a cognac at the "Palace." I should guess that one person in eight with whom I talked was in favor of the regime of Franco. That is not to say that the other seven were in favor of a civil war to put him out. Everyone seems very much afraid that something will happen to deprive his family of food. The failure to vote in the referendum brought a fine of a week's salary. A brush with the police would be even more serious for a man without savings.

Franco is right. He has brought order to Spain—by forbidding all opposition. Never have I seen so many uniformed police. There are nearly always two or three in sight. The largest group

of police I happened to see at one time was in the line for bullfight tickets to see Manolete on July 15. Since early in the morning people had been lined up the length of several blocks; some had been there all night. At 10 a. m. when the ticket window opened, about seventy-five uniformed police formed their own line in front. As the police were served, others entered. The resale price of tickets for that fight was triple the official price. Some of the public began to complain and surge forward, but when the clubs came out of the holsters they fell back into their previous orderly line and waited for what was left of the public ticket sale.

The Spanish newspapers make interesting reading—till you get used to them. They specialize in describing the chaos of strikes and starvation in democratic Europe. The July 4 news from the United States explained the barbaric American way of celebrating its independence with 300 deaths. Only Argentina receives a good press, but among the people jokes about the recent visit of Señora Perón are still popular.

There is so much more to tell if there were time: the way the people smile and put their index finger to their right eye in a knowing way when you mention the official referendum returns, the equally knowing smiles as they read their newspapers, the poorly stocked bookstore windows, the shop windows filled to overflowing, the restaurant in Madrid where a dinner costs the week's wage of a factory worker. There was the Falangist in Pamplona who warned me that the two evils of democracy were free elections and free press (but I respected him more than the professor in Madrid who assured me that both press and elections were free in Spain). There was the entrance of Franco into the President's box at the bullring in Madrid with the wholly unsuccessful attempt of a few to start the chant "Franco, Franco, Franco," and the huge headlines in the Madrid newspapers the next day proclaiming the applause and shouts of "Franco" at the bullfights of the day before! I could go on and on, but there is not time.

We left Spain as we entered, stopping at the same hotel in San Sebastian. During dinner the same radio was blaring the same propaganda. This was the

eleventh anniversary (July 18) of the "Crusade of Franco and Spain against the foreign intervention."

The radio harangue was no longer interesting as it had been the first day. It was a pleasure to hear the beginning of a period of music as the speech ended with the usual "Viva Franco, Arriba España."

As I reread my letter I am afraid you will get the impression that Spain was not pleasant for an American visitor. On the contrary, Spain is the most interesting country with the most friendly people I have ever seen. Everywhere we were treated like old friends in spite of the official attitude that most foreigners are enemies of Spain.

J. EAGLETON

Paris, July 20

The Ingersoll Association

Dear Sirs: The Robert G. Ingersoll Memorial Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York on February 19, 1947.

The purpose of the association is to make of the birthplace of Robert G. Ingersoll, on Seneca Lake, at Dresden, Yates County, New York, a museum to be open to the public during the summer months of each year, and, in due course, to build an additional structure to house original Ingersoll manuscripts, photographs, historical documents, letters, and other memorabilia, which would be placed on permanent exhibition.

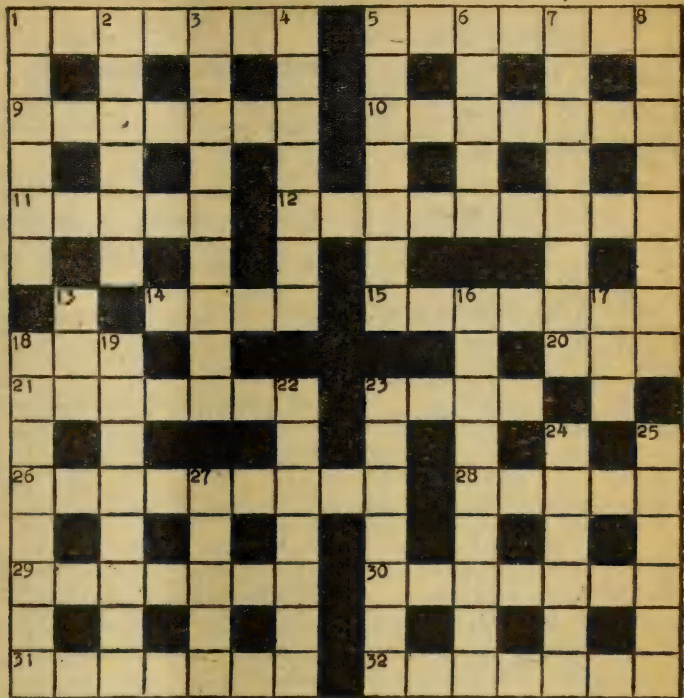
The house was originally opened as a museum on August 11, 1921, but has been closed during the war period. The association plans to reopen the house on August 11, 1948, which will mark the 115th anniversary of Ingersoll's birth.

The object of the current membership campaign is to raise sufficient funds to complete the work of restoration of the house in time for that opening. Contributions to the association are deductible from the income tax.

In this current era, when totalitarian enslavement by church and state threatens from every side, the association hopes that this little birthplace will stand as a beacon of intellectual light, liberation, and inspiration to all seeking freedom for the person, the mind, and the spirit.

The Robert G. Ingersoll Memorial Association, Inc., cordially invites the readers of *The Nation* to membership in the association, and to active participation in its work. For further de-

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 229 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the third of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Where crustacea lie? (7)
- 5 Pert manner? (7)
- 9 Loaded thus? Refrain from it! (7)
- 10 Even a liar can be brainy. (7)
- 11 To lift from the lateral. (5)
- 12 Well-read passage by Roberts. (9)
- 14 Come back to Erin to see the lake. (4)
- 15 This caretaker has one drawback in the end. (7)
- 18 We go out from the middle in either direction. (3)
- 20 Comparatively easy. (3)
- 21 Contrived to have the clamps taken off? (7)
- 23 I repeat, it's a bird! (4)
- 26 It sounds anti-nose-counting, but actually is in agreement. (9)
- 28 Good at 8 down. (5)
- 29 Did we once pay this, but tire of it quickly? (7)
- 30 Drink wine for a bracer? (7)
- 31 Is it against the law to do this to the Commander-in-Chief more than once? (7)
- 32 Found in coils, wherever rocks are. (7)

- 5 Wires which don't bear direct current? (7)
- 6 Loud material. (5)
- 7 Does the porter wear different-colored head-gear at the beach? (8)
- 8 Does it go in and come out on Christmas day? (8)
- 13 Nothing before us but to be in debt! (3)
- 16 Pepsicola, well-shaken. (9)
- 17 To leave in tears. (3)
- 18 Actor due a leading role. (8)
- 19 Does it flow gently after dark? (8)
- 22 Upbraided after dinner. (7)
- 23 Its sins imply one dwells on a point. (7)
- 24 Like Leander's girl-friend? (6)
- 25 One shall never be a slave, so they sing. (6)
- 27 Don't let the right answer do this to you! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 228

ACROSS:—1 CHAMPION; 5 SCRAP; 10 MOTOR; 11 INTRUSIVE; 12 RAMPART; 13 BALANCE; 14 STONED; 15 EARNEST; 18 CONTENT; 21 ASTUTE; 24 EXAMPLE; 26 RELIANT; 27 UNIFORMED; 28 NIGHT; 29 ENTREE; 30 PERSISTS.

DOWN:—1 CAMERA; 2 AUTOMATON; 3 PERTAIN; 4 OMITTED; 6 CRULLER; 7 ALIEN; 8 ELEMENTS; 9 STABLE; 16 ESTRANGES; 17 SCHEDULE; 19 EXPLODE; 20 DREAMS; 21 ABRIDGE; 22 TALENTS; 23 STATES; 25 ARIOT.

DOWN

- 1 Struck with the trimming on my trousers? (6)
- 2 Get aboard to go here. (6)
- 3 Stews about 14's return. (9)
- 4 Angered, in a way. (7)

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tails wrote the association, at 144 East Twenty-fourth Street, New York 10, N. Y. EVA INGERSOLL WAKEFIELD
New York, September 6

A Disservice to Readers?

Dear Sirs: I was profoundly disappointed in the review of Howard Ambruster's "Treason's Peace," by C. A. Welsh which appeared in *The Nation* of June 21 because it seemed to me that the review completely hid the significance of the book. More recently I read Mr. Ambruster's challenge to Mr. Welsh to document his criticism. Mr. Welsh's answer was as inadequate as his review.

Considering the importance of Mr. Ambruster's book in view of the present struggle to revive German industry, I would have expected *The Nation's* reviewer to treat "Treason's Peace" with at least as much understanding as was shown, for example, by Thomas L. Stokes in his column in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

To be frank, I think it is a disservice to readers of *The Nation* not to let them know that this book makes available a mine of factual material on what is certainly one of the most important issues of the day.

In my course in current world history at the University of Alabama I require my students to read Mr. Ambruster's book; I also require them to read *The Nation*. What am I to say to them when they bring me Welsh's review?

Men like Ambruster need every shred of liberal support. They should not be brushed off in this fashion. I am shocked.

ALFRED B. THOMAS

Tuscaloosa, Ala., August 22

Viet Nam Celebration

Dear Sirs: September 2 marked the second anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Indo-China. There was no celebration of this event in the Orient this year—only a rededication to the cause of freedom and the fight against French imperialism.

Although almost no news leaks through the tight French censorship, we do know that the guerrilla forces of Viet Nam are continuing the fight against oppression throughout the length and breadth of their country. Eight months after the French began their ruthless campaign to end opposition, only the seaports and some inland cities are tenuously held by them. . . .

French propaganda has aimed at con-

vincing the American people—progressives included—that Viet Nam is Communist-dominated. This assertion is made in spite of the fact that the Communists, the largest party in France, have stood by while the war continued in Indo-China. The fact is that the government of the republic is a coalition of all elements: liberals, Socialists, Catholics, Buddhists, Communists, and former Mandarin royalty. . . .

To express the solidarity of American progressives with the cause of Viet Nam—with the cause of freedom—a meeting will be held Tuesday, September 23, at the Hotel McAlpin in New York City. Pearl Buck, Harold Isaacs, Norman Thomas, Richard J. Walsh, and others will speak. A special message from President Ho Chi Minh is being smuggled out of Viet Nam to the meeting.

Readers of *The Nation* are invited to attend the gathering as an expression of faith in the Viet Nam cause—and as proof that the ideals of liberty and democracy are not dead in the West.

ROBERT DELSON

SOL W. SANDERS

Committee for the Celebration
of Viet Nam Independence

New York, September 8

Wrongly Blamed

Dear Sirs: Your report on the case of the Brinks (August 23) contains an uncommonly slur on the welfare officers of Los Angeles County. Let me remind you that the case was entirely the work of the County Board of Supervisors, politicians all, whose experience in such cases was negligible. The ground for their action was a county ordinance limiting total relief checks for families to \$125 monthly; this inspiration is also attributable to the supervisors' zeal for economy in relief.

A couple of minor inaccuracies: legal residence in California requires three years of "independent" residence; that is, independent of relief checks. The Brinks were therefore not legal residents. For Oklahoma officials their lack of residence in Oklahoma was sufficient reason to disclaim responsibility. Again, Ma Brink had not "held out" against returning to Oklahoma but rather inadvertently threatened to go there in retaliation for the relief cut.

Yours is the first report I have seen that the Brinks are on their way back, although the prediction has been freely ventured ever since they left.

L. G. WAYNE

San Gabriel, Cal., September 5

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

FEW MEN IN POLITICAL LIFE RATE THE tribute of public tears when they die. Franklin D. Roosevelt was one; Fiorello H. LaGuardia, another. People who had never seen New York's former Mayor in life wept as they filed past his coffin, and the sense of loss was apparent throughout the city. The genuine sorrow at LaGuardia's death reflected more than an appreciation of his color and his achievement, though they were great. The tireless, paternal, irascible, cocky, and often vituperative little man who raced to fires, delighted in surprise visits to city institutions, personally investigated the humblest citizen's complaint, read the "funnies" over the air during a newspaper strike, and, back in 1937, suggested making Hitler a central figure in the World's Fair Chamber of Horrors was without doubt, as one reporter describes him, "New York's most colorful mayor since Peter Stuyvesant." And his long record of accomplishments includes the breaking of Tammany power, the introduction of scrupulously honest municipal government, the unification of a fantastically scrambled transit system, and the building of enough parks, playgrounds, highways, housing projects, markets, and bridges to alter, to its vast improvement, the face of the world's largest city. But beyond all this was a warmth, a homey informality, and an identification with the people who had elected him that gave LaGuardia the status of a public protector. His utter scorn for party loyalty and "clubhouse loafers," on the one hand, and for the cold theorizing of traditional reformers, on the other, established a rapport with the voters that became the envy and awe of the professionals. LaGuardia's mayoralty proved brilliantly that political machines are no more inevitably a part of the modern city than typhoid epidemics. Citizens of Boston, Jersey City, and points west, take note.

✕

THE WORLD SUPPLY OF GRAIN IS FALLING short of the demand by 11,000,000 tons. Set beside this fact two others: Americans are consuming more food than ever before—they are, for instance, eating 25 per cent more meat than they ate in 1941, and meat is part grain; Europeans, on the other hand, will eat 5 to 10 per cent less food in the next twelve months than they have in the past twelve, and in the past twelve they have

existed on 1,700 to 2,000 calories a day. The human answer to this state of affairs is as obvious as the steak on your plate. Those who have so much more than enough should share at least the excess with those who have so much less. Most Americans, as human beings, would accept that answer, and offer more. But that is not the answer Europe is getting from America. On the contrary, Europe is being told that it must tighten *its* belt. It is even being told that shipments of food to Europe have caused inflation of food prices here because the demands of Americans, who have thrown their belts away, outrun the unprecedented supply. Which is surely adding insult to injury when we consider that this inflation, which was induced not by any actual scarcity but only by a speculators' scarcity and was set off by the casual and triumphant removal of price controls, has cut Europe's capacity to purchase food by sharply reducing the value of the few dollars it has.

✕

AMERICA TODAY, IN RELATION TO THE REST of the world, is the biggest and blackest of black markets, and the fact that it "just grewed" and that many Americans are also its victims is not readily apparent 3,000 miles away. The practical immediate way to curb this black market, as *The Nation* pointed out last week, is to restore price controls at the source of production in industrial and building materials, especially steel—whose masters have been "cleverly" preparing for, and preparing, a depression, by pushing up prices—and in basic farm commodities like grain and livestock. The Administration should move quickly toward that goal. And in the process, it should go to the people on the question of food for Europe. It should go to the people not merely with the self-serving arguments that if we let Europe starve, it will go Communist and that feeding Europe, even at our own expense, will be cheaper than another depression and another war. These are cogent but graceless arguments. The question that should be put to the American people with all the force at the Administration's command is the simple human question: "Shall we let Europe starve?" We know what the answer would be, and that answer would not only give Europe a new lease on life; it might also serve to halt the moral depression in this country which is already far advanced.

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ARE THE BONES OF DEAD MEN BLACK AND white? This question is suggested by the objections of Representative John Rankin to a measure authorizing War Department use of federally owned lands for national cemeteries. Some time ago, the War Department issued an order forbidding race segregation in such cemeteries. Annoyed by this, Mr. Rankin induced Representative Richard Welch of California to agree that the new authorization measure would have no application in the Southern states. The "white boys" of the South, as Mr. Rankin put it, will now be buried in local, segregated graveyards. No additional federal lands in the South will be used for burying veterans. That not a single member of the House had the decency to object to this, the crassest of Rankin's bigotries to date, is some measure of the mentality and moral fiber of the Eightieth Congress. ★

IN ITALY, THE STRIKES AGAINST HIGH PRICES and food shortages had clearer political implications than elsewhere in Western Europe. The recent French work stoppages, for example, were limited to the main industrial centers; in Italy, they spread swiftly to the countryside, where 1,000,000 farm workers joined in the greatest agrarian strike Italy has ever experienced. The movement reached a climax last Saturday when the Socialists and Communists organized a gigantic demonstration to demand representation in the government. The speakers directed their attacks not only against the De Gasperi Cabinet but against the Vatican as well. The truce initiated some months ago when the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, voted to ratify the Lateran treaties, is now over. In recent months, the Vatican has become increasingly outspoken in its support of De Gasperi, and Pope Pius's speech of September 7 was interpreted in left circles as an open challenge to the workers' parties. The extension of the political fight to the religious domain is deplorable, but the Vatican can no longer claim that it stands above politics; it has abandoned all pretense of neutrality and tossed its tiara into the ring. Though Saturday's demonstration was not the "prelude to revolution" which the rightist press has long been announcing for reasons of its own, it nevertheless was a clear indication of the present temper of the Italian masses. In Europe today, and particularly in Italy, where bitter memories of twenty years of fascist rule are still fresh, the people are determined to prevent reactionary governments from exploiting economic difficulties to stop the swing toward the left.

★

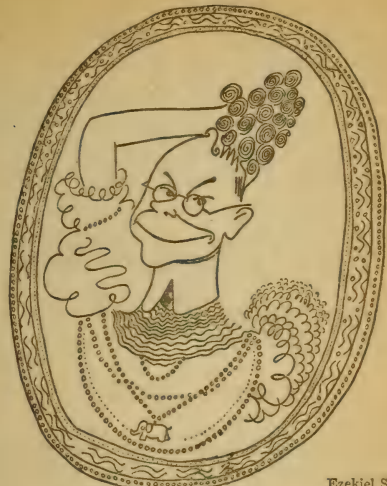
PHILIP MURRAY IS REPORTED TO HAVE remarked that bickering among the leaders of the United Automobile Workers has "sunk to a level of complete moral degeneration." The president of the C. I. O., who is unusually sensitive to the dangers of factionalism, may

have been laying it on a bit thick, but there is no doubt that the country's largest union is about to indulge in a brawl that will have its effects on the entire C. I. O. On one level, the fight is the usual struggle between groups designated, with more convenience than accuracy, as left and right. More immediately, it is the campaign battle between Walter Reuther, running for reelection as president, and the faction led by R. J. Thomas, George Addes, and Richard T. Leonard. In electing Reuther last year, the union boxed him in with an executive board made up largely of his opponents. Reasonably enough, Reuther is out to get a board that will support him, and he is hitting hard. Against his present colleagues he makes two principal charges: that they have blocked his efforts to implement the union's constitutional provision barring Communists from office, and that they have sanctioned the "scandalous waste" of \$500,000 in a fruitless and badly bungled drive to organize a single company in Cleveland. Reuther further accuses his opponents of "pork-chopping," or living off the union pay roll without delivering much in return, and of having made personal loans to individual delegates at the last convention. Confusing the issue almost beyond untangling are numerous personal feuds, with Thomas characterizing Reuther as a man "drunk with personal ambition" and Reuther returning the compliment by branding Thomas a "vindictive and poor loser." Perhaps, after all, Mr. Murray was right.

Candor on the Right

WE WOULD not blame Governor Dewey if on reading the remarks of his rival, Senator Taft, he should be more convinced than ever that Republican Presidential candidates should be seen and not heard. In the first week of a thinly disguised campaign tour, the Ohio Senator delivered himself of two boners either of which should be enough to wreck his chances. On the decisive issue of prices, he gave the press a field day with the formula "eat less meat and eat less extravagantly"—a bit of advice rendered the more piquant for having been delivered at a beefsteak banquet. And a few days later, he told an audience that while the Republican Party had a social-legislation program in mind, it was "loath to proceed" with it until 1949, when it could safely be "inaugurated under a Republican President."

Reporting Taft's "eat less" pronouncement from Los Angeles, Roscoe Drummond of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that "no one who heard him thought he was urging any heartless soak-the-poor program," and he admitted the next day that "there are a lot of people who can only just get enough" to eat. But the phrasing



Ezekiel Schloss

"Let 'em eat less!"

of his first comment was characteristically bourbon in its vast ineptness. As we point out on page 297, Americans are in fact consuming much more than their fair share of the world's food, but the distribution is so far from equitable within our own country that a flat prescription for voluntary retrenchment is hardly the answer to our run-away price problem. Lower-income Americans, now spending fully half their income on food, are perforce practicing the Taft eat-less formula right now—and it will doubtless work if only their diets get low enough. As one of Taft's party colleagues put it, "The cure for high prices is high prices," which is to say, there is nothing wrong with the economy that enforced malnutrition won't cure. No unhealthy boom that won't produce its own corrective bust.

More revealingly than by his prescription for prices, Taft's highly publicized candor is exemplified by the statement on social-welfare legislation. Here is probably the most cynical avowal by a major political figure since Andrew Jackson openly made a national policy of the wardheeler's slogan, "To the victors belong the spoils." As his party's chief in the Senate, Taft sponsored a mild and watered-down housing bill. This is his way of telling scores of thousands of homeless veterans that if they want even this degree of relief they will have to wait until 1949—and they will have to elect a Republican President to match a Republican Congress. It is his way of serving the same notice on teachers and parents who might have taken seriously his bill for federal aid to the schools, and on those who might have set some store by his bill for improving the public health. On none of these measures, carrying his name, has the Republican boss of the Senate pressed for action. Now we know why.

Yet there are those who profess to see in Mr. Taft's

frankness a redeeming quality—as though reactionary views and selfish politics were rendered less reactionary for being openly declared and less selfish for being flaunted. This is the inverted logic feared by the defense attorney who once told a jury: "My client may talk like an idiot and he may act like an idiot. But don't be deceived, gentlemen of the jury. He really is an idiot."

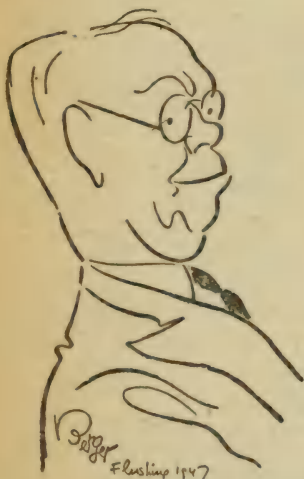
Lay Down Your Weapons!

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

SINCE President Truman declared war—political and economic war—on Russia last March, the campaign has progressed steadily. The uncompromising speech by Secretary Marshall in the General Assembly last Wednesday opened a

new, major offensive. Vishinsky's defiant counter-thrust was notice that no ground is being given by Moscow; it did not alter the terms of the conflict.

Most of those who listened to Marshall's cold denunciation of Russian obstruction and his proposals for action described the speech as "impressive"; some said the same of Vishinsky's sarcasm, so



Secretary Marshall

reminiscent of Chicherin's biting attacks on the West after World War I. Impressive these speeches may have been, but so is a bomb exploding in a crowded street. Both men threw bombs—each after his fashion—and the effect of their action can be summed up in one word: dismay. Delegates at Flushing who tried to discuss, on its constitutional or practical merits, the Marshall proposal for parallel Assembly security machinery seemed to be wrestling with a shadow. Is it a good plan? Would Mr. Evatt's substitute plan work better? Could either be instituted without violating or rewriting the Charter? Could the Charter be changed with the veto in effect? In every mind, questions like these were overshadowed by the larger question: Was the new Marshall plan, or any proposed modification of it, more than a

device to freeze the Western bloc into a U. N. within the U. N.—thereby undermining the organization as a whole without appearing to do so?

It was the French Foreign Minister, Bidault, who best expressed the profound anxiety of the other nations, caught up in the struggle of two clumsy giants prepared to force every issue to a showdown ending inevitably in stalemate. Bidault's sharpest words were directed to Vishinsky, who had accused the Western states of serving as tools of Washington by collaborating in the Marshall plan for economic aid. He denied this imputation with a vigor that time may perhaps justify; the issue is still unresolved. But on the broad problem of international cooperation, he said that France would attempt mediation and urge compromise up to the very limit of decency and honor. His central appeal was to both great powers to end their implacable hostility and begin to negotiate instead of continuing to denounce and obstruct.

Now that Mr. Marshall's proposal for a "Little Assembly" has been put on the agenda, it is likely to be adopted, since Russia's record of stubborn non-cooperation has stiffened the anti-Soviet majority. And if Mr. Vishinsky demands a vote on his resolution calling for U. N. condemnation of "criminal propaganda for a new war," it will almost surely be defeated. But the Marshall proposal will be regarded with skepticism and distaste even by those who vote yes; and those who vote against Vishinsky will do so recognizing that behind his reckless and ill-chosen accusations was a solid chunk of truth. The enthusiasm that greeted Bidault's eloquent plea for conciliation was a sign that the other Western nations understand this fact and bitterly deplore it. Even those most friendly to the United States, or most inescapably dependent upon us, would go no farther than to agree that Russia has so seriously obstructed the functioning of the existing international machinery that we had no choice but to scrap or retool it. None would assert that the Marshall proposal offered a serious hope of salvaging the U. N. as a world organization or of improving relations between West and East.

WHAT else could we do, faced with Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe, the threat of communism in Western Europe, and the Russian veto in the U. N.?

To answer that, one must ask another question. Is it established, beyond doubt, that Russia cannot be negotiated with but must either be isolated or fought? A well-known foreign correspondent, commenting on Vishinsky's speech last Thursday night over a major network, said that he and some of his fellow-correspondents had been reviewing the long series of misunderstandings between Russia and the United States in an effort to figure out where the trouble started—or started to get bad. They recognized that Russia's suspicion and intransigence had been problems even before San Francisco, but they agreed that the moment when the

whole thing got out of hand was during the winter of 1945-46 when Byrnes abandoned the tactic of patient, friendly negotiation followed by Roosevelt, and accepted the idea of a clique of Western states. The same analysis was offered in *The Nation* on August 24, 1946, in an article by our European editor, who used these words: "It is hard to fix the precise moment when things started to deteriorate, but I believe the United Nations meeting in London last January marked the point at which mutual distrust and ill feeling began clearly to dominate the relations between Russia and the Western powers. It was there that the talk of blocs and the organization of blocs emerged as a distinct factor."

The Washington analyst believed that the Marshall proposal at Flushing Meadow was the ultimate step in

this process of bloc-building begun two years ago in London, and wondered whether the time had not come, in spite of the piling up of provocations, for the United States to lay down its weapons and make a last try for peace on the Roosevelt line. The man who spoke was not a radical; he did not question the difficulties we would face, especially now that the Russians feel themselves both challenged and affronted. He only believed that no difficulties could be as alarming to contemplate as a continued cold war, crystallized in the shape of the new Marshall plan for "world peace."

[In a second article, Miss Kirchwey will discuss ways of breaking the deadlock between Russia and the United States.]

Duel in the U. N. Assembly

BY J. KING GORDON

Flushing Meadow Park September 20

THE day the General Assembly opened, nineteen camera men surrounded Secretary Marshall as he took his seat on the aisle on the left of the American delegation. One of them put his chin and his camera on the Secretary's desk and shot him at a point-blank range of two feet. There was little doubt about who was Number One man in the second General Assembly of the United Nations.

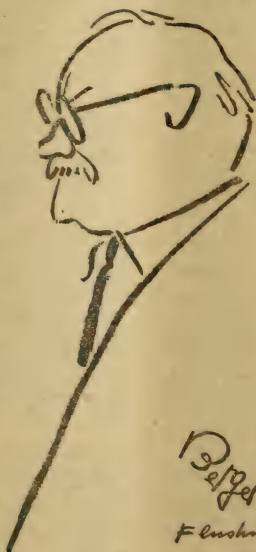
Marshall's speech showed quite clearly that the United States had seized the initiative which, in previous meetings, it had left to others. Even Vishinsky's spectacular diversionary foray on Thursday failed to change the picture. Throughout Mr. Vishinsky's extraordinary display of sustained oratory Marshall sat calmly, his hands folded, listening impassively to the earphones. It will be the Marshall speech that will be the focus of discussion during the next few weeks.

The crux of the speech was the proposal that an Interim Committee on Peace and Security be established by the General Assembly to meet in constant session for a year. The Assembly, under the terms of the Charter, has certain powers that parallel those of the Security Council to investigate disputes and make recommendations for a settlement. Its successful intervention in the Palestine problem effectively established this authority. Only where matters are under the active jurisdiction of the Security Council has the General Assembly no right to intervene.

What opens debate on this parallel right of the Assembly is the frank recognition that the free use of the Russian veto has frustrated the actions of the Security Council. It is proposed, then, that the General Assembly, through the interim committee of the whole, attempt to function where the Security Council has failed. In a sense, this "Little Assembly" will supersede the authority of the Security Council, to which the Charter gives primary responsibility for matters of peace and security. This will be the basis of the Russian attack. As Mr. Vishinsky put it: "In spite of the reservations in the

American proposal to the effect that this committee would not impinge on matters which are the primary concern of the Security Council or of special commissions, there is not the slightest doubt that the attempt to create the Interim Committee is nothing but an ill-conceived scheme to substitute and by-pass the Security Council."

But according to opinions expressed public and privately by other delegates, a large majority are convinced that it is intolerable to permit the situation created by the veto-bound Security Council to continue. The second American proposal that the veto rights of the Security Council be waived in matters which fall under Chapter VI of the Charter (dealing with conciliation and the settlement of disputes) might be considered as an alternative means of achieving the same end. The difficulty here is that such a proposal falls outside the effective jurisdiction of



Sketches made from
life by Oscar Berger

Vishinsky

the Assembly. The liberalization of the veto would entail either an amendment to the Charter—which could be blocked by a Security Council veto—or the voluntary relinquishing of a right which the Security Council now possesses; and this action too could be blocked by a Russian refusal.

AS CAN be judged from Mr. Marshall's sharp words in defining the American position on Greece and Korea and Mr. Vishinsky's even sharper retort, these two matters are going to be the occasion of bitter debate. And on neither issue has the head of the American delegation as good a case as in the broad contention that "the untapped resources of the United Nations must be brought to bear with full effect through the General Assembly and its other organs." For in both instances the strategic interests of the two major world powers are in sharp conflict. The implementation of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey and the gross mishandling of the situation in South Korea by the American Military Government leave the United States vulnerable. The independence of the Greek and Korean people is secondary to the maintenance of American influence at critical points in the eastern Mediterranean and on the Asiatic mainland. From the American point of view these positions must be maintained as bastions against threatened Soviet expansion. From the Russian point of view Greece and Korea represent advance positions in a threatened war against the Soviet Union. No amount of debate will change these conflicting opinions.

The sober fact brought out, then, by Secretary Marshall's references to Greece and Korea, and Mr. Vishinsky's retort, is that the major world problem today is how to persuade the two giant powers that an inevitable conflict is not just in the offing. As Mr. Evatt put it in his very effective speech, unfortunately blanketed in the press by Mr. Vishinsky's:

The first of these two objectives [of the United Nations] is the prevention of war and the substitution of methods of conciliation and arbitration for those of force and violence. We should be concerned primarily with that objective and, in a secondary way, with that of fixing the rules and conditions under which future wars may lawfully be conducted. The injury and damage that may be inflicted as a result of modern scientific invention is so vast and so rapidly extending that war, however conditioned and restricted by rules and regulations, is bound to threaten permanent devastation of the human race. Enemy No. 1 is therefore war itself.

I AM not one of those who take the view that the main intention of Mr. Marshall's proposals for an Interim Committee for Peace and Security was to begin to organize the Western world for the inevitable war. The wide disillusionment of the great majority of the nations of the world over the abortive activities of the

Security Council was enough in itself to justify a drastic effort to devise new machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. But that a Russian refusal to consider any modification of the present machinery of the United Nations might lead to such a Western alliance is a development that must be faced.

Such an unhappy alternative was specifically outlined in the speech by Mr. St. Laurent, head of the Canadian delegation. He said:

Nations in their search for peace and cooperation will not and cannot accept indefinitely and unaltered a council which was set up to insure their security, and which so many feel has become frozen in futility and divided by dissension. If forced, they may seek greater safety in associations of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Such associations, if consistent with the principles of the Charter, can be formed within the United Nations. It is to be hoped that such a development will not be necessary.

THIS morning the news of Fiorello LaGuardia's death muffled the drums of war that had been sounding earlier in the week. The nations which had had the best opportunity of witnessing his work as head of UNRRA—Yugoslavia, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia—came forward to bear testimony to the courage and the human sympathy of this "one-world man." Delegates who had grown used to a world in which the struggle between the great powers was the single outstanding fact were reminded of yesterday, when the Allies talked of carrying through the common task of victory into the building of peace.

In the speeches of the delegates of Czechoslovakia and France there was more than a wistful harking back to the days of cooperation. Jan Masaryk and Georges Bidault, representing nations, one in the Eastern and the other in the Western bloc, asserted their right to speak as Europeans. Mr. Masaryk, after recalling the trade treaty his country had entered into with Rumania and Russia, said, "If anyone thinks that being helped by neighbors or helping them means that we are cutting ourselves off from normal economic intercourse with the whole world, he is wrong." Mr. Bidault, after challenging Mr. Vishinsky sharply on his interpretation of the Marshal plan, held out the hope that the rebuilding of Europe might still go forward as a cooperative effort of all nations.

Mr. Masaryk reminded the representatives of the great powers "of the craving for peace throughout the world by all the little people . . . the only people worth while." Mr. Bidault, striking the same note, suggested that the men and women who worked and sacrificed to win the war think that peace, "their greatest hope, is also a simple and easy thing. . . . They are right because many

things have been revealed to the humble which have been concealed from the powerful."

And Hector McNeil, British delegate, at the close of a speech that had its passages of blistering rebuttal to the Vishinsky charges, added an extempore postscript. "We represent," he said, "the common men to whom Mr. Masaryk referred. Their heroism, their perseverance, is the very matter of history. They are the real authors of

the Charter. If we betray them, history will damn us forever."

Thus the first week ends with the issues sharply drawn. There are, however, two facts which may assume increasing importance. It is clear as one listens to the debates and moves around the corridors and the lounges that no nation wants war. It seems equally clear that the Soviet Union does not want to withdraw from the U. N.

Who Wrecked Bonneville?

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Bonneville, September 21

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated Bonneville Dam. Standing on the bank of the Columbia River, at the foot of steep hills covered with fir and vine maple, he announced his decision to establish in the Pacific Northwest an agency which would seek to conserve and develop natural resources in the interest of all the people. This agency, the Bonneville Power Administration, became a dominant force in the region's great expansion of population.

A decade has passed since F. D. R., bare-headed in the sunlight of an autumn morning, prophesied that the project would bring "more wealth, better living, and greater happiness for our children." The agency which he created is in crisis now, its morale weakened, its personnel decimated, its facilities strained and in disrepair.

In ten years of existence the Bonneville Power Administration has returned to the federal treasury more revenue than any similar agency in the country. It has collected in power payments a total of \$105,322,497. As the *New York Times* recently pointed out, more than one-fourth of the investment at Bonneville, including interest charges, has been paid back to the government. Yet it was gutted by the Eightieth Congress in the name of economy.

Last year Bonneville had 1,393 full-time employees to maintain and operate the largest wholesale high-voltage power network in the United States. This year the number is 851, and many of these have accepted drastic cuts in salary at a time when living costs are at an all-time high. Paradoxically, this agency which has returned such substantial sums to the national exchequer cannot draw on its own revenues.

A year ago Bonneville received \$4,300,000 to service and maintain a power system extending from the Cana-

dian boundary to northern California. This year Representative Taber and his cohorts have sliced the amount to \$2,500,000. At the Oregon town of McMinnville, which has a public system entirely dependent on Columbia River energy, a bank of Bonneville transformers is so overloaded that it must be sprayed with 10,800 gallons of cold water every twenty-four hours. McMinnville expects power rationing to begin soon—this in a river valley which has 41 per cent of the potential hydroelectric reserves of the nation. Outside The Dalles, another community with public power, Bonneville insulators hang on the poles, no wires strung between them.

But worse than the system's physical impairment is what has happened to the moral climate. The heart of Bonneville has always been the Division of Resources and Development. This division made the studies which led to the partially successful efforts to shatter the aluminum monopoly. It fought against discriminatory freight rates, worked to bring steel plants to the Far West, urged increasing development of the limitless water power of the Columbia Basin to save the country's waning oil reserves. It warned of depletion of the virgin forests of the Cascades and advocated a program of perpetual yield in sawmills and logging camps.

The Division of Resources and Development made virulent enemies—men and interests influential with the members of the Eightieth Congress. The division was not merely curtailed; it was abolished. By specific act Congress wiped out its functions, authority, and personnel. It was not even allotted funds with which to box and store the files which contain the most exhaustive research ever undertaken on the potentialities of our last frontier.

Dr. Paul J. Raver, the Bonneville administrator, has fought bravely for his staff. Baited and taunted at Congressional hearings, he made an unassailable case for supporting a federal agency which has consistently shown a favorable financial balance. He pointed out that the first great industries set up in the Northwest—the Boeing aircraft plants, the Kaiser shipyards, the aluminum mills—all depend on Bonneville power, and that while

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this industrialization was occurring, the population of the state of Washington increased 26 per cent, that of Oregon 33 per cent.

But Congress was not interested in facts. While spokesmen for the oil companies were warning that America might soon need Arabian oil, Congress refused to protect a domestic source of energy which will endure as long as snow mantles the great ranges of the West. Congress was out to "get" Bonneville. Bonneville symbolized Roosevelt. The Bonneville Act, drafted at the President's request by Senators Bone and McNary, specifically provided that public systems must receive preference in the sale of power—not a popular policy with the men who now rule Congress. So the Bonneville appropriation was slashed 40 per cent. Even Senator Wherry, the Republican whip, confessed, "Bonneville's fund is one item I am ashamed of."

WHO wrecked Bonneville? Part of the press in the Northwest has laid the blame on "Eastern interests," particularly on "Eastern Congressmen." This is pure fiction. Republicans from the West helped to tomahawk Bonneville. Democrats from the East tried to stave off the blow. The *Congressional Record* tells the story. On April 23 of this year the House of Representatives rejected by a vote of 197 to 140 a motion to increase the funds given Bonneville and other Department of Interior



Drawing by Golden

agencies. Every Democrat from New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio voted to enlarge the appropriation. Of the twenty-five Republican members from the states of the Pacific slope, only five—Russell of Nevada, Angell of Oregon, and Johnson, Poulson, and Welch of California—voted to return the utterly inadequate appropriation to committee.

Seldom has a region had its throat cut so mercilessly by its purported representatives. The Westerner on the subcommittee that considered Bonneville's financial needs was a Republican, Lowell Stockman of Oregon. He demanded Dr. Raver's immediate resignation, insisted that additional transmission lines were not needed in the Northwest, opposed increasing the meager appropriation. Even the usually reserved *Oregon Grange Bulletin* described Stockman editorially as "Benedict Arnold, Western style." To explode the East-versus-West myth even more completely, I need only point out that the foremost champion of Bonneville on the subcommittee was Michael J. Kirwan, a Democrat from Ohio.

The lack of funds has made it necessary to take 616

permanent and part-time employees from the Bonneville pay roll. Congress, which claims to have so much sympathy for the veteran, may be interested to learn that some of these men landed at Omaha Beach or Iwo Jima. Among Bonneville's remaining employees morale has sagged. Men with families, men paying for homes, suddenly have seen that federal tenure is ephemeral indeed when Congress puts the Indian sign on an entire agency.

Among the men dropped were lifelong Republicans who had been contributing money each month to the Oregon State Republican Committee. The letters they addressed to their political party will not bear reprinting. Suffice it to say that these disillusioned people are aware of changes for the worse in the G. O. P. In 1937 the Republican Senate leader was the wise and urbane Charles L. McNary, who sponsored the Bonneville Act. Now McNary is gone, and Taft, Taber, and their counterparts reign on Capitol Hill.

Because the Bonneville Power Administration also distributes Grand Coulee power, it serves the atomic-energy plutonium works near Hanford, Washington. Columbia River hydroelectricity is vital for this final stage of the atomic process. How ironic if the Congressmen who most fear Russia should by their blind hatred of a New Deal agency cripple production of the weapon on which they rely in the event of war with the U. S. S. R.

Water power is the sole source of energy in the Northwest. The region has no oil and no coal. The virgin forests are all but gone. Bonneville's record has been impressive. In its domain the average residential rate for power is 1.7 cents a kilowatt-hour; in the nation as a whole it is 3.2 cents. Large industries on the Columbia River pay only 0.4 of a cent for power, less than half the national average.

Bonneville probably will survive the unhappy crisis which now limits its operations. But the power shortages of the next few years will keep new industries out of the Northwest; development of the fastest growing region in America will be impeded. This is a costly way for the people of the Northwest to learn that the G. O. P. does not always fulfil its pledges: in both 1940 and 1944 the Republicans promised that the great power projects constructed by the New Deal would not suffer under Republican administration.

On the tenth anniversary of the day President Roosevelt spoke on the bank of the surging river the residents of the Northwest may recall his words. His political enemies, by making their policies the opposite of his, have chosen a poor way to intrench themselves in power.

Coming Next Week

Hunger and Politics in Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Nation Correspondent in Rome

Race and Politics in South Africa

BY MICHAEL S. COMAY

Capetown, South Africa, September

ALMOST every week a batch of emigrants leaves the bleakness of Mr. Attlee's Britain for the sunshine, the fruit, the black servants, the easy living—for whites—of Marshal Smuts's South Africa. They have totaled more than 25,000 persons in the past year or so. So far they have been easily absorbed; war-time prosperity still lasts, and there is talk of further big expansion in the goldfields and in industry. In farming, however, there are few opportunities for the man without money or training, and unskilled work is done by the non-whites.

Newcomers find the political situation depressing. Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism is still an active and undigested force, and the color question is becoming not only difficult to manage at home but also more subject to criticism from abroad. In the general elections next year Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party, which now holds nearly a third of the seats, will make a bid for power. Malan can hardly succeed, but he is likely to wipe out much of the lead which Smuts piled up in the last election. The Nationalists have shrewdly soft-pedaled anti-British and anti-Jewish slogans and concentrated on two safer targets—blacks and reds. Their pro-Nazi war-time attitude may well be overlooked by business men who grouse at a few controls and by housewives inconvenienced by a few shortages.

Smuts is seventy-four years old. His heir apparent is J. H. Hofmeyr, now Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister. Hofmeyr, not yet fifty, is in some ways an even able man than his chief. But he is not personally popular, and what is worse, he is more "liberal" than Smuts on the color question. (In South Africa it is political abuse to call anyone a liberal.) He will be hard put to keep intact a United Party which is a disunited mixture of Britons, Afrikaners, and Jews, of town and country people, of farmers, merchants, and mine owners. If this unwieldy party breaks up it may let the Nationalists in. Or a new center bloc may emerge, combining the more conservative of the Marshal's followers with

the less fanatical Malanites. In that case, the man most likely to emerge as leader of the new group is Klaas Havenga, for fifteen years Minister of Finance under General Hertzog. Always a steady, middle-of-the-road man, Havenga has now suddenly left his farm and joined up with Malan, thus strengthening the latter's new "moderate" claims. He may intend to use the Nationalists as a stepping-stone, but it is more likely that they will use him as a catspaw.

AFRIKANERS AND JEWS

Whether the Nationalists play up the "Jewish problem" or play it down, it remains an important weapon in their armory. They have carefully disowned out-and-out Nazi groups such as the Oxtwagon Sentinels, modeled on the S. S., and the New Order group of Oswald Pirow. But they have behind them a more sinister body. It is called the Brotherhood, and is a reactionary secret society of some 2,000 men in key positions in the administration, the professions, the schools, and the church.

The Nationalists are trying to split the unions on racial lines. Since the small Communist Party is active in many unions and since a number of Jews are active in the Communist Party, it is not difficult to make the danger of "Judeo-Bolshevism" seem real. In the middle-class urban occupations ordinary competition does the trick. The 100,000 Jews in South Africa are concentrated in business, law, and medicine and enjoy a high standard of living. It is natural that young Afrikaners, now flocking from the farms to the towns, should resent the Jews' entrenched position.

As a rule, however, the Afrikaner is an easygoing individual, with no traditional aversion to Jews. And of course the Jew is a white man and therefore, in the last resort, one of the privileged minority. The Jews in South Africa today are not under any real pressure, though they have a sense of insecurity and indulge in a lot of worried talk; but things could easily go wrong if the country's economic situation deteriorated.

While the political anti-Semitism of the Afrikaner has been damped down, the social and commercial anti-Semitism of the English has risen sharply. Of late it has made much of the terrorism in Palestine. About Palestine, curiously enough, the Afrikaner press takes quite a different line from the English press. It shows a certain fellow-feeling for another little people struggling with the same imperial power against which the Boers fought and lost their own war. But coupled with the demand that the Jews be let into Palestine is

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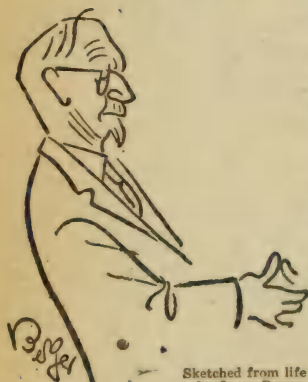
the even stronger demand that they be kept out of South Africa. An astonishing fuss has been made about the tiny number of Jewish refugees allowed to join relatives in South Africa—75 in 1945 and 303 in 1946.

REPRESSION OF THE NON-WHITES

Politics in South Africa are the pastime of a little over two million "Europeans" (whites). Of every 100 whites 55 are Afrikaner, 35 are English, 5 are Jews, and 5 are of other races. Only whites can enter Parliament, and, with some exceptions, only they can vote. Outside

this charmed circle stand eight million blacks, nearly a million Cape colored (Eurafricans), and a quarter-million Indians—forming 80 per cent of the population.

The situation is quite comparable to that in the Southern United States. In many ways the Jim Crow pattern is similar, although it has a different background.



Sketched from life
by Oscar Berger
Marshall Smuts

White South Africans conquered the blacks only after a century of Kaffir wars and are still outnumbered by them four to one. There is always the vague fear among whites that if they relax their repression for a moment, their "white civilization" will be swamped.

What is South Africa's native policy? A generation ago men spoke of "segregation," but that is dead. For better or worse, millions of blacks have broken away from the tribal reserves and the tribal folkways to become farm laborers and menial town workers. This dusky proletariat is the base of South Africa's economic pyramid. Push the black out, and the whole structure will tumble down. The fashionable by-word is now "trusteeship," which means improving the black man's appalling living conditions without giving him political rights or upsetting the master-servant relationship.

The present set-up is by no means static. The mines and the farms are worked by cheap black labor, but this does not suit the new industrialist, who wants effective local markets even at the expense of the cherished economic discrimination. A few of the more enlightened mine owners are breaking with the bad old system of compounds and planning model villages where miners can live in decency with their families. Political liberalism is a dying creed in South Africa, but the belief is growing that a measure of economic emancipation can be squared with white interests.

In discussions about the black man's future it is often overlooked that he may have something to say about it himself. He is picking up white ways fairly fast and becoming less docile. One political safety-valve is an advisory council of prominent "natives" which is supposed to be consulted about bills directly affecting the blacks. Weary of the farce of "advising," this council now refuses to meet. The natives are also beginning to boycott the elections for their representatives—three white members of the House and four white Senators, who honestly speak up for their colored constituents but are powerless to bring about any marked changes.

What may be more important than such political devices is that native workers are forming their own unions. These have a curious status: they are not illegal, but they are not recognized as negotiating agencies under the labor laws. They have nevertheless shown themselves capable of running big strikes.

The most depressed class in the country is black farm labor. Many of its members work for a bag of cornmeal and ten shillings (two dollars) a month. Yet to leave the farms in order to seek other employment is a prison offense. On the other hand, actual physical brutalities sit uneasily on the public conscience, and last July a succession of floggings by Transvaal farmers caused a nation-wide uproar. Lynch law is unknown.

SMUTS AND THE U. N.

The South African color-caste system, having yielded very little to internal pressure, is now under serious attack from the outside world. White opinion in the Union was not so much angry as bewildered by Smuts's double defeat in the U. N. Assembly—on the Southwest Africa mandate and the South African Indians.

That Southwest Africa will become part of the Union of South Africa is inevitable. For all practical purposes it is that already. The U. N. refused to approve the formal change because of the Union's color policy. Smuts in turn refused to put the territory under U. N. trusteeship and has taken steps to incorporate it de facto. He has, for instance, given its white population direct representation in the Union Parliament. By such measures he may legally be able to defy the U. N.; none the less, he has put his country in an embarrassing position.

The two new Indian dominions will doubtless continue to harass Smuts. A quarter-million South African Indians are concentrated in Natal, having been brought in originally to work the sugar plantations. It was as their champion that a young lawyer called Gandhi first took up the weapon of passive resistance. Since then the Indians have advanced their standard of living to a degree and a few of them have become wealthy, but they have been denied political rights and their "penetration" into white sections has been "pegged." Both restraints were incorporated in a special bill passed last

year. As in the Palestine land laws, settlement and property-buying are dealt with in three zones—Indian, white, and mixed. Indians have a limited voice in local government; they have two seats in the Natal Provincial Council, and are represented by four whites in the Union Parliament. But like the blacks they are boycotting the whole business.

It is going to be hard for South Africa to maintain its color policies in a world society which is mainly non-white. Its delegate at Flushing Meadow sits at the same table with brown and yellow men, and even with black Africans from Ethiopia and Liberia. Some outraged South Africans want to withdraw from the U. N. altogether.

Prosperity—How Long Will It Last?

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

WE STILL have prosperity: profits are exorbitant and unemployment is low, even though workers are less well off because wages have not kept pace with rising prices. In his recent report President Truman said: "Americans today live in a richer and more productive economy . . . than ever before in peace-time history." But the fact that we have prosperity today does not assure our having it tomorrow.

"The United States has produced and consumed more goods . . . in proportion to population than ever before in its history. Our standard of living has therefore been the highest in our history and is, of course, the highest in the world." These words are taken, not from the Truman report, but from the 1926 Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. Three years later we had the worst economic crisis in our history.

There are several significant ways in which the situation today differs for the worse from the situation in the years before the crash of 1929. Then there was peace and, what is even more important, no visible threat of war on any horizon—Hitler's rise to power was four years off. Then American military expenditures were negligible, amounting to about \$500,000,000 a year, less than 1 per cent of the annual national income. In the array of forces which produced the crisis of 1929 military expenditures played almost no role.

Before 1929, although the United States had already started its career as a creditor nation, its loans to other countries were still comparatively modest: from 1919 through 1929 foreign loans floated in the United States provided some \$7,500,000,000 of new capital to other countries, according to "The United States in World Economy" (Department of Commerce, 1943). In the same period average annual exports of American capital amounted to no more than \$1,000,000,000, and our export surpluses were about the same.

What about today? The Truman report was published

approximately two years after the ending of the Second World War, but we are not really at peace. Our economy reflects this uneasy situation. We are in a *truce* economy. Our military expenditures are no longer limited to \$500,000,000 annually, as in the years before the crash, or to \$1,000,000,000, as before the Second World War. They range somewhere between \$11,000,000,000 and \$14,000,000,000. It is impossible to give exact figures since a realistic military budget would include not only expenditures for the army and navy but enormous indirect expenditures, such as the costs of scientific research and the stockpiling of raw materials which are essential for industrial mobilization in modern warfare. Taking it all together, we are spending about twenty times as much for our military establishment as in 1929.

That is only one difference. The position of the United States in the markets of the world has also changed. Today the United States is *the only great power* that is exporting capital; the other powers have stepped out of the ranks of creditor nations. When the Marshall plan gets under way next spring—if it does—the amount will be multiplied to an unpredictable total. As for exports, at the moment we are sending abroad an export surplus valued at \$1,000,000,000 a month—as much, in other words, as we formerly did in a year.

Let's lump together some of these figures. Before the crash of 1929 American military expenditures plus American export surpluses amounted to about \$1,500,000,000 a year. Today military expenditures plus export surpluses come to about \$25,000,000,000 a year, almost seventeen times the pre-crash amount. It is probable, in the light of events abroad, that our military expenditures will be maintained at least at their present level. It is not likely that our export surpluses will remain very much longer at the unprecedented level of \$12,000,000,000 a year. This level was made possible only by the fact that foreign countries, in addition to cutting down their long-term credits, were drawing heavily upon their gold balances and their short-term dollar holdings as well. Naturally, that can happen only once and, as the present situation in England and France shows, for a very short time.

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Yet increased American exports are largely responsible for our recent increase in production. The Truman report says: "This increase in the annual rate of the net foreign balance constituted about three-fourths of the increase in the annual rate of the total gross national product from the last quarter of 1946 to the first quarter of 1947." Since prices have gone up so fast and so far that the real income of many laborers and white-collar workers has been seriously lowered, our rising production can be accounted for only by the tremendous increase in exports for which foreign countries did not pay in goods.

In other words, this country's very expensive prosperity is precariously balanced on an export surplus which cannot long be maintained unless foreign countries are supplied with enough dollars to keep our factories producing. Will the Marshall plan support that "richer and

more productive economy" the United States is now enjoying? Not unless Congress authorizes expenditures far in excess of any sums yet mentioned. Indeed, present estimates fall so far short of our present export surpluses that the London *Economist* recently remarked, "By no possible stretch of the imagination can it be conceived that aid under the Marshall plan will be of such magnitude as to make possible continuation of an excess of exports of anything like \$1,000,000,000 a month."

Today, when military expenditures together with export surpluses—which in great measure are instruments of foreign policy—amount to \$25,000,000,000 annually, it is easy to see that American foreign policy has taken on a new and decisive importance. When we consider our unique prosperity and inquire, "How long will it last?" we are asking not a purely economic question but a political one as well.

Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

IV. The New Lands

Wrocław (Breslau), September

I HAVE spent the last month traveling in the new or, as the Poles call them, the "recovered" northwestern and western territories of Poland. An old German Baedeker I have with me explains that the original name for Breslau was "the Old Polish Wrocław," and innumerable place names in these parts are meaningless German corruptions of descriptive Polish names. Thus the German Kolberg in Pomerania was formerly and is now again called Kolobrzeg, which means "Near the Coast." Pommern (Pomerania) was derived from Pomorze, which means "Along the Sea." The Poles love giving you these little lectures in etymology. Archaeology is also sometimes invoked: for instance, I was shown the eleventh-century Polish foundations under the fifteenth-century German castle at Stettin. I suspect, however, that many Poles who use these etymological and archaeological arguments do so with their tongue in their cheek, knowing perfectly well that but for Germany's total defeat and its earlier decision to annihilate Poland, the question of Poland's "recovery" of eastern Germany would never have arisen. Stettin and Breslau were obviously German cities until 1945.

The Poles do not like the theory that the annexation of eastern Germany was "compensation" for the territories they lost to Russia. Apart from the familiar "historical" arguments, they prefer to regard the annexed lands as reparations, or even as a sort of revenge for the temporary obliteration of Poland from the map

of Europe. The Germans are, indeed, getting some of their own medicine, for who if not they started the mass transfers of populations? Were not the provinces of Lodz and Poznan cleared of Poles and formally annexed by the Reich? There is also this: during their occupation of Poland the Germans aroused such passionate hatred that any possibility of a future friendly democratic Germany struck the Poles as something remote and almost purely theoretical. Whether or not it was "excessive" to take, say, Stettin, whether the Germans hated the Poles 5 per cent more or 5 per cent less, did not matter; they would make war on Poland if they had a chance. It is said that former Vice-Premier Mikołajczyk did not much favor the present frontier but in deference to popular feeling on the subject associated himself with the Polish protest against the Marshall-Bevin suggestion that the question of the border be "reconsidered." The view now held in authoritative British quarters in Warsaw is that since the Polish government has settled nearly five million people in the new territories, it would be futile to start pushing them out again; Poland would only be driven farther into the arms of Russia.

The fact that Russian strategic considerations had much to do with the fixing of the new frontier is not overlooked by the Poles, but that does not lessen their determination to keep what they have. It seems clear that the Russians will maintain some forces in the trans-Oder bridgeheads. In Swinemünde, for instance, which used to be something like a Coney Island for Berlin, I found their troops solidly established, with wives and families. They were living a strictly segregated existence in a part

of the town separated from the rest by barbed wire, but I noticed that the soldiers' wives were pushing little German-made prams—in Russia babies are carried in the arms—and enjoying other products of Western culture. The Poles may not like the presence of the Russians, and occasionally there are anti-Russian incidents, but in general they feel that the Russians are there to protect them against the Germans or against anyone who would use the Germans against them.

The completely easy and natural attitude of the Poles in the new territories made a strong impression on me. Already they seem to feel completely at home. On a Saturday night Stettin resounds with Polish songs—some of them toughly anti-Russian—and Polish rowdiness. Railroad trains are packed with Polish school children and working people going to rest homes and bathing resorts in Pomerania for their paid holidays.

ONE of the great questions affecting the whole European economy is whether the Poles, with a population of twenty-four million, will be able to integrate the new territories into their own economy. After traveling for a month in these parts I can say that they have made remarkable progress toward that end. Everywhere I saw evidence that not lack of settlers but lack of housing was the great obstacle to development of the new lands. Where the fighting had been heavy and many villages were destroyed, there were many fallow fields. "We can't expect new settlers to live in dugouts," say the Polish resettlement authorities. There is also a great shortage of work horses and stock. Some tractors have been provided by UNRRA.

Between Kolberg and Köslin, where hardly a house is left standing, I traveled through miles of thistles. On the other hand, around Stargard and Naugard, east of Stettin, I saw hundreds of prosperous farms of ten to twenty acres well run by farmers from central Poland and beyond the Curzon line. They were living in good solid German houses and seemed thoroughly contented. There may still be some reluctance to settle too close to the border—partly for this reason the border zone is being "reserved" for soldiers still to be demobilized from the Polish army—but a little farther away there seems complete confidence that this "is and will remain Poland." One Pomeranian farmer, originally from Vilno, said to me, "The roads and houses are better than around Vilno, though the soil and climate are not so good; but if I thought the Germans would come again, I'd not take the trouble to breed these pigs."

Stettin province, which constitutes the greater part of Pomerania, had nearly two million inhabitants before the war; now it contains 800,000 Poles and 120,000 Germans. The Germans, most of them women and children, are being sent to Germany at the rate of about 2,000 a day. While 72,000 Polish farms have been set

up in the province, state farms still hold about 40 per cent of the arable land. Most of these state farms will in due course be split up among the peasants; two-thirds of the total arable land of one million hectares will have been distributed by the end of next year. It is claimed that by 1949 there will be no land left fallow.

To revive important industrial cities like Danzig, Stettin, and Breslau much new machinery is needed. The destruction here was far worse than in Upper Silesia, and many of the factories that survived the bombings were dismantled by the Russians. You could not find two more lively and cheerful cities than Gdansk (Danzig) and Gdynia. The Poles revel in being "on the sea again." They recall "all that nonsense of the Polish corridor and the Free City of Danzig" and rejoice that "it is all Poland now." The beautiful old city of Danzig is dead, but the harbor has been brought back to life. Gdynia, after being almost completely wrecked, has also been largely rebuilt. The capacity of the two ports is now 70 per cent restored.

IN LOWER SILESIA resettlement has been on an even greater scale than in Pomerania. Breslau is 70 per cent destroyed and Glogau and other towns 100 per cent, but a new life is rising from the ruins. Already 200,000 people are living in Breslau, as against 600,000 before the war. Some 7,000 students are attending the university and the celebrated Polytechnic Institute which was moved here bodily from Lwow; factories are turning out 1,000 railway carriages a month; an excellent opera company and several theaters, one of them playing Shaw, attract large audiences. Incidentally, I heard Poles speak of the Russians with greater warmth in Breslau, for which the Russians and Germans fought so furiously for three months, than anywhere else.

If half of the country north of Breslau is fallow, it is because so many towns and villages have been destroyed. The latecomers from Lwow who have settled here in the few intact houses are living rather miserably, though not without hope. One of the men spoke nostalgically of his two hectares of black soil near Lwow, which he said "were worth more than ten hectares here." But such conditions are not typical. In the less devastated areas near the Czech border every inch of ground was cultivated, and the people were living in good houses in picturesque towns and villages. Over a million and a half Poles live in Lower Silesia now. The 100,000 remaining Germans, like their fellow-countrymen in Pomerania, are being sent to the Soviet zone of Germany.

There are three forms of land tenure in Silesia, apart from the state farms: the individual farm; the cooperative farm of ten families or more—after five years it must be divided up among the members; and the group settlement, which combines a system of instalment payments with a state grant—20 per cent of the peasant's

earnings go into the group fund, the state puts in 25 per cent, and at the end of five years the peasant receives the capital he needs to equip his plot of land.

Silesia is not quite the show place I was led by some in Warsaw to expect. There is much hardship still among the new settlers, and many difficulties must be overcome before the country can produce anything like its possible maximum. But when I recall the desolate stretches of Silesia in 1945 and compare them with the

present scene, I am convinced that the Poles have not wasted their first two post-war years. If this economic progress continues at the same rate, and no internal or external political complications intervene, Poland should be on the high road to prosperity in two or three years. The reconstruction of the big cities, however, especially Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Gdansk, will be a long and arduous task which can only be hastened by large foreign credits.

Bolivia's Two Worlds

BY JOHN H. GROEL

La Paz, Bolivia, August 29

THROUGHOUT its 122 years of troubled independence, Bolivia has faithfully adhered to the eighteenth-century physicians' cure for all ailments—bloodletting. A little more than a year ago the people of La Paz resorted once again to the old formula. This time, however, it was no traditional revolt. Neither palace plotters nor politically ambitious military gentlemen were its leaders. It was a revolution fought by an aroused citizenry, determined to free itself of Gualberto Villaroel, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, and a regime which had made terror the law of the land. Because it was their revolution, the people had reason to hope that this time the bloodletting would not be in vain.

Through their sacrifice Bolivia has been able to take at least two firm steps toward greater democracy. On January 5 the nation celebrated the new year with one of the freest elections in decades. The victorious candidate, Dr. Enrique Hertzog, recently furthered the democratic cause by accepting members of opposition parties in a Cabinet dedicated to national unity. As a result, optimistic Bolivians and their friends abroad feel that democracy is at last adapting itself to life in the rarefied atmosphere of the Altiplano—that mountain-walled world that is the heart of the Bolivian nation.

Yet in spite of undeniable progress during the past year, Bolivia is much farther from achieving anything like a working democracy than most of its friends care to admit. Even the January elections, honest though they were, could not be called democratic ones. They mirrored the will of only a small fraction of Bolivians. Three-quarters of the population were automatically barred from the polls because they could not read or write. Of those who were literate, perhaps one-half were

women, still without the vote. Under these conditions, no more than 12 per cent of the people, at best, could have taken part in the balloting. One important Bolivian newspaper, in fact, concluded that the January results were determined by but 2 per cent of the nation.

Thus political power in Bolivia is a commodity possessed by a very few men. Those men belong to the white world. There is, however, another and much larger world in Bolivia—the world of the Indian and mestizo, who together form about 75 per cent of the population. They are the workers of the nation. They toil in the tin mines of Catavi, in the copper mines of Corocoro, in all the mines of this mineral-rich land, to produce the raw materials which Bolivia sends abroad to purchase the food and manufactured goods the people must have. On the great Bolivian Altiplano the rock-strewn soil is tilled with wooden sticks and hand plows of Incan design. The dwarfed potatoes, barley, and *quinua* raised are carried by the Indians or by llama and burro to the markets of La Paz, Oruro, and Cochabamba.

The Indians and mestizos seldom own the land they cultivate. Their position in agriculture is little higher than that of draft animals. Their only pay is usually the right to live in a small adobe hut and till a patch of soil for themselves. A form of feudal dues frequently binds them to give personal service in the city homes of the hacienda owners. Their ordinary dress is rags, and their food may be little more than a handful of toasted corn.

The plight of the mine workers has often been described in terrible detail. It is bad enough, but the position of the Indian enslaved in agriculture is far worse. Both groups are frequently attacked by white Bolivians and foreigners alike for their vices—coca-chewing, drunkenness, unreliability, and an addiction to long and often brutally orgiastic fiestas. Yet these are simply the inevitable responses to filth, ignorance, and hopelessness.

With all the abuse that may be heaped upon him,

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the Indian remains the chief producer of wealth for the Bolivian nation. Individually, he may do little, and that little quite inefficiently, but collectively he supports the national economy. Yet he has neither economic nor political rights. Barred from the polls for illiteracy, he is left with no peaceful method of expressing his wishes and needs. Burdened by semi-feudal obligations and untaught in the ways of politics, he is the raw material of which revolutions are made.

SINCE March of this year the Hertzog regime has unearthed at least two revolutionary plots. Both of them called for strikes and violence by Indian laborers in the mines and on the haciendas. Early in the year the natives of Los Andes, a province of La Paz, refused to work. Property owners, they said, had failed to support schools on the large haciendas, as required by law. At the end of May La Paz police raided the headquarters of the Federación Obrera Local to arrest more than seventy "agitators" accused of urging the Indians of the Altiplano into bloody uprisings. The F. O. L., which has Trotskyite leanings and is accused of relations with the discredited Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, retaliated by declaring a general strike of its rural members. The union claims that its sole purpose has been to organize these Indians for legitimate purposes: to obtain more schools, wages in money, and a fair redistribution of the land.

Whatever the truth may be, the strike brought terror to the Altiplano, where drunken natives killed at least four whites, including a nineteen-year-old girl who was attacked and terribly beaten by her assailants. Representing the propertied classes, the Bolivian Society of Rural Landowners was quick to demand that President Hertzog deal out immediate punishment to the *cabecillas*—the Indian leaders—of the movement. The Women's Civic Association of La Paz organized a public protest meeting against such a violation of the honor of Bolivian womanhood but failed to protest against the conditions which make men capable of such crimes.

In replying to the indignant citizens, President Hertzog revealed himself as a man willing to voice unpopular truths. He pointed out that the uprisings were due to the exploitation and cruelty to which the Indians were subjected by certain landowners. He went on to say that he considered himself the President of all Bolivians, not of one single class, and he promised that his government would dedicate itself to ending abuses which inevitably bring a violent reaction from the oppressed natives.

None the less, the Hertzog regime has taken one step which carries with it possibilities of grave injustice. Without benefit of trial, it has sent a group of Indian agitators to the remote tropical region of Ichilo, ostensibly for colonizing purposes. According to the government, the exiled Indians will be given adequate health

protection and the tools and guidance needed to build up homesteads. The suspicion remains, however, that the highland Indians are going to their deaths. Ichilo is notoriously unhealthy; it abounds in malarial areas, and the inhabitants of the Altiplano are poorly adapted to life in the lowlands. To be successful, the Ichilo venture will require much planning and expert assistance, neither of which is apparent at the moment.

Whatever the government's intentions may be, the uprisings continue and appear to be spreading from the Altiplano to the valleys of Chuquisaca. Perhaps they can be suppressed by force. But fear of the Indians will plague Bolivia's ruling classes until they are willing to risk their monopoly of political and economic power by guiding the natives out of feudalism.

THE Indian problem is, of course, enormous. It cannot be solved overnight. It will never be solved by accepting the myth that the Bolivian natives—Aymarás and Quechuas alike—are incapable of progress and addicted to filth and poverty. That is a myth created by men whose centuries-old position of privilege is threatened. Historically, the Quechuas proved their capabilities by forging the great Incan empire; the Aymarás formed an important part of that realm. Since those remote times both groups have been degraded by the white man's conquests, but they have given repeated evidence of their anxiety to move out of degradation.

Their faith in education is childlike in its sincerity. At Caquiaviri, they voluntarily spent over 150,000 work hours in the construction of school buildings. The American- and Bolivian-financed Educational Foundation is receiving astonishing cooperation from the Indians in its attempt to develop a practical program of rural education. The students, organized into community-improvement clubs, leave their classes to build latrines, animal pens, and drainage ditches.

On the shores of Lake Titicaca, not far from the Straits of Tiquina, is another answer to those who claim that the Indian cannot be brought out of his windowless adobe hut into a better way of life. Here, sprinkled about the green countryside, are neatly whitewashed cottages, complete with tiled roofs and glassed windows—the homes of Indians who have learned through the work of North American missionaries that some of the white men's customs are worthy of adoption. They live like men. And the change is apparent in their faces, which are much brighter and more alert than their depressed, coca-chewing brothers.

The truth is that too many members of the dominant white and semi-white world do not wish to find an answer to the Indian problem. Every effort to educate the natives and to improve their lot is systematically undermined. Only 20 per cent of the national education appropriation goes to rural projects. At the same time a large

part of the government's income is spent to maintain an army whose chief purposes have been to put down native uprisings and intervene in revolutions.

Happily, there are some signs of change. The present government at least realizes the gravity of the Indian problem. President Hertzog has been courageous enough to place the blame where it legitimately belongs—not on the agitators who take advantage of social injustice, but on the landowners who by their cruel shortsightedness drive the natives into brutal reprisals. Moreover, intellectuals and labor groups are leading a movement to organize the army as a useful social unit

which would devote itself chiefly to the task of building roads and bridges, so essential to the transport of agricultural products. Among the youth of the nation one senses a genuine revolt against unbridled militarism and a commendable determination to lessen the gap between the world of the white man and the purgatory of the Indian.

There will be no miracles in Bolivia. Political stability and democracy are goals for the future and not realities of today. They will not become realities until the Bolivian Indian is regarded as a man rather than a beast of burden.

New Wine in Old Bottles

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

RADIO has once more made the headlines. Prodded by public agitation and by the "Blue Book" strictures of the Federal Communications Commission, it has developed a welcome mood of self-reform. Its trade association, the National Association of Broadcasters, has just published "a new code of standards of practice." (This code was printed in the *New York Times* of Tuesday, September 9, or may be obtained from the N. A. B. in Washington.) Adoption of the code, pending discussion of its terms and of certain legalities, will be deferred for some weeks. It will be a thousand pities if, meanwhile, the listener fails to give it sympathetic, critical examination.

The code has three sections, two of which particularly merit public consideration. The third, dealing with commercial policies, will not be discussed in this article. In the first section radio makes its deferential bow to conventional standards of propriety and morals. Institutions of religion are to be respected. (Atheists, by implication—and in defiance of the FCC—are not to be allowed air time.) The sanctity of marriage is to be sustained. "Brutal killings, tortures, or physical agony should never be presented in detail [*sic*]. . . . Sex crimes—seductions, rape, etc.—and sex abnormalities are not desirable subjects. . . . Profane, salacious, obscene, vulgar, or indecent material should not be broadcast." Nothing much, here, for comment—unless you care to ask why such "Keep Off the Grass" signs still need posting.

Section Two covers "standards for specific programs."

News, politics, controversy, religion, crime, mystery, and children's programs are dealt with successively. Among many welcome—and some possibly debatable—provisions of this section the following deserves emphasis: "Broadcasters should be at all times responsible for the control of the content and format and presentation of all news-commentary and news-analysis broadcasts. In no circumstances should such responsibility be delegated to a sponsor. . . ." This is admirable—in so far as it restores program responsibility to the broadcaster, where it belongs. Many listeners believe, though it is not true, that William Shirer left the air because his sponsor disliked his liberal opinions. The new code, if observed, removes the possibility of such suspicion. It does not, however, assure us that news commentators will now be exempt from restrictions on the free expression of their point of view by a station or network. One hopes that such assurance will be given.

Very welcome is the provision that "broadcasters should exercise particular discrimination in the acceptance and placement of commercial announcements on news programs. Special care should be used to avoid those sound effects, singing commercials, or other devices which, while acceptable in programs [*sic*], would not be appropriate when used in connection with news programming." But the code goes farther: No "middle commercial" is to be allowed in newscasts or commentaries of less than fifteen minutes. Note this, too: "Commercial announcements in connection with news programs *should be distinctly set apart* from the news content." This raises high hopes. Can it mean that Gabriel Heatter can no longer slide—with, oh, so slight a variant inflection—from the subject of starving Europe to the virtues of hair tonic?

On the treatment of controversial issues the code

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is less clear and explicit than one could wish. "Time for the presentation of public questions, including those of controversial nature, should be allotted with due regard to all other elements of balanced program schedules, and to the degree of public interest in the questions to be presented." What does this gobbledygook mean? What is "due regard" to all other "elements of balanced program schedules"? Are Hooperatings to be the criterion of the amount of controversy that we get? If so, we may be in for less than is at present provided. Is public interest, at any given time, the measure of a subject's importance? Or is public interest aroused in proportion to the prominence which planned publicity accords a subject? It looks as if radio were here trying to perpetuate the heresy that it is wholly subservient to its audience. This is false—and disingenuous—modesty, a half-truth with dangerous implications. Radio, like other mass media, creates as much as it reflects interest. Like the statesman, or even the politician, its function is to be leader as well as servant of the public.

Another provision of this section raises nice questions: "The presentation of viewpoints in connection with controversial public issues should be confined to periods or programs specifically designed for that purpose." Does this mean that expression of controversial opinion, which means neither more nor less than individual opinion, is to be confined to forums, round tables, and the like? Specifically, is opinion to be excluded from news commentaries? Does it mean that Fulton Lewis will report only facts? Does it imply that Monsignor Sheen's recent — unanswered — philippics against communism, broadcast as a series of religious talks, are to be the last of their kind?

Perhaps we misread here the intention of the code. But it would seem that the gains and losses of this edict need to be carefully appraised. In so far as it precludes the further use of air time for the unchallenged expression of prejudiced opinion it offers us pure gain. If, on the other hand, it means the roping off of controversy within a "restricted area" of air time, it threatens the expansion of the free market place of thought. We need more and better controversy, not less. It should permeate most programs, as it permeates most of life. Controversy is troublesome. It is not calculated to "make friends," but it is a way "to influence people."

The danger of this proposal is well illustrated by a later provision of the code: "Religious broadcasts should place major emphasis on broad religious truths. They should not be used for the presentation of controversial questions." The practice of keeping truth "broad" enough to divorce it from practical living has a long and disreputable history. A king once claimed it of a turbulent priest, one Thomas à Becket. It is what Hitler demanded of Niemöller.

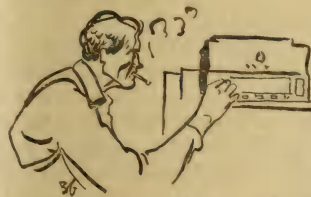
In its handling of crime and mystery and of chil-

dren's programs the code leans, as in Section One, on popular convention and cultural myth as well as on the use of safe but equivocal terms. "Criminals should always be punished either specifically or by implication." Again we confront avoidance of reality. Then, children's programs: these should be "based upon sound social concepts . . . contribute to healthy personality development . . . provide opportunities not only for entertainment but also for cultural growth." And "no program or episode should contain material . . . which will create in the child's mind morbid suspense or other harmful reactions." Who is to be judge? Parents in general? Psychiatrists or social workers or teachers? Fortunately for broadcasters, there is no common mind on this question of influence and effects. Under the shelter of fine phrases radio can still get away with what to many will seem murder.

All this is not to disparage the code but rather to emphasize the range, the real complexity, and the broad social implications of the problems which daily confront broadcasters. The new code is an important, if belated, forward step. Those who believe in the American system of broadcasting have always maintained that it is safe and sound only as the three partners in this great enterprise—the industry, the FCC, the listening public—fulfil their respective roles. The lead is now where it should always have been—with the industry. Had the code been drafted long ago, it would have made at least some of the strictures in the Blue Book redundant.

It is still far from satisfactory, and an important condition attaches to its value and relevance to listeners. Will it be honored? Is this another paper front? The previous code was much honored in the breach. Can we have higher hopes for this one?

This, at least, can be said: the N. A. B. enjoys greater prestige today than perhaps at any previous time. Its membership is larger. All four networks and a significant majority of independent stations belong. But it remains a voluntary



Drawing by Golden

trade association without power to enforce its rulings—other than the power of its prestige and the support that it can muster from the listening public. That is why responsible public comment on the code and a wide canvassing of opinion on its provisions are important. The radio industry alone is not involved. Listening is in a sense at stake. The N. A. B., to its credit, conceived the code. Listeners can help in its refinement and correction. It is high time that they—and not least the so-called intelligentsia—took a hand in this game. For it is being played for high stakes.

Del Vayo—Strength of the French Left

HOW the French left fares in the October municipal elections will depend, in the final analysis, on the strength of the two major working-class parties, the Socialists and the Communists. Only by a generous stretch of the imagination can the Radicals be considered leftists; the presence of a man like Daladier in their parliamentary bloc is a stigma they will not easily erase. And though the Trotskyites are stronger in France than in any other country of Europe, one cannot speak of them seriously as a party capable of influencing the outcome of the elections.

As the campaign opens, the Socialists find themselves laboring under a double handicap. In the first place, they are the government party—but without a majority; and in the second place, their ranks are split wide open. A Socialist, Vincent Auriol, is President of the Republic; another, Paul Ramadier is Prime Minister. But while their position of leadership has undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of the Socialists, it has at the same time exposed them to criticism and attack. The average Frenchman, like the average citizen anywhere, is inclined to blame the government for all his present miseries.

In the nine months since he became Premier, Ramadier has been confronted with more crucial problems than any of his predecessors since the liberation. Living costs have soared, and the Blum experiment of decreeing two 5 per cent price cuts made no break in the inflationary spiral. The franc is back at 300 to the dollar in the black market. Industrial output is good, considering the lack of coal and the dollar famine which has forced France to slash imports of raw materials. But with winter only a few months away, production has been slowed by a wave of strikes in protest against the high cost of living and the food shortage. The "bread strikes" that broke out in some sections of Paris a few weeks ago, following the cut in the ration, quickly spread to Clermont-Ferrand, Lyon, Lille, and other important industrial centers. The Socialist ministers were in the unenviable position of having to pit their strength against workers who were asking only for a little more food in order to increase their efficiency—strikers who had worked unceasingly for two years to lift France's economy out of the ruins of war.

The Ramadier Cabinet is also identified with a new, unpopular shift in French foreign policy. Backed strongly by public opinion, the government was until recently intransigent in its opposition to the American plan for reviving German industry; now under pressure from Washington it is gradually becoming more amenable.

In France, where the people have reached a high degree of political maturity, a Socialist leader must possess a number of qualities: he must be an intellectual of high order, an astute politician, a man of courage, a brilliant orator, a first-class journalist, a Socialist historian and theoretician; in addition he must feel an identity with the working class. The French Socialist Party had such a leader in Jean Jaurès.

Since then the only man who has approached that mark is Léon Blum; the party is still feeding on the ideas and prestige of its seventy-five-year-old chieftain.

For the first time since 1945 the Communists face an election without a single representative in the government. Their position has both advantages and disadvantages. The theory that no one could govern without the Communists has been exploded. Moreover, they have lost a powerful campaign argument by being unable to point to a good ministerial record—in previous elections even their opponents had to concede that Billoux, for instance, was an excellent Minister of Reconstruction. On the other hand, they share no responsibility for the catastrophic price-wage policy. In foreign policy they are on solid ground when they denounce the government's failure to take a strong stand against the American plan for Germany. And finally, on the positive side of the ledger is their appeal for working-class unity against the growing threat of Gaullist gains.

At first glance, asking for unity of action seems as unrealistic as asking for the moon. Relations between Socialists and Communists have deteriorated steadily since the liberation. In 1945 the Socialists rejected organic unity with the Communists; nevertheless, sentiment for a single Marxist party was then so strong that the leadership was obliged to promise close collaboration. At the 1946 Congress fusionist enthusiasm was already on the wane, for Communist denunciations of the Socialists as Wall Street agents and reactionaries had created deep resentment; even so, the delegates left the door open for unity of action on specific issues. This year at Lyon the majority took the position that such unity was neither necessary nor possible. The minority resolution affirming the community of interests between the two parties received only a handful of votes.

In spite of this breach the Gaullist threat in the coming elections may yet produce a kind of spontaneous alliance between the Socialists and Communists. The latter are clearly trying to prepare the ground for such an eventuality: they have limited their attacks to Ramadier, assumed a less insolent tone, and called for the formation of a popular-front government based on the two parties and including the Radicals and some smaller political groups.

Actually only a popular front can pull France out of its present impasse and bring to life the program of the Resistance. If the French people were given hope that this program would be carried out, the election outlook might change in the next few weeks. But first two things must happen: the Socialists must disavow the extreme anti-Communist tendency that dominated the Lyon meeting; and the Communists must once and for all accept the Socialists as allies on an equal footing. The tactic of proposing unity one day and denouncing the recipients of the proposals as lackeys of Washington the next will bring about not a popular front but the victory of reaction.

[This is the last of three articles on French politics.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Is Truth?

**THE METAPHYSICAL SOCIETY:
VICTORIAN MINDS IN CRISIS,
1869-1880.** By Alan Willard Brown.
Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

FROM the time of Socrates, at least, men have struggled with the question which Köhler has recently called "The Place of Value in a World of Facts." What is the source of our conceptions of truth and goodness? What is the relation of these desires of men to the "natural" world?

The rise of modern science forced more intensive searching of these questions. Through the nineteenth century an increasing number of people answered them by affirming the identity of science and truth, while religious leaders and some philosophers continued to assert that truth and goodness are distinguishable from observed reality. Today this controversy continues between pragmatists and logical positivists on the one hand and philosophers who reaffirm the independent role of "objective reason" on the other. But the discussions are usually carried on at a polite distance in scholarly journals. Rarely do thinkers of strongly opposed views sit down together to consider each other's assumptions with the aim of enhanced understanding.

In England during the seventies of the last century, when the battle between science and theology was most bitter, a group of sixty-odd leaders of Victorian thought, including extremists of both schools, met monthly to discuss the fundamentals on which their life work was based. The Metaphysical Society was an unusual attempt to seek truth, or at least to further mutual understanding, through candid and penetrating exchange of thought. It is much less well known than are other activities of its famous members. Mr. Brown has performed a valuable service in discovering and bringing together in a thoughtful study the records of the society's proceedings.

The society included Huxley and Cardinal Manning, Tennyson and Bagehot, Tyndall and Gladstone; Frederic

Harrison, Father Dalgrains, and Henry Sidgwick were charter members; John Morley, Leslie Stephen, Frederick Pollock, and Balfour joined during its later years. Froude said in the early days of the society that if it hung together for twelve months that would be one of the most remarkable facts in history. The fact that it continued to meet for nearly twelve years suggests both the interest of the discussions and the remarkable character of the members.

Naturally a group which represented such diversity of belief, even when meeting with the aim of discussing basic questions "with the freedom of an ordinary scientific society," did not always follow all the Victorian canons of compromise and tolerance. At an early meeting W. G. Ward responded to a request to avoid expressing moral disapprobation: "While acquiescing in this condition as a general rule, I think it cannot be expected that Christian thinkers shall give no sign of the horror with which they would view the spread of such extreme opinions as those advocated by Mr. Huxley." To which, after a moment, Huxley replied: "As Dr. Ward has spoken, I must in fairness say that it will be very difficult for me to conceal my feeling as to the intellectual degradation which would come of the acceptance of such views as Dr. Ward holds."

This, however, was unusual. In general scientists and bishops advanced to the discussion of "Verification of Beliefs," "The Emotion of Conviction," "The Incoherence of Empirical Philosophy," "Generic and Symbolic Images" (a paper by Pollock), "The Metaphysical Basis of Toleration" (by Bagehot), intent on enlarging the area of their common ground.

A paper by Mark Pattison on "Double Truth" not only sought the fuller understanding of Pascal's "reasons of the heart," which was a central preoccupation of the society, but also of the role of language in reaching such understanding. He began by pointing out that a "contract to speak the truth" as a basis for all communication is "im-

plied in the use of language" but went on to show that in description of "fact," as well as in the expression of poetry, religion, or personal feeling, there is an inevitable gap between what is seen or apprehended and what can be communicated through language.

The society itself succeeded in communicating its discussions far beyond its own group. Sir James Knowles, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, was the founder of the Metaphysical Society, and when in 1877 he left the *Contemporary* to found the *Nineteenth Century*, members of the society were the chief contributors to the new review. Indeed, most people would have been surprised to know that for several years the articles which were the main body of the *Nineteenth Century* had first been given as papers before the Metaphysical Society.

But the main interest of Mr. Brown's book lies in the light it throws on questions of which the Metaphysical Society and the Victorian Age itself show only certain important phases: Does the fact that division of labor is necessary in the pursuit of truth mean that truth itself must remain divided—and that every individual must be divided within himself? Or is communication possible between those who start from "facts" and those who start from "values"? We may agree with Mr. Brown that "many kinds of truth are attainable by many kinds of men," but what is the relation among them? The question is not whether truth lies in "experience" or in "reason," but whether by experience we mean something more than the facts most obviously derived from sensory impressions, and whether reason is based on one segment of human nature or is derived from all human experience. (Horkheimer in his recent "Eclipse of Reason" in more than one place uses reason as synonymous with intuition.) A further question is whether conflict is something to be resolved through discussion and understanding or is inherent in reality.

Mr. Brown points out that when Pilate asked "What is truth?" he did

not stay for an answer. The Victorians, whatever their shortcomings, stopped at no boundaries in their search.

HELEN M. LYND

John Betjeman

SLICK BUT NOT STREAMLINED.

Poems and Short Pieces by John Betjeman. Selected and with an Introduction by W. H. Auden. Doubleday and Company, \$3.

SORRY, but this collection is a vexation, if not a disappointment. Perhaps the trouble is that the reader has to stoop below too many low bridges, duck under too many falling arches of archness: a not too engaging title, some much too cute packaging, needlessly quaint typography, a ghastly-kitchenish introduction by Mr. Auden, another introduction, somewhat over-protestant, by the author himself. Topophilia, schmopophilia; and speaking of Greek, Messrs. Doubleday and Company, cannot someone in your employ be found to do a better proofreading job on that language than was done in the third line from the top of page 132?

This said, and distraction overcome, let us consider the poems of Mr. Betjeman. These, we are admonished by Mr. Auden, are not trivial; and Mr. Betjeman seems to think they are not funny, either. So all right; what then are they? They must be serious, and sad; and so they are. But not heavy-sad; little threnodies on the flute, a watery, airy music whose metrical ripple and run are contradicted by the unrecurrent of sorrow. Flute music, such as went with old Greek elegiac verse; flute music, mournful, meditative, and short.

Mr. Betjeman's material, at first glance, seems more imported and foreign than it actually is. There are American correspondences to the British suburbs and provincial towns, their decaying seaside resorts, even the subtle quarrels of rival religious sects. But these the American writer has not much cared to commemorate, nor the American reader been trained to notice, though every loved spot that our infancy knew teems with such phenomena. The most we do in this direction is an occasional herd-swooning after something like "Life with Father," or some of the minstrels of the American corn. Mr.

Betjeman, however, reports in an individual way on what he has come, as an individual, to like; guided by passion, not fashion, he is fond, but not sentimental.

Pages 25-107 in the present collection consist of poems; pages 110-185 of essays. This arrangement adds to the effect of clutter, no matter how eager one is to find more books, in America, with at least a touch of belles-lettres. The essays are easy and readable; the longest, a satirical examination of various types of dons, carries on just a little too much—is the whole business that important?

Is it impossible to hope for a complete collection of John Betjeman—all the poems of "Continual Dew," "Old Lights for New Chancels," and "New Bats in Old Belfries," all in one volume, and the format as simple, delightful, and neat as was the last volume, published in London by John Murray?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Concentration Point

THE OTHER KINGDOM. By David Rousset. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.75.

TO READ this book is to be so shaken by its picture of life in the Nazi concentration camps that in writing about it one's first impulse is to burst into rhetoric, to strive for a sort of *Ersatz* communion with the sufferers by charging words with the extremities of feeling actually experienced by the prisoners. Fortunately, it cannot be done. Between those victims of totalitarianism who have made the ultimate journey into the night, and us who live—however unhappily—in the twilight of modern society, there can be only a tenuous and incomplete understanding. We may understand what has happened, but *they know*. And so all I wish to say here is that this is a terrible and tragic report of the time we live in and the life man lives; that it is the most terrifying of all the reports on the concentration camps, even though it recounts the fewest atrocities; and that it is written by a man of fine feeling and genuine talent who has the capacity to shape his emotion and increase its power by restraint.

It is the most terrifying of all the

memoirs by inmates of concentration camps because it gives meaning and order to their experience. If the behavior of the S. S. were some form of collective madness or atavistic reversion, or if it were a national quirk or an inexplicable outburst of man's irrational nature—then the terror would not be so great. Then we could resort to medicine or hospitals or jails or ropes; or we could declare the situation hopeless and try to run away. It would be, so to speak, a natural terror.

But Rousset shows us that it was an organized terror, a *policy*. He tries to answer the basic question which must always arise when we discuss the concentration camps: Why didn't the Nazis just kill off their victims? Why did they torture them for years, destroy them and yet preserve them?

I think Rousset gives the best answer that has yet been provided to these questions. The Nazis didn't want to kill their victims because the camps, with "living" prisoners, provided the most effective means of paralyzing the peoples of Europe into subjection. They convinced millions of people that death was not the worst possible fate, but that there was a kind of death-within-life which was worse than death. And since the Nazis were able to control both life and death to the most refined and exquisite point, they arrogated to themselves not merely the existence but also the destiny of those whom they ruled. Nor is this peculiar to the Nazis. As Rousset insists, it is characteristic of all modern societies as they sink into their bureaucratized and mechanized despond.

There were, of course, other uses for the camps: they were collecting points for slave labor, places to isolate oppositionists of conquered nations, and a source of workers for secret projects who would never be able to divulge the secrets they learned. But, basically, the camps served as the specter of fear. They were the concentration points—the Nazis named the camps quite perfectly—of all the characteristics of modern totalitarianism, which is, in turn, the concentration point of capitalist society. It is this simple but commanding view on which Rousset insists, and which prevents us from grasping, with cheap comfort, at the belief that Buchenwald was somehow remote from us. If we

accept Rousset's analysis, then Buchenwald impinges crucially on our existence: it is the mirror which distorts, in order to clarify.

And there lies the terror of Rousset's book. For now we are connected with what happened at Buchenwald; we see the evil of modern life tied to its social matrix. That it all makes sense and that we allow it to continue—is this not more terrifying than all the accounts of concentration camps which pile horror on horror but fail to explain them?

Buchenwald mirrors modern life, not only in terms of the relationship between the S. S. and its prisoners, but also in terms of the relationship between groups of prisoners themselves. One of the most sickening revelations of Rousset's book is that the routine beatings were administered, not by the S. S., but by a bureaucracy of prisoners who, in gratitude for a second piece of bread or one less slash of the whip, were the most merciless persecutors of their fellows. Among the inmates there broke out a deadly struggle between the "greens" (criminals and non-politicals) and the "reds" (politicals) for control of the camp administration. Through superior discipline the politicals finally won. They had faced the bitter choice of letting themselves be tortured and slaughtered by the "greens" or of taking over the camp and accepting Nazi domination in order to save a few more of their comrades than otherwise. They chose the latter, and they were right. If one wants to survive in the house of the damned—and the politicals felt their group survival to be imperative—then one must realistically face one's narrow area of moral choice.

Rousset mentions Kafka several times, and not by accident. "The Other Kingdom" fills in some of the space between Kafka's bare structures; it develops, in specific incident, what Kafka presaged in dramatic abstractions.

Rousset's use of elliptic narrative and fragmentary exposition, which makes for dramatic and speedy sequences, is strange to American readers. But its effects are on the whole very successful; they remind one of a speeded-up montage. Other than that, all one can say of this book is read it, for it is part of the essential experience of our time.

IRVING HOWE

Brief for Canonization

A. P. GIANNINI: *GIANT IN THE WEST*. A Biography. By Julian Dana. Prentice-Hall. \$4.50.

TIME was when the tycoons of American finance, conscious that they were making both money and history, were arrogantly indifferent to contemporary opinion. But today the career of a tycoon is not complete until an "official" biography has been prepared, in his lifetime, for his careful scrutiny and personal approval. While this procedure doubtless shortens the gap between achievement and chronicle, it makes more difficult a real understanding of the careers of these extremely important public figures.

In this instance, it would take a dozen investigators armed with the power of subpoena to unravel the truth from the fiction in Julian Dana's biography of the great "A. P."—Amadeo Peter Giannini of California. "Biography," however, is not the term with which to describe this book: it is a brief for canonization. Dana would have his readers believe that this ruthless, domineering, aggressive financier is by nature and achievement a friend of the common man—the

Thomas Jefferson of Montgomery Street.

The story of A. P. is, indeed, a fascinating chronicle. Born in San José in 1870, the son of a poor Italian immigrant couple, A. P. was a successful produce broker at fifteen, and at thirty-one had retired with a modest fortune. He entered the banking business in 1904 and is today the head of the largest banking business in the world, with hundreds of branches, 15,000 employees, and 500,000 stockholders. His is one of the great success stories of this century, to be compared only with that of Henry Ford. With the perverse sense of history that seems to characterize the "official" biographer, Mr. Dana describes Giannini as the "torrential force" behind the remarkable economic expansion of California, when in point of fact the economic and industrial growth of California since 1900 should be regarded as the key to the remarkable success of A. P. Giannini. Certainly it was the amazingly rapid growth of the produce industry in California that gave the original Bank of Italy its initial impetus.

Always wary of Wall Street, the usually shrewd A. P. walked into a trap in the early thirties when, with his ac-

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"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. Send only \$1.00 in full payment.

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quisition of the House of Blair, he decided to place Elisha Walker in charge of his gigantic financial empire. Within a year Walker began to liquidate the vast holdings which Giannini had acquired, presumably at the bidding of "the corner" (J. P. Morgan and Company). But neither Walker nor his colleagues had reckoned with Giannini's fighting qualities. Returning secretly from Europe, A. P. won a sensational fight with Walker for proxies and regained control of the Bank of America empire. It was a great personal triumph; it was also an important victory for Western industry, for it freed California to some extent from Eastern financial domination. It is also apparent that Giannini has been a "progressive" banker in the sense that he has never been infatuated with tradition; that he has had the imagination to back what have appeared to be risky ventures—such, for example, as the motion picture industry—and that the branch-banking idea, in which he was so successful a pioneer, has been "progressive" in terms of operating efficiency and banking service.

Having admitted as much, we still face the question: to what extent is a Western monopolist any different from an Eastern monopolist? To be sure, Giannini has fought the battle of the West, that is, of large-scale Western agriculture, business, and industry. But has it made any difference to the 250,000 agricultural workers in California that Giannini won this battle? In 1936 California Lands, Inc., a subsidiary of Transamerica Corporation (Bank of America), boasted that it had developed into "the largest diversified farming organization in the world, owning and operating approximately 600,000 acres of land." In that year the company harvested seventeen major crops totaling 4,121 carloads of produce. "These crops," crowed the company, "placed in one continuous train would take 56 engines, each pulling 74 cars, a train crew of 336 men, and would stretch out for over 36 miles." On October 31, 1939, the company owned 1,718 farms totaling 395,000 acres and valued at \$25,000,000, and its income from farm operations was \$2,511,643. Nor do these figures include farm mortgages held by the Bank of America on 7,398 farms, totaling 1,023,000 acres,

mortgages representing an indebtedness of \$40,340,000. Needless to say, these figures are not garnered from Dana's book, they come from the files of the La Follette committee investigations. Nor does Mr. Dana so much as mention the Associated Farmers of California, an organization with whose formation the Bank of America had much to do.

On the subject of his hero's social and political views Mr. Dana is a little less than frank. A. P., he writes, has "a deep and abiding American contempt" for totalitarian practices. Perhaps he has today, in 1947; but there was a time when he extolled Mussolini to the skies as "the Sun God of the Italian people." Nor was his "contempt" for fascism so abiding as to preclude important financial backing for Italian fascism through the Banca d'America e d'Italia. Mr. Dana's infatuation for Amadeo Peter has another rather curious aspect. For example, he devotes several pages to proving that A. P. is *not* anti-Semitic. Has the great man been accused of being anti-Semitic? If so, by whom? on what evidence? In the absence of some such explanation, the reader can only conclude that Mr. Dana protests too much.

Apart from the social consequences of his career, the great A. P. is obviously an attractive individual: noisy, frank, full of bounce and vigor; a remarkable combination of Italian showmanship and California breeziness. Many things he may be, but he is not a stuffed shirt. On the eve of the 1932 Presidential campaign Herbert Hoover telephoned to ask for his support. Giannini declined. "Was that really the President you were talking to?" he was asked. "Oh, no," he replied. "I was just chatting with a political tumbleweed caught in a high wind."

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Haldane with Left Angles

SCIENCE ADVANCES. By J. B. S. Haldane. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

HALDANE knows more about most things than most people. These simple essays, delightfully written, were published in large measure in the *Daily Worker* in Great Britain, and they deal with men, animals, plants, physiology, evolution, medicine, hygiene, inven-

tions, Soviet and Nazi science. Haldane knows his facts, but since he is a Communist, the facts have always to be explained according to "dialectical materialism."

In his essay on Marx Haldane tells us that Newton's work was possible because "people needed exact knowledge of the movements of the stars for navigation and of cannon balls for war." Darwin could make his generalizations because "the exploitation of colonies had disclosed the distribution of living animals and plants through the world." Since "material systems develop and perish according to dialectical principles," Engels foresaw that chemical atoms could be subdivided. Far be it from me to deny that the world around us is a vital factor in influencing human actions. Long before Marx was born, Shakespeare was described as "a product of his time." But having described Shakespeare thus, have you also described his genius? Were Newton and Darwin merely the products of their times? Did they not also, so to speak, modify the times in which they lived? Is it merely the environment which rules the world? Is it not rather a matter of environment and heredity acting and reacting one against the other? Was Einstein's work supplementing Newton "possible" only because "exact knowledge" was needed for the development of the atomic bomb?

We are told that half a century ago almost everyone—except the dialectical materialists—believed that the elements were created by God or had existed forever. We are also told that every teacher "even slightly influenced by Marxism" can show that human progress is dependent on technological improvements. But why is it necessary to be even slightly influenced to explain the more or less obvious? According to Haldane, we owe to Lenin the distinction of prophesying that the electron is probably not the simplest piece of matter. But Mr. Haldane, several hundred thousand other people prophesied that too!

Haldane's chapter on Genetics in the Soviet Union places him in an awkward position. How is he to evaluate the dispute centering in Lysenko's attack on genetics in general and Vavilov in particular—the Vavilov who is among the foremost geneticist in Russia? "I am

convinced," writes Haldane, "that he [Lysenko] went too far." Here we find Haldane the geneticist contending with the follower of "dialectical materialism." For once the geneticist wins.

Vavilov has been silenced. Several other Russian geneticists managed to escape the country to get jobs abroad. "But," writes Haldane, "several good British geneticists have recently lost their posts, one for marrying a Chinese wife, another for trying to expose corruption in an institute, and a third for disproving one of his professor's pet theories." But surely this merely shows, according to his own evidence, that the British are just as bad as the Russians, not that the Russians are so much better than the British.

The chapters on Nazi science—let's call it Nazi pathology—are excellent. Blood and soil, the race theory, and experiments on human beings are treated as the ebullitions of deranged minds.

If the reader is ready to dismiss the constant side excursions into communism as relatively unimportant, he will find Haldane's book all that one would anticipate from a brilliant mind and an effective writer.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Answer to Ingersoll?

OPERATION VICTORY. By Major General Sir Frances de Guingand. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

MONTGOMERY'S Chief of Staff, Major General De Guingand, is the first British officer of high rank to offer an account of the war and its strategy. "Operation Victory" is a lucid, easily read book, not at all brass hat and modestly critical of operations and personalities. The author makes little reference to the larger political aspects of the war, and for the greater part he accepts the over-all strategy that was decided upon in London. However, he always believed that the Greek adventure was a total mistake, undertaken for political reasons, one of which was the government's fear that Britain would lose further credit with the United States if no aid were offered to Athens. The projected campaign "had no military advantage," and Sir Francis was distressed to note that his soberly calculated figures were enthusiastically inflated by

the British mission, which apparently persuaded the Greeks to resist the Nazi invasion. There is an excellent chapter on Montgomery, for whom Sir Francis has a great but not dazzled admiration. Better in set battles than in a fluid situation, the Field Marshal had all the qualities required to lead the British armies in their lonely predicament. He was the military counterpart of Churchill. His confidence, or egotism, was of untold value to men who were beginning to lose faith in their leaders.

Americans will naturally read "Operation Victory" with Mr. Ingersoll's criticism of Montgomery and the British strategy in mind. There is no reference to the debates over the second front in this book. One may assume that General Guingand was orthodox in the British sense, though to judge by his views on the Soviet-German pact—as set down in 1940—he was not unsympathetic to the Russian demand, made in July, 1939, for a free hand in the Baltic countries and Poland. In dealing with the battle for Caen and the Falaise thrust the author replies directly to Mr. Ingersoll. His defense of his superior in the Caen affair is, I think, somewhat weak, but he shows that the American writer underrated both the importance of the Falaise breakthrough and the German resistance. Sir Francis did not approve of Montgomery's original proposal for a narrow breakthrough into Germany. He sees neither weakness nor impropriety in his superior's conduct of operations during the Battle of the Bulge. If Montgomery did not throw in his reserves when American critics thought he should have done so, he had good reasons. The German objectives were Liège, Brussels, and Antwerp, not a general breakthrough into France. Montgomery therefore kept his reserves in hand to meet the expected thrust.

Sir Francis has a very high esteem for the generalship of Patton and Bradley but offers no extensive discussion of major "if's" such as whether the war could have been ended in 1944 had the paramount effort been made on the right wing, as Bradley urged. There is nothing polemical about his replies to American critics, and the temper of his writing throughout is that of a professional soldier who believes that every nation has its own necessary strategy.

RALPH BATES

The Mystical Tradition in Judaism

MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM. By Gershom G. Scholem. Schocken Books. \$5.50.

MORE than one eminent Jewish scholar has hailed this volume as a "classic of Jewish literature." A Christian may be permitted to add his tribute by recognizing it as a major classic in the history of mysticism.

The biography of the writer and of his book supplies an illuminating and suggestive background for an appreciation of the book itself. Dr. Scholem was born in Berlin and has found refuge in Jerusalem, where he is now professor of Jewish mysticism in the Hebrew University. The material here gathered together was first offered as lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York and first published in Jerusalem in May, 1941; it is now reissued in an admirably printed and annotated American edition by Schocken Books.

"If the great task of Jewish scholarship in our generation, the task of re-writing Jewish history with a deeper understanding of the interplay of religious, political, and social forces, is to be successfully carried out, there is urgent need for a new elucidation of the function which Jewish mysticism has had at varying periods, of its ideals, and of its approach to the various problems arising from the actual conditions at such times." The motives of the author and certain of his presuppositions

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are thus set forth in his Preface. The arduous and ambitious assignment which he has essayed is brilliantly discharged; his objectives are abundantly fulfilled.

Dr. Scholem brings to his task unequaled gifts. A linguist with competence in the varied tongues in which his sources are imbedded, a research scholar who unites sympathetic understanding with penetrating insight, and insight with balanced critical judgment, he holds his voluminous materials under ready and confident command, and presents their often forbidding complexities and obscurities with never-failing lucidity and no little literary charm.

The work opens with a brilliant essay on General Characteristics of Jewish Mysticism, one of the most masterly discussions of the characteristic features of mystical apprehension, of the distinctions and interrelations of mythology, religion, and mysticism, cosmogony and eschatology, allegory and symbolism, philosophy and prayer, and of the comparison and contrast between Jewish and Christian mysticism, known to this reviewer within the compass of a single chapter. This introductory lecture alone will richly repay the casual reader who may not have interest or time for the detailed historical exposition which follows.

"The first phase" of the two-millennia development is discovered to have had its sources in the first century of the Christian era, and in Palestine. (To Christians, it is of special interest that this neglected aspect of Judaism should have taken its rise in the same land and at the same time as their own offspring of Judaism.) This first period carries the student through ten centuries, with special attention to theological presuppositions and to the parallel emergence of gnosticism. "Its subject is never man, be he even a saint. . . . Its gaze is fixed on God and his aura. . . . All its originality is on the ecstatic side, while the moral aspect is starved" One could wish that more generous space had been allocated to this first millennium with more detailed delineation of successive epochs.

The heart of the volume, four of its nine chapters, deals with the medieval period, first the rise of Hasidism in Germany contemporary with St. Francis of Assisi, and then the longer, richer, and more esoteric pilgrimage of Spanish Kabbalism to the mass expulsion of the

Jews from Spain in the year of Columbus's great discovery. Three concluding lectures summarizing respectively the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries deal with Isaac Luria and his followers, with Sabbatianism, and with the Hasidism of Poland as the most recent significant expression of this many-sided impulse within Jewish piety—"three stages of the same process."

Dr. Scholem's treatment throughout is no less rich in its penetration to the deeper springs of the successive phases, often more striking in their contrasts than in their similarities, than in its detailed exposition of the phenomena themselves. Moreover, his purview is in no sense restricted to the faith of his own people; some of the most illuminating passages point up kinships and contrasts with other types of mysticism, especially Christian. The struggle with intolerant rabbinical orthodoxy is a tragic but not unexpected motif.

One would suppose that this work would be "required reading" for all serious Jewish students of their own tradition. Christians will discover themselves graciously introduced to phases of a sister faith of which they must confess almost total ignorance. Finally, all who are alive, whether sympathetically or not, to the never-quelled longing of the human spirit for direct experience of the Divine will find here a mine of invaluable testimony, presented with a sympathy which is all the more attractive because tempered by discerning judgment.

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

Man's Beginnings

THE ORIGIN OF THINGS. By Julius Lips. A. A. Wyn. \$5.

DISCOUNT the publisher's claim that this is "a book to take its place on the standard shelf beside Frazier's [*sic*] 'Golden Bough'." Neither its matter nor its manner justifies such "hyblurbole." What can reasonably be said is that Dr. Lips, a distinguished anthropologist, has written a good popular account of the beginnings and early evolution of human ideas, institutions, and tools, using this last word in its widest sense. The illustrations by Eva Lips are copious and good. Chapter headings such as Of Hearth and Home and Pots and Pans, Ac-

cessories of Allure, Wall Street in the Jungle, Education Without Books, give a good idea both of the scope of the book and its over-journalistic style.

Dr. Lips has gathered facts diligently and organized them well. But some of his generalizations will raise the eyebrows of his fellow-anthropologists. For instance, he attributes female and animal figurines of the Aurignacian period to "a purely aesthetic expression," though most students of the subject agree that the idea of "art for art's sake" was foreign to primitive man; he was concerned with art for magic's sake. Again we find Dr. Lips in a sentimental mood declaring, "Wherever we pay our visit among the primitives, we find a like nearness to the gods and a like peace of mind." Clearly he has yet to visit Ruth Benedict's neurotic Dobuans.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE GREAT DAWN" is a quasi-biography of the Italian musical prodigy Pierino Gambina, starring Pierino Gambina. Now and then the picture faintly promises to show how a prodigy is really manufactured and sold; and Pierino, a haunted-looking little boy, looks as if under wise direction he could carry whatever they handed him, of that sort. But the promise never pays off, whether because this is a highly "authorized" biography, or because of everybody's genuine affection and admiration for the child, or because this particular prodigy is as lucky in life as he is on film, I don't know. What you get here is a simple little story about a gifted child; his pretty mother, a runaway bourgeoisie; his musician father, who runs away from her; her solid father, who detests "artists"; and an engaging, slap-happy priest, who rather suggests Keenan Wynn and who is chiefly responsible for developing and placing the boy's talent. In many respects the whole business is rather thin, even silly, but there are redeeming features which make the picture, at worst, pleasant to sit through. It is done more like a charade than a would-be work of art or even of professional entertainment, with quite a nice sense of comedy, and with little jets of that free talent and fearless vitality which seem

to abound today in Italy. I couldn't be sure, thanks in part either to flaws either in the sound-track or in the theater's equipment, whether Gambina is a good conductor or a madly over-rated one. I am sure that the strings catch fire nicely in one passage in the William Tell Overture, that the well-known Four Notes in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony should not be performed as if they said Fee Fie Fo Fum, and that unless movie people can manage to present pieces of music whole rather than in bloody gobbets, they'd better not try at all.

"The Tawny Pipit" is an English pastoral comedy about bird-lovers, both lay and professional, and what happens to them when, in mid war time, a pair of very rare birds decides to breed in an English pinfold. The English reviewer C. A. Lejeune was rather chilly about this film. I think she was right, and that a good many other Englishmen must agree with her; for what might, with sharper treatment, have been a real beauty of a comedy is blunted by that special simpering affection which some of the English are so ready to feel for themselves. It is an almost unimaginably genteel picture, and if you had, as it were, to sit in the same parlor with it, you would probably suffer a good deal. But at this comfortable distance in blood as well as space I was able, rather to my dismay, to take all this extreme English-

ness almost in the spirit in which it was offered. For one thing, the picture is so obviously a labor of love, and the job of a lifetime, for Bernard Miles, an actor who has always seemed to me a particularly nice guy; he not only acts in this—rather badly—but co-wrote and co-directed it, with Charles Saunders. For another, in spite of its profuse cuteness and genteelism, it has a good deal of genuine charm, humor, and sweetness of temper.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

TO CATCH up now on the August records, and to begin with what I thought would be especially interesting, RCA Victor's set (1129; \$2.85) of the Suite No. 2 from Prokofiev's music for the ballet "Romeo and Juliet"; it turns out to be an adaptation of the resources of Prokofiev's idiom to the purpose of the action—expertly made, suitable, agreeable to the ear, but, for me at any rate, with no inner life to command interest in it for itself. Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony seems good and is excellently reproduced—though in my review copy the conclusion wavers in pitch.

Stokowski, conducting the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra, produces the performance of Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique"

Symphony one would expect: eccentric and wilful in pace, mannered and fussy in phrasing, distorted in shape (Set 1105; \$6.85). It is not always clear on the records; and occasional vagaries of balance and volume lead one to suspect that Stokowski did some twiddling of control-knobs.

The materials, plant, and labor that RCA Victor can't waste on any of Schnabel's new H. M. V. recordings, or even on keeping his old ones available, it expends on a four-record set (1133; \$4.85) of Glazunov's music for the Ballet "Raymonda," which one tolerates with the dancing but which has no claim to attention without it. The playing of the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler is excellent and well reproduced.

Even the two sides of the H. M. V. recording of Schnabel's beautiful performance of Mozart's wonderful Rondo K.511 is something on which RCA Victor can't waste the materials, plant, and labor that it expends on Mozart's inconsequential Adagio and Rondo K.617 for glass harmonica, played on the celesta, not always clearly, by E. Power Biggs with a quartet of excellent winds and strings (11-9570; \$1).

Columbia offers Liszt's enjoyable "Mephisto Waltz," played by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-281; \$3). The performance has a little of Rodzinski's tenseness; but I find this less disturbing than

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the over-emphatic distortions of Koussevitzky's recorded performance. Its recorded sound is clear but without the luster of Koussevitzky's; and one side of my copy wavers badly in pitch.

On a single disc (72047-D; \$1). is the one good performance that Maryla Jonas gave at the one recital I attended—of Schubert's Impromptu Opus 90 No. 3; but on the reverse side are her more characteristic performances—excessively mannered, oscillating between the extremes of loud and soft—of a group of Schubert waltzes. The recorded sound is the best Columbia has achieved with the piano so far.

The English Decca set (ED-30; \$7) of Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite offers an excellent performance by Ansermet with the London Philharmonic, reproduced with the depth in space and the rich sonority of the best Ffrr recording. Choice between this and the recent Columbia set of the new version of the suite recorded by Stravinsky is difficult. Stravinsky includes one more excerpt than Ansermet—the *pas de deux* of the Prince and the Firebird; but Ansermet includes the wonderful transition from the Berceuse to the Finale that Stravinsky omits. As for performance, I prefer the characteristic power and clarity of Stravinsky's which is well reproduced if not with the luster of Ansermet's.

Concord Recordings has issued a set of three black vinylite records with the first five Preludes and Fugues of Book I of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, played on the harpsichord by Dorothy Lane. I can't report on No. 2, since my copy of the set has instead a repetition of No. 1 (of which, incidentally, I find the Fugue to be an extremely uninteresting piece of music); but Miss Lane plays Nos. 1, 3, and 5 with clarity, grace, and both brilliance and variety of tonal color. In the great Prelude of No. 4, however, her execution of the ornaments destroys rhythmic continuity; and in the great Fugue she does a great deal of pounding that produces thick sonorities in which the counterpoint is not clear. The performances are well reproduced.

International Records has issued Villa-Lobos's String Quartet No. 6 ("Quartetto Brasileiro"), played by the Stuyvesant Quartet. The work is still another example of this composer's appalling fluency in the production of worthless music; the performance is first-rate; its recorded sound is somewhat brash on my wide-range machine, perfectly agreeable on one of limited range; surfaces are not quiet.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

In Defense of C. A. B.

Dear Sirs: Since an article by Dr. Charles A. Siepmann in your issue of July 5 (Radio: Tool of Reactionaries) has been distributed to the Canadian press, I hope you will in fairness permit us to correct as briefly as possible certain misapprehensions of fact appearing in it.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters' brief before the parliamentary committee took pains to point out the close constitutional relationship between the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the "government of the day"—that is, the "executive" arm of government. The situation is similar to what would exist if the FCC not only possessed its present powers over stations but also operated stations, had a network monopoly with power to add non-government stations to that network, had power to censor all material broadcast, including news, and to set network rates for stations, told stations from what sources they might draw news, possessed power to make all stations carry such material as it might dictate, could expropriate the stations at any time, and was responsible to the President, not to Congress.

The brief does not attack or seek to discredit the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Before previous parliamentary committees C. A. B. has made it clear that the independent stations have no quarrel with the concept of the nationally owned broadcasting system in Canada. Our case is simply and solely (a) that such a system should be as directly as possible responsible to Parliament rather than the executive arm, and (b) that both it and the independent (non-government) stations should be licensed and regulated by an impartial semi-judicial tribunal, removable only (as in the case of Canadian judges) by joint address of Parliament, not by whim of the executive arm, such body to hold meetings and render decisions open to the press and public. . . .

The cost of our advertising campaign, as pointed out to the parliamentary committee, came to about the same in a ten-year period as the published cost of one C. B. C. station's own promotion campaign in a six-month period. There are no "high-powered public-relations concerns," to use Dr. Siepmann's phrase, connected with, paid by, or employed by this association, nor were any such uti-

lized in any way to put our case before Parliament and the public, this year or at any time. . . .

The public-opinion poll to which Dr. Siepmann refers did not purport to prove that "the majority of Canadians support a system of commercial enterprise." It showed the preference of Canadians with respect to various types of businesses and their ownership. In some cases government ownership was preferred; in others, private ownership. The survey firm presented to the Parliamentary Radio Committee only that section of the poll which dealt with radio, and it showed that Canadians were generally not in favor of a government system of radio.

The independent stations of Canada did not and do not seek "expanded activity through the creation of a Canadian FCC." It is difficult to see how a Canadian FCC would permit such expanded activity.*

The C. A. B. brief asks for (a) legal right to freedom of speech on the air in Canada and (b) safeguarding of that and other rights by means of a licensing and regulatory body as far removed as practicable from political pressures. The C. B. C. would continue as a broadcasting body, but would not possess licensing or regulatory power over its non-government competitors. . . .

Dr. Siepmann charges that outlying areas would not receive good service from independent broadcasters. We can name dozens and dozens of areas now served by independent stations and only by them. The ten C. B. C. outlets are located in or near the largest metropolitan centers of Canada. Most of the 103 independent stations serve small communities, some extremely remote.

Independent radio in Canada has a first-class record of public service—a fact admitted even by most of its enemies. If it didn't have, the fault would lie as much with the C. B. C. as with the independent stations. The C. B. C. has complete network control; it has power to take into account the public-service record of stations when recommending license renewals. United States programs are now brought into Canada by C. B. C. and fed to its networks. It is from this source that the C. B. C. derives a substantial portion of its revenue. It is doubtful whether the

* But that it would be a paradox Dr. Siepmann took some pains to establish.—EDITORS THE NATION.

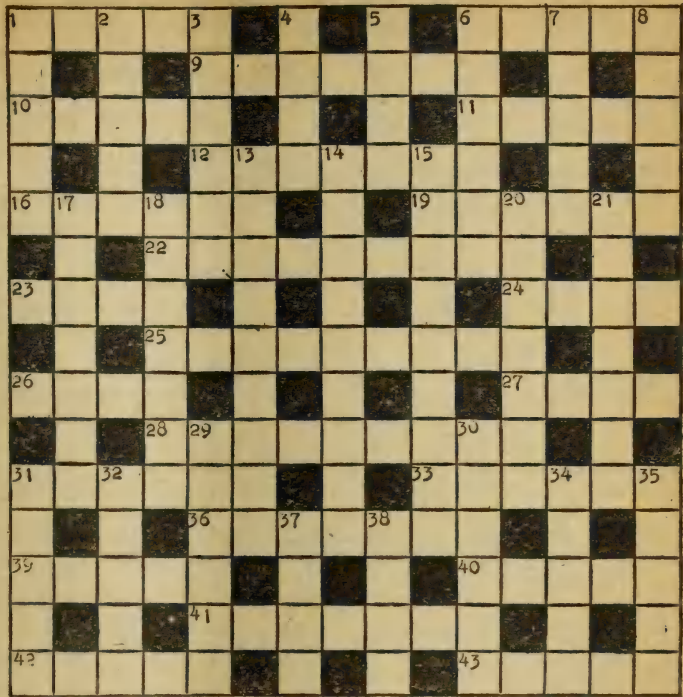
government enterprise could carry on at all without this aid from non-government United States networks. Only four independent stations, all on or very near the border, bring in and broadcast United States programs.

French-speaking Canadians get satisfactory service from independent stations; did so long before the C. B. C. ever existed. There are three C. B. C. French-language stations, seventeen independent French-language stations.

It should be pointed out, too, that the C. B. C. itself possesses all the international clear channels in Canada; has monopoly on the high power—independent stations are limited, in the main, to five kilowatt, and only 3 out of 103 have power above that. They are almost all limited to Class III channels or those of lower preference.

H. S. DAWSON, Manager,
Canadian Association of Broadcasters
Toronto, September 18

[Mr. Dawson's letter was submitted to Dr. Siepmann for a possible reply. Dr. Siepmann's answer was that he believed his article spoke for itself, and he did not care to make further comment. —EDITORS THE NATION.]



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the fourth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

How to Fix Things

Dear Sirs: A large number of labor leaders have been appearing before Congressional committees and have expressed their opinion regarding proposed labor laws that the committees are pretending to consider—as a concession to what is humorously called public opinion. Inasmuch as I am very greatly interested in labor laws, I beg for a small amount of space in your valuable publication to give a little kindly advice to those dear labor leaders.

In your testimony regarding proposed labor laws, with practical unanimity you declared that the proposed laws would destroy labor unions. Well, bless your dear stupid souls, that is what the laws are intended to do, and when you assure the committee that the laws, as written, will accomplish their intended purpose,

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ACROSS

- 1 A slab of flesh. (5)
- 6 Gold on brass. (5)
- 9 Back to greeting a jealous lover? (7)
- 10 Not a mere man. (5)
- 11 He's O. K. for a pilot. (5)
- 12 Passenger vehicle and a truck make one, of course. (7)
- 16 Worn at back, with diminishing returns. (6)
- 19 Tackled with cogs? (6)
- 22 Makes quite a fuss with the food supply. (9)
- 23 Is the weather forecast negative in one direction? (4)
- 24 Since I precede, I'm in Shakespeare. (4)
- 25 This sounds a mess! (5, 4)
- 26 There must be a use for him! (4)
- 27 It's easy to see I hurried out of here! (4)
- 28 Nice standard, but a nicer riot. (9)
- 31 Thick with jam? (6)
- 33 In short, 30 notices these nymphs. (6)
- 36 Not the chewing gum, but next thing to it. (7)
- 39 Socks a minor prophet. (5)
- 40 Usually attributed to Gus. (5)
- 41 Did such a song make a wreck out of Ulysses? (7)
- 42 Sometimes cornered in the pit. (5)
- 43 As well known a lake as any in Africa. (5)

DOWN

- 1 You'll have to do this before finishing this puzzle. (5)
- 2 Seven the hard way smooths off the rough spots. (5)
- 3 Was the army this to win? (6)
- 4 Dark woman, not for light work. (4)
- 5 He is almost a serf! (4)
- 6 Carried nothing to this place? (6)

- 7 A bit of this sounds divine! (5)
- 8 Didn't stand in dread of anything. (5)
- 13 Not found in equilateral triangles? (9)
- 14 Pretty low-down for a cellar? (9)
- 15 Makes quite a commotion. (9)
- 17 Remember the Maine, as an opposite state. (7)
- 18 Good price for a buck-saw, to show where to use it. (7)
- 20 Article I string along with, just for color. (7)
- 21 Poetically a good place to be on April Fool's day. (7)
- 29 To edit part of a Russian Play? (6)
- 30 One out of many under Washington. (6)
- 31 An afterthought, and not "Geel", for an expletive. (5)
- 32 In America stern, in India strict. (5)
- 34 Where Selassie's ancestors chased Mussos. (5)
- 35 Did Uncle get his degree at a School for the Dance? (5)
- 37 Green river. (4)
- 38 A military policeman is around for these mischief-makers. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 229

ACROSS:—1 CRABBED; 5 ARCHWAY; 9 FORBEAR; 10 CRANIAL; 11 ELATE; 13 NORTHWEST; 14 EIRE; 15 STEWARD; 18 EWE; 20 PIE; 21 DEvised; 23 IBIS; 26 CONSENSUS; 28 CHEER; 29 TRIBUTE; 30 SUPPORT; 31 REELECT; 32 SILICON.

DOWN:—1 CUFFED; 2 ABROAD; 3 BREWERIES; 4 DERANGE; 5 ACCORDS; 6 CRASH; 7 WHITECAP; 8 YULETIDE; 13 OWE; 16 EPISCOPAL; 17 RIP; 18 EDUCATOR; 19 EVENTIDE; 22 DESERT; 23 INSISTS; 24 HEROIC; 25 BRITON; 27 ELUDE.

the committee is encouraged to urge their passage.

The Republicans, as political agents for the "economic royalists," have been seeking to abolish labor laws ever since they were placed on the statute books, but this is the first opportunity they have had to accomplish their purpose and they propose to take full advantage of that opportunity. If you had assured the committee that the laws as written would strengthen unions, they would have made haste to rewrite them. The "economic royalists" and job owners have but one purpose—to make private profits—and the members of your unions are mere tools or accessories to the iron tools that they employ in the profit-making process. All tools, including men, require expense of maintenance: so much for oil and repairs for iron tools, so much feed for mules, and so much wages for hired hands as tools. By repealing or rewriting labor laws, Congressional stooges of the job owners hope to reduce the expense of maintenance for the human tools.

Of course, if you had enough sense to pour sand down a rat hole, you would advise your readers to take possession of the iron tools they have made and operate them for their own

wages instead of for profits that are squandered at Palm Beach and similar resorts. That would abolish strikes, unemployment, and poverty and elevate your readers from tools to human beings.

FRANK SIMPSON

San Diego, September 17

Love That War!

Dear Sir: The naming of the new political party in California, Independent Progressive, lacks punch, zing, conviction, and recruiting force. Apart from its length and the musty smell of the library, it has too much "for" in it and not enough "agin."

Americans are born "aginers." They were agin King George. They were agin slavery. They were anti-federalists and they were abolitionists.

There's a lot to be agin these days. High prices. Trend toward atomic war. Taft-Hartley Act. How to focus, how to funnel the "agin" feeling?

Fred Wakeman's book, "The Hucksters," and the movie have shown the American people for the first time the arrogance, the swinishness, the tyranny of big business.

Why not an Anti-Huckster Party with a slogan, "Throw the hucksters out!"

Such a party has a tremendous job. It has to show how the hucksters smashed OPA and rent control, how the hucksters killed the housing act, how the hucksters put over the Taft-Hartley law.

The relationship between hucksters and fascism has to be revealed. It was the National Association of Steel and Chemical Hucksters in Germany who put Hitler in. It was the Federazione of Hucksters in Italy who put Mussolini in. It was the Honorable Hucksters Society in Japan that invented the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

If the Honorable Hucksters Society in Japan and the National Association of Hucksters in Germany seem remote to the average American, let him study the boards of directors of German and Japanese companies prior to World War II. He will find many famous American hucksters on the boards—and they were enjoying themselves and getting profits out of war with China and the concentration camps in Germany.

The German and Japanese hucksters have been cut down to size but their American pals are swarming all over Washington, passing laws, setting national policy, sabotaging the U. N.

Love that soft soap! Love that soap made out of children's bodies! Love that war! Or throw the hucksters out!

NORMAN BURNSIDE

New York, September 15

Requests Bourne Letters

Dear Sirs: Alyse Gregory, widow of Llewelyn Powys and formerly managing editor of the *Dial*, now living in England, is writing a book on Randolph Bourne. She asks that those who have letters from him send them to me at 282 West Forty-second Street, New York. I will have them copied and promptly returned.

AGNES DE LIMA

New York, September 10

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

MR. TRUMAN'S APPEAL FOR LESS WASTE OF food has now been supplemented by the Harriman committee's suggestion of "self-rationing" of meat, butter, and eggs. Neither proposal measures up to the problem of balancing the world's food budget. Cold statistics in the report of the Cabinet food committee, issued last week, show how desperately serious that problem has become following the partial failure of the corn crop in this country. Although bad harvests in Europe mean greater need than ever, the committee feels unable to recommend the export of more than 470,000,000 bushels of grain in 1947-48—20 per cent less than last year's shipments. Yet, even if other surplus areas expand exports as much as the committee hopes, the gap between available supplies and minimum needs of the food-deficit countries will still be 4,500,000 tons in terms of grain alone. Just about double that amount of wheat, it is estimated, will be fed to animals in this country during the next twelve months. As long as the American public is prepared to pay present prices and maintain its consumption of meat at a level far above the pre-war average, farmers will find it profitable to fatten their beasts on wheat instead of selling it for export. Something like ten pounds of grain—enough to keep a European alive for over a week—is required to "make" a pound of steak or pork chops. If facts like these are sufficiently publicized, many people may be expected to cut down consumption of such foods. Voluntary action of this kind will be all to the good. But we doubt very much whether even the reduced export program advocated by the Cabinet committee will be achieved unless more stringent measures are taken to keep bread grains out of the feeding troughs.

✱

SENATOR TAFT'S FOREIGN-POLICY SPEECH was a remarkably eclectic performance, having in it a fair amount of Hoover, a bit of Wallace, and even a dash of Vishinsky, but with enough in contradiction to all these to leave it essentially a Taft product. Like Hoover, the Senator thinks we have been much too harsh on the Germans, who, within liberal bounds, should be freed at once to develop their economy, with no further denazification nonsense on our part. He believes that "our one justification" for entering the war was the

belief that "German success would ultimately threaten our own freedom," but "we face a condition in the world today not much less threatening than existed in 1940." The menace does not come from the Soviet Union, as one might have anticipated. Taft does not believe that "Russia intends, or desires, a conquest by force of arms of additional territory" or that it would "give serious consideration" to a fighting war. The threat comes from communism, from which "we face a curious form of aggression." And how are we to combat it? Not economically. Loans, limited to specific countries and for specific purposes—and to our specific advantage—might be "helpful," but "let us not overestimate the power of money." Neither do we meet the threat by military power. Taft makes a sly dig at potential rival Eisenhower, suggesting in Wallace-like language that our military establishment is already inflated "unless we want to fight the Russian millions in their own backyard." As for the United Nations approach, Taft is for it, but he holds with Vishinsky that abandoning the veto is out of the question. Moreover, "the battle of ideologies" must be fought out "in each country by the people of that country." In the end, then, the Taft foreign policy is twofold: "maintenance of peace so long as conditions do not threaten" our own country, and a showdown on communism here at home, with special attention to the New Dealers, who have been trying "to move our system well over toward that of Russia."

✱

THE FIRST OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE Spanish underground, noted briefly in American papers last week, furnishes new evidence that the Resistance movement is gaining impetus in Spain. It spoke of an "engagement with Franco forces in the M. [Madrid] zone in which the latter suffered casualties." According to the full text, this was "the first open battle with government troops." The document was signed by the "Chief of Staff of the Madrid Zone" and ended with an appeal to the United Nations to consider the incident as a new phase in the "fight of the Spanish people to overthrow Franco's fascist tyranny." The Spanish question is again on the agenda of the General Assembly. But should the U. N. fail to take the necessary diplomatic and economic steps to end the Franco dictatorship, the

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Spanish masses are clearly determined to continue the fight alone. At the very moment the Army of Liberation opened fire in the M. zone, the surprising announcement came from London that Foreign Secretary Bevin had agreed to receive an anti-Franco leader. But the surprise was short-lived, for the leader turned out to be Indalecio Prieto. A few weeks ago, Señor Prieto issued a manifesto in which he declared "with deep regret in my heart, I lay down the Republican flag." He defended his cynical renunciation of the Republic on the ground that it would open the way for a government that might win support in London and Washington, and take its place in the Western bloc against Russia. His declaration has aroused a storm of Republican protest that reaches even into his own group; Enrique de Francisco, chairman of the Prieto Socialists, immediately resigned. It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Bevin accepts Prieto's generous offer to sell out the Republic or goes on backing Francisco Franco.

✱

INFLATION IS A THIEF IN THE NIGHT WHO drains the value out of your dollar while you sleep. But the robber can be controlled, even in conditions of scarcity which are supposed to be most favorable to his depredations. The British Information Service recently sent out a report on the cost of living in "Austerity Britain" which is enough to make an American housewife go Socialist. Here are a few prices in American terms:

Beef (British ribs), per lb.	27c
Bread, per 3½-lb. loaf	18c
Butter, per lb.	28c
Eggs, each	3c

According to a mass poll just completed by the Ministry of Food, the average person in Britain today spends only \$2.23 for food per week. This figure, in so far as it indicates the scant supply, is pathetic; in so far as it indicates the efficiency with which prices have been kept down, is, to say the least, impressive.

✱

THANKS TO A DETERMINED ARCHBISHOP and to the C. I. O., Negro segregation has received severe jolts in the cities of St. Louis, Missouri, and Gary, Indiana. In both cases, white parents refused to expose their children to the conjured-up dangers of attending school with children of a different color, and, in both cases, organizational discipline was invoked to bring them to their senses. The school strike in Gary was opposed by church groups and others, as Paul Klein points out in his article on page 335, but it was the threat of United Steelworkers union leaders to take action against participating members that broke the back of the movement. Today, the city's mayor, Joseph E. Finerty, boasts

that Gary, with a population one-fifth Negro, "does not offer partial citizenship to anyone." The St. Louis affair was confined to Catholics, a number of whom were incensed at a parochial ruling admitting Negro children to diocesan high schools. When these practicing Catholics but non-practicing Christians threatened to enforce their racist ideas by court injunction, Archbishop Joseph Ritter countered with a threat of excommunication. The legal approach has now been abandoned and, in its place, an appeal is being made to the Most Reverend Amleto Cicognani, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States. It will be up to him to rule on the Archbishop's insistence on "the equality of every soul before Almighty God." Should he uphold the Archbishop, the State of Missouri might do well to ponder this novel concept in connection with its public schools, which are strictly segregated.

✱

THE SUDDEN AUTUMN CAUGHT A LOT OF women with their skirts down. It also cut short the silly season, but there are a few silly-season items which should be preserved. There was, for instance, the announcement, on July 27, of a rule prohibiting profanity in the army: It was promulgated by General Jacob L. Devers, commander of Army Ground Forces. By this time, we are sure, he has become a four-letter general. . . . On August 27, when the summer had really become unbearable, the press carried an account of the Three-Corner Bathroom, the latest achievement of the American standard of living. "Father shaves while Susie bathes and mother makes up." No faucets—"water temperature is determined by quick and skilful foot work"—sliding mirrors, and ingenious lighting arrangements. In certain quarters, this was taken as further evidence that, given mirrors and quick and skilful footwork, there would be plenty of room for a third party. . . . The weather had turned when the United Nations Assembly opened. But *Pravda's* reports by the two journalists, Izakov and Zhukov, of Vishinsky's battle with the warmongers sounded, for all the world, like another episode from the summer's most extravagant movie, "The Secret Life of Walterevich Mittyakov."

A Moment for Courage

PIECEMEAL assistance to Europe, said Secretary Marshall at Harvard on June 5, was a palliative rather than a cure for that Continent's economic ills. Therefore, he summoned the European nations to join together in drawing up an integrated recovery program which would make clear what further American aid was required after all possibilities of self-help were exhausted.

This challenge was accepted with alacrity by sixteen Western European powers and, in a remarkably short time, their representatives have agreed unanimously on a program which is a great deal more than "a shopping list." The report just issued in Paris includes a pledge by the participating countries to mobilize all their resources to reach the production targets laid down in the plan and to cooperate in promoting the economic recovery of the whole group. Specifically, they undertake, jointly and severally, to restore cereal production to its pre-war level by 1951, and to increase other major food crops. Coal output is to be raised to one-third more than the current figure, or 30,000,000 tons above the 1938 level. The plan also provides for an impressive expansion of power-generating and oil-refining capacity, for large additions to inland transport facilities, for the restoration of pre-war merchant fleets, and for an increase in steel production of 20 per cent over 1938.

The report recognizes very frankly that the success of the program depends on restoration of internal economic and financial stability. All the participating countries are suffering from some degree of inflation, though the pressure varies widely. Reduction of the money supply by fiscal and other measures, so as to bring it into balance with the supply of goods, is an urgent need, and the participants pledge themselves to seek this objective by ending deficit financing as soon as possible.

This is a necessary first step toward European cooperation. As the report says, "The instability of any country affects the participating countries as a whole, for it hampers and distorts trade and prevents the affected countries from making their full contribution to the recovery program." Mutual help through the interchange of goods is a vital part of the program, and in Paris considerable progress was made toward meshing the production programs of the different countries. In the field of power, a definite plan emerged for the joint exploitation of hydroelectric resources cutting across frontiers. Provision was also made for encouraging standardization of certain kinds of equipment, for the interchange of information on steel programs, and for exploring the possibilities of a freight-car pool. What is much more important, a tentative approach, at least, was made to the creation of a customs union for Western Europe. This is a logical, we might say inevitable,

The dinner of the Nation Associates on October 13, announced in detail on page 340 of this issue, will deal directly with the clash of policies and interests involved in the Palestine debate. A successful gathering will certainly influence the course of events at Lake Success. Your reservation at \$50 per person is your investment in the Nation Associates' campaign for a decent solution in Palestine. We urge Nation readers who can afford it to contribute their money and their presence.

step, if Europe is to survive and prosper. As the report says, in quoting the remarkable declaration of the French government: "In the present state of the world, only economic units sufficiently large to have at their disposal an important home market are able to lower the price of industrial and agricultural production sufficiently to insure . . . an improved standard of living for their people." But strong as are the arguments for the formation of a large free-trade area in Europe, there are formidable obstacles to its realization, such as Britain's commitments to the dominions and the unwavering hostility of the U. S. S. R. to any continental integration not under its auspices. It is something, therefore, that a majority of the sixteen nations have agreed to set up a study group to examine further the possibility of a customs union.

Whatever hopes this step may hold for the future, Europe's immediate need is rescue from the threat of economic collapse. The Paris report shows clearly that every phase of the recovery program is dependent on outside aid. It will not be possible to raise production in accordance with the plan without large imports of food and raw materials. As the report puts it, every element in the program "depends upon the others—mining machinery upon steel, steel upon coal, coal upon food—and in turn depends on the availability of supplies from overseas in the right quantities and at the right times."

THE challenge that Marshall made to Europe comes back, therefore, as a challenge to us. After making all possible allowances for self-help and mutual aid, the sixteen countries prove the need of minimum aid from the United States of \$19.31 billion over the next four years, plus more than \$3 billion in equipment loans from the International Bank. This is a large sum, in relation to anything but the cost of a war, but the objective to be achieved—the salvation of Western Europe from catastrophe—is surely not of trivial importance to the American people.

Unfortunately, timid and unimaginative leadership is tending to obscure the issues involved. The President, fearful of Congress and with division in his Cabinet, greeted the Paris report as interesting but not urgent, although at the very same time he admitted that there were emergency European economic problems that called for immediate action. In fact, these emergency problems are only the most angry symptoms of the larger ills for which the Paris program offers a cure. They should be treated, but let us remember that such treatment is another palliative. The real cure for Europe will start with a firm commitment by Congress to finance the Paris program; that will help to give the patient the confidence which is the first essential for recovery. Grudging doles may satisfy our charitable instincts and help to keep some Europeans from starvation, but they will do

nothing to aid European recovery. They will merely mean continuation of the "piecemeal" policies which Secretary Marshall has so rightly deplored.

Watch Mr. Marshall

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS THE debate on Palestine develops in the special committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Evatt, I urge *Nation* readers to keep their eye fixed on the United States delegation. Nothing that has happened in Jerusalem or Whitehall or the corridors of the United Nations alters the basic realities of the case: they are still what they were last spring when Britain first submitted the issue to the General Assembly. "In the end what is decided about Palestine in the U. N.," I wrote in *The Nation* of April 26, "will depend upon this country. . . . The rise of America's oil empire in the Middle East has shifted the balance of interest and with it the weight of responsibility. Britain is still there, but the United States has moved in too. And the Truman Doctrine, about to find its first overt expression in Greece and Turkey, applies with equal force throughout the Middle East. Greece is a frontier post, but Palestine is a major bastion of the new empire of oil."

From the London angle, Harold Laski analyzes the situation much the same way in the special supplement published with this issue. Mr. Bevin, he says, will never create a "vacuum" in the Middle East; if Britain moves out of Palestine, it will be because the United States is prepared to move in. For American policy at this moment is easy to define: "All over the world the United States is organizing what forces it can manipulate in an all-out effort to prevent the expansion of Russian power. As part of that effort predominance in the Middle East is essential. . . ."

ONLY with this background clearly in mind can one make sense of the day-by-day maneuvers at Lake Success: Britain's announcement of its intention to surrender the Palestine mandate, America's equivocal silence, the Arab threats, the rumors surrounding Mr. Marshall's private talks with Arab leaders and with the Jewish Agency. An atmosphere of ambiguity and unease hangs over the whole question.

The British statement, delivered by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech-Jones, last Friday, was a gift horse whose every tooth is being minutely examined. It is an almost appallingly shrewd and disarming document, luring the skeptic into traps contrived by his own well-grounded suspicions. Britain, said Mr. Creech-Jones, indorses "without reservation" the proposal of the U. N. committee on Palestine that the mandate should be terminated; Britain will not "try to prevent" a settlement

recommended by the Assembly; Britain will put such a recommendation into effect if Jews and Arabs agree to it, but otherwise will plan to withdraw its forces from Palestine at an "early" date and "some alternative authority" will have to carry out the Assembly's decision. Arabs and Jews here and in Palestine registered profound disbelief when they heard the news, and several remarked that Britain's refusal to "impose" a solution in Palestine was at least odd in view of its recent policy of force. But a careful reading of the statement inclines me to accept its literal veracity—interpreted in terms of the world situation and the Truman Doctrine.

Why should Britain, broke and short of man-power, go on supporting the economic burden of a big military and administrative establishment? Why should the Labor government continue to suffer the liabilities resulting from police rule and mounting losses among British troops in Palestine? Why should it invite any longer the attacks of its own left wing as well as the hostility of a large section of American opinion? How much better to deposit the unwanted offspring of Tory imperialism on the doorstep of the U. N., secure in the knowledge that, if necessary, it will be adopted and brought up by the United States, which would never expose the founding to the hazards of Arab politics and Soviet ambitions. Read Laski: there will be no political vacuum in the Middle East. As for Britain's offer to implement any recommendation acceptable to both Jews and Arabs, it carries no penalties; no plan yet suggested has satisfied both peoples.

DOES this analysis of the British proposal imply American collaboration? Has the State Department already promised to adopt the Palestine baby as it did the miserable Greek orphan? Have we agreed to pick up all Britain's by-blows in the eastern Mediterranean? If so, one must assume that Mr. Marshall has fully accepted the views of his chief advisers on the Middle East, George Wadsworth and Loy Henderson, who for years have urged the necessity of winning Arab goodwill through the generous use of loans, gifts, royalties, and opposition to a Jewish Palestine.

Friends of the Secretary have insisted that he favored the Palestine policy of the President; that he believed a solution meeting the legitimate demands of the Jews was fully compatible with American security. His guarded comment on the UNSCOP report was attributed to a desire not to bring pressure on the Assembly. Such an attitude would obviously have found warm support in the White House. Mr. Truman's honest and outspoken wish that displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine is buttressed by his knowledge of the sure political consequences of an anti-Jewish decision. The anger that would boil up among liberal and Jewish groups over a double-cross by the United States is a fact

not likely to be ignored by the Democratic high command.

But today one cannot afford to put too much stock in the preferences of statesmen or even the calculations of candidates. Today, foreign policy is determined by the strategy of "containing" Russia; the decision on Palestine will be based, not on precedent or promises, but on such factors as the reality of the Arab threat to American oil supplies and pipe lines, the possibility of holding the area in case of war with Russia (some military experts believe the oil reserves could not be defended), the question of Russian participation in a U. N.-controlled interim government in Palestine. Today, foreign policy is made in the departments of State and Defense, not in the White House; and it is made mostly by military men and bankers whose interest in the political fate of Mr. Truman and the Democratic Party is scarcely noticeable. Even the public reaction to the Palestine policy finally announced will concern them only so far as it is reflected in Congress when the decision comes up for approval and implementation.

Secretary Marshall's discussions with Arabs and Jews were off the record, but this much is known: he was impressed by the chiefs of the five Arab delegations and very short with the representatives of the Jewish Agency. According to rumor—and Drew Pearson—after his meeting with the Arabs, Mr. Marshall persuaded the President that we could not afford to back a policy which would rouse their antagonism.



Is the story true? If it is, if Mr. Truman and Mr. Marshall have decided to reject the UNSCOP report, we may see a fantastic reversal of roles at Lake Success. The British can step to one side and let the Americans, for a change, defend the claims of the Arabs and the sanctity of oil. They can let our team search for a plan that will satisfy the Mufti and Ibn Saud, command a two-thirds' majority in the Assembly, and entice appropriations from a Republican Congress—while Mr. Bevin comfortably prepares to display almost immaculate hands in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill himself might approve a liquidation of empire accomplished with such finesse.

The story may be false; it is still a rumor. But one would be quicker to reject it if circumstances did not give it plausibility. To yield to Arab threats is to follow the disastrous but forceful logic of the Truman Doctrine on into the Middle East.

Politics and People

BY ROBERT BENDINER

A FRIENDLY correspondent in Mississippi advises me that Northern newspapers can be of great service to the liberals of that state if they will only refrain from attacking John Rankin as he campaigns for the Senate seat of the late Mr. Bilbo. The wisdom of this counsel is further borne out by John N. Popham, a New York *Times* reporter, who writes from Jackson that a good part of Bilbo's success at the polls in 1946 was due to "a statewide resentment against 'outside meddling.'" Having no wish to meddle, I hope sensitive Mississippians will not regard it as outside interference if I quote—merely as a matter of public interest and without approval or disapproval—an editorial from their own *Jackson Daily News*. If Mississippians, that paper says, are "to gain and hold the respect to which [they] are entitled," they must "quit sending to the halls of Congress hysterical rabble-rousers and spouting demagogues."

It cannot be assumed, of course, that just because the *Daily News* is supporting another candidate it had Mr. Rankin in mind when it spoke those harsh words. As evidence to the contrary, we are assured by Mr. Popham and others that Rankin is so genuinely gone on the mystic doctrine of white supremacy that the very depth of his conviction may lose him the nomination. Mr. Popham reports the view of some Mississippians that "many voters, white and Negro, saw a large measure of the mountebank in Mr. Bilbo and never took his rantings too seriously," while Rankin, on the other hand, "is locally credited with bringing to his white-supremacy precepts a 'sincerity and bitterness' that might well repel many voters who went along with Mr. Bilbo."

I am glad to give further publicity to this tribute to Mr. Rankin, though I fear it may cost him votes that he can ill afford. His Tupelo machine lost every courthouse office in the preliminary primary of the last election, but what is that to a man of principle? The American Federation of Labor is working hard in the current campaign, and it has hopes that Rankin will rate no higher than fourth in a field of five, provided Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson can bring themselves to maintain a discreet silence.

Just in passing, and without editorial comment, I hand along the additional information that Paul B. Johnson, Jr., whose father was a New Deal governor of the state, is thinking seriously of joining the growing Mississippi free-for-all. Without campaign funds Johnson ran up a vote of 112,000 in the last governorship primary almost solely on the strength of his eloquent pleas for social change. Like other Mississippians, he is a determined

opponent of "Yankee interference," but he specializes in resenting the activities of outside corporations, like the oil, railroad, and power companies that poured money, rather than free advice, into Mississippi in order to elect their veteran lobbyist, Fielding Wright, to the governorship. State pride seemed curiously unaffected by this particular evidence of alien interest.

SOUTHERN politicians are eagerly awaiting the legal assault on what may turn out to be the last resort of pure-white suffrage. Keenly disappointed over the refusal of a South Carolina federal judge to sanction the "private primary," whereby the Democratic Party was to circumvent the law by becoming a private club, the die-hards have been counting hopefully on a relatively new provision of Alabama's state constitution. Enacted in 1946, the clause provides that would-be voters must not only be able to read and write but also to "understand and explain" any section of the Constitution, with the local board of registrars to be the judges of their performance. No test is specified for the registrars, though it is assumed that they will generally be literate and always white.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will put this "educational qualification" to a legal test in the near future. Should the verdict go against the NAACP, the Talmadge crowd, devoted as always to high educational standards, will press for a similar amendment in Georgia, and the device will certainly be urged throughout the South. If it is ruled out in Alabama, however, there will be nothing left but the poll tax, and that will be under a raking fire in Congress. The President's Committee on Civil Rights will soon bring in a strong recommendation for anti-poll-tax legislation, and the Republicans will be only too glad to push it, to the embarrassment of the Southern Democrats.

Negro leaders have reason to be hopeful. If they have any doubt that minorities make hay in an election year, they have only to look at the promptness with which Dewey, Taft, and Speaker Joe Martin have indorsed the majority report of the U. N.'s Special Committee on Palestine.

HAMILTON FISH is back and MacArthur's got him. The one-time isolationist leader is returning to what he hopes will be public life by way of a magazine entitled *Today's World*, of which he is editor and publisher. Fish's maiden editorial is an all-out attack on Thomas E. Dewey. Elsewhere in the magazine Dewey is blamed for Fish's downfall in 1944, when the Governor, it is charged, made a "racial issue" of the Congressman's kindly observation that a majority of New York's Jews would vote for Roosevelt. But in the editorial Fish confines himself to the loftier political argument that Dewey,

took no part in the recent war, though, as someone has been unkind enough to remark, at least he didn't oppose it.

Fish's sad experience in predicting has not lessened his prophetic urge. His present forecast is that General MacArthur will be nominated by acclamation at the Re-

publican convention and will sweep the country, carrying all but four Southern states. Among the objectives of *Today's World* is the purpose "to debunk such radical propaganda sheets as . . . *The Nation*." To this pastime Mr. Fish is surely entitled, turn-about being, as always, fair play.

Fair and Cooler

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, September 26

THE weather has changed decidedly in the past week. The streaming days of New York's hottest summer have given way to bright, crisp autumn, with blue skies and a touch of frost in the air.

This brief meteorological note is obviously an introduction to the comment that in United Nations affairs the week has been much less hectic. The fervid oratory of the plenary session has given way to the more business-like work of the committees. Even Vishinsky's press conference yesterday and Gromyko's slashing attack on United States policy in Greece this afternoon failed to raise temperatures more than a degree or two.

EARLY in the week one incident occurred that deserves to be put on the record. Vishinsky had made an effective speech in the Assembly in favor of keeping the discussion of the revision of the Italian peace treaty off the agenda. He was followed by the delegate from Ethiopia. The ghost of the League of Nations appeared, the dim, shameful memory of the lonely figure of Haile Selassie as he tried in vain to impress that other assembly with the enormity of the Fascist crimes against his people. Now, in the new world organization, delegates listened in silence while a representative of the Ethiopian people carried them back to those early days of the first Fascist empire. He reminded them that Marshal Graziani, who in revenge for an attempted assassination had had shot down in cold blood five thousand innocent men, women, and children, was still unpunished. The Ethiopian delegate suggested that there were certain unpaid debts that should be attended to before any revision of the recently signed Italian treaty.

THE two committees that held the focus of attention were, naturally enough, the ad hoc committee on Palestine and the Political Committee, in which the Greek issue was the first item of business.

The only important contribution this week in the Palestine committee was the flat announcement by Britain's Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, that Britain intended to end the mandate; that it was not prepared to enforce any Assembly decision which was

not accepted by both Jews and Arabs; and that, failing such acceptance, Britain was going to make an early withdrawal of its forces. While some skepticism was expressed about the date of British withdrawal, most delegates tended to take the statement at its face value—as meaning that Britain was through. The issue now appears to be squarely in the lap of the U. N., which must not only adopt a plan for Palestine but decide on the means of implementation. The solemn warning of Justice Sandstrom, when he appeared before the ad hoc committee, that in a sense "the Palestine problem is insoluble: no settlement will be entirely satisfactory to both parties," turned more and more eyes in the direction of the United States delegation. Mr. Marshall's statement in his opening speech that the United States "gave great weight" to the report of the special committee lost some of its early significance when it was learned that the Secretary of State had told both Arab and Jewish leaders that the United States had not yet made up its mind. It has been noticeable, by the way, that in several ballots in the Political Committee the Arab states abstained from voting when the Soviet bloc voted no.

WHEN the Greek question came up in the Political Committee, the American delegate, Herschel Johnson, made a strong attack, and on Saturday the Soviet delegate, Gromyko, counter-attacked. Johnson, after recapitulating the developments in this issue before the Security Council, introduced the resolution which was anticipated in the Marshall speech. The blame for the border incidents was placed squarely on Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania; the three states were called on to stop their aid to the Greek guerrillas; all four states were urged to cooperate to settle their differences. An Assembly committee was also to be established to see that these recommendations were complied with and to summon a special session of the Assembly if the situation made it necessary.

Gromyko's speech and resolution carried the war back into the American camp. It was the fascist character of the Greek government that was responsible for the border incidents and the civil war in Greece. All freedom-loving Greeks were on the side of the guerrillas.

American military and economic aid was being used to repress democracy and bolster reaction. The Greek government should therefore be called upon to desist from provoking the border incidents; the Greeks should be asked to reconcile their differences peacefully with their northern neighbors; all foreign military forces should be withdrawn from Greece so that an independent democratic government might emerge; and an Assembly committee should be sent to Greece to see that economic aid was properly administered.

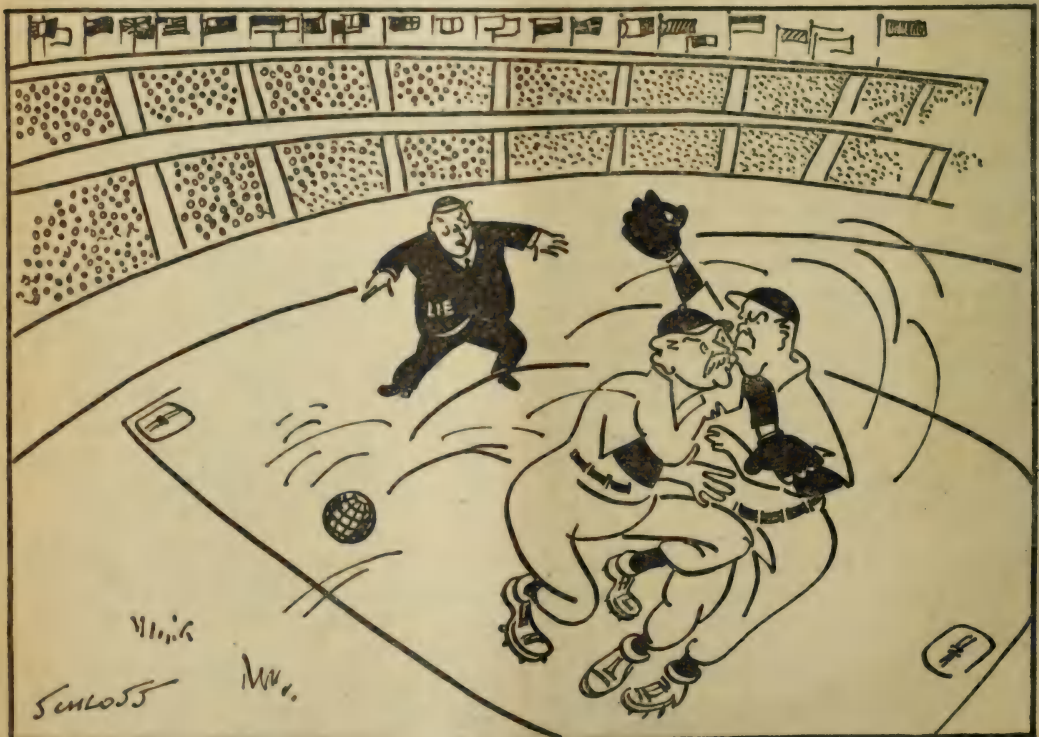
Most observers, discounting the greater part of the two speeches as propaganda for one side or the other, ask simply: can this power struggle be stabilized? Admitting that on Greece's northern frontier you have the dividing fence between two hostile giants, can some arrangement be arrived at so that they will not forever be getting into each other's hair. The Syrian delegate managed to shoot in a few sentences on Saturday when he said that everybody was getting pretty fed up with mutual recriminations and couldn't they be forgotten.

TO END on a more hopeful note, this morning Oscar Lange, delegate from Poland, made a significant speech which has been given strange play in the press. It is generally being interpreted as primarily an attack on the Marshall plan and on the tendency of the United

States to by-pass the United Nations. It is true that Lange made this attack, and might well have taken to heart Bidault's reminder that Russia and the eastern group withdrew voluntarily from the Paris conference and that the sixteen-nation accord represented a scheme of economic cooperation which might apply to all Europe.

But as a matter of fact, Bidault, Masaryk, and Lange all emphasized the same point—that Europe must find the means for rebuilding its economic life as a cooperative undertaking. Lange stressed the fact that Eastern and Western Europe's economies were complementary and that for one section to attempt to rebuild itself without the other was to labor under an almost unbearable handicap. The Polish delegate pointed out—and it took courage to do so—that Poland had trade relations with all European countries except Greece, Spain, and Portugal, and also traded with England, the United States, Canada, Argentina, and other overseas countries. He said that whereas right after liberation Poland's exports to the U. S. S. R. amounted to 93.4 per cent of its total exports, in 1947 they were only 43 per cent.

In spite of the political conflict, economic logic is so strong that East and West are cooperating. Lange's words have found receptive ears, and many delegates are going to press the question: What more can the United Nations do to meet the needs of hungry peoples?



WORLD SERIOUS

Hunger and Politics in Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, September

WITH next spring's general elections in mind, much is being said and written in Italy today about Socialist unity. The Action Party executive's recent decision to conclude an agreement with the Italian Socialist Party for the unification of all Socialist forces in a strong independent movement has highlighted a problem that first received attention when De Gasperi excluded the left from the government and chose to rule with the support of the conservative forces in Parliament. The internal situation has been getting worse ever since, for the government has revealed its intention to favor the well-to-do classes at the expense of the workers through an economic policy which encourages inflation and is completely inadequate to provide food and work.

A clear warning that Italy is heading toward inflation is seen in the fact that paper-money circulation increased from 402 billion lire on June 30, 1946, to 584 billion lire on June 30, 1947, and has now reached 640 billion lire. Discussing these figures, the Communist *Umanità* points out that "they show one thing only—that in spite of all assurances to the contrary and of the inclusion of well-known technicians in a political Cabinet, the financial policy of the government has simply been one of printing more and more money." The newspaper says further, "Certain well-known interests have nothing to fear from inflation, which will help them to strengthen their political grip on the country."

Never before have Italian liberals felt so strongly that direction of the government must be transferred to a party with a workable plan of economic and political reconstruction. The Socialist Party is thought best fitted for this task, being the most democratic of the three mass parties and the most independent of foreign pressure. But while the Socialists are willing to assume political leadership, they could not form a government at the present moment. The Christian Democrats are still the strongest single party in the Constituent Assembly, and with their extremely flexible policy can always manage to get a majority of votes. To take the initiative away from the Christian Democrats, the Socialists will have to gain a victory next spring at the general elections, and this they cannot hope to do if their forces remain divided.

Imperative as unity is, it will not be achieved without strong pressure from the rank and file. When the split took place in January of this year, it was caused

by the personal as well as political antagonisms among party leaders. Saragat and his friends alleged that the Socialist Party was subserviently following the Communist line, thus strengthening communism and weakening socialism. They proposed therefore to form a Socialist Party which, though not anti-Communist, would be free from Communist control. Other leaders had very different ideas. They said that the entente between the Socialists and Communists reflected the will of the working masses, and as proof they cited the last congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, at which the Italian Socialist Party received 1,037,866 votes as against 98,064 for the secessionists.

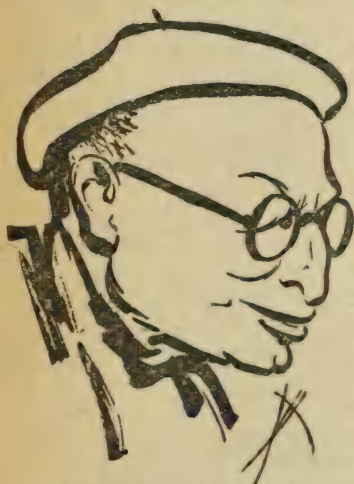
THE working people's thirst for unity is entirely understandable. They know that in a struggle with the left all conservative forces will fight as one man. Those forces are very strong. No division of the left can be tolerated so long as the right offers such a threat to the workers and farmers.

It is because they acknowledge the strength of the opposition that the Socialists have agreed to join all other progressive forces in a "popular front" at the elections, especially in those parts of Italy which are politically backward. In regions still terrorized by the "Mafia" and other gangsters serving the political interests of the land barons, citizens giving their votes to the left parties must always expect reprisals. A popular front would be a show of strength that would persuade the southern farmer he could vote for the party of his choice with impunity. The Communist Party has about two million members, representing with their families about one-fourth of the population. The Socialist Party has fewer members but can count on a large independent vote.

"Saragat's big mistake," a Socialist leader representing the right wing told me, "is to forget that ideologies are worthless if there is no force to back them up. In order to be independent of the Communists we should have to be actually stronger than they are. Recent events provide eloquent proof of what I say. At the Socialist Party congress held in Florence in June of last year the maneuvering and double talk of Saragat and his friends so discredited the party that a considerable number of workers, 100,000 according to *Avanti*, went over to the Communists. After the Rome congress of January, 1947, the split caused us to lose the presidency of the Constituent Assembly to a Communist and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to a Christian Democrat. The conservative and so-called independent press was overjoyed, and so was De Gasperi, who after two successive Cabinet crises

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was able to eliminate the left from the government. When a vote of confidence was asked for De Gasperi's 'black' government, nineteen out of fifty-four secessionist Socialist deputies abstained. This was clearly an invitation to De Gasperi to renounce the support of the right and form with them a left-of-center Cabinet which would exclude both the Communists and the regular Socialists. Now the Socialist Party has rallied its forces and is stronger than before the split. And what has Saragat achieved, besides strengthening the Communists and conservatives? His faction was refused recognition at



Drawn from life by Ernesto Valentino
Pietro Nenni

the congress of European Socialist parties held in Zurich last June. And at the meeting of the General Confederation of Labor held about the same time he was repudiated by the workers. Nor has he been able to win the support of the middle class, which is not attracted by Marxist socialism.*

This sharp com-

ment by a man who is certainly ideologically nearer to Saragat than to Nenni reveals the bitter feeling between the two factions.

THE Action Party's decision to conclude an agreement with the Socialists should have far-reaching results. "The ice has been broken," Italians say, and the problem of Socialist unity brought into the open, thus forcing the small parties to state their position.* The decision is all the more important because the Action Party has always been held in high esteem for its contribution to the Resistance and for the high moral and intellectual caliber of many of its members. The party's declaration of its intentions said that "the division of Socialist forces has offered the best opportunity to reactionary designs," and that only "a Socialist force which places itself at the

center of Italian public life and assumes the direction of all democratic elements can change the present disequilibrium and give democracy a firm basis." The Action Party, with a few reservations, the statement continued, believes that the Italian Socialist Party is the most fitting instrument for the realization of "a vast and efficient Socialist concentration."

The decision was arrived at after many debates and hesitations. In fact, on January 27, shortly after the Socialist split, the Action Party executive proposed to join forces with the secessionists for the creation of an autonomous Italian Socialist Party. Parleys were immediately initiated and had almost accomplished their purpose when a congress of the Action Party on March 31 unanimously decided that no effective socialist policy could be achieved without the cooperation of the old Italian Socialist Party. Finally, after the Socialist Party had received international recognition and shown evidence of solid support among the workers, the Action Party decided to go over to it.

At the coming congress of the Action Party the decision of the executive will find both supporters and opponents. Some will join the Socialists, others Saragat's secessionists; the rank and file may even go over to the Republican Party. But whatever the result, the leaders of the Action Party had sense enough to understand that the time of small parties is over. A small party must either back one of the mass parties nearest to it ideologically or dissolve. Other small parties have quite understandably been disturbed by the precedent established by the Actionists. Their game has been to eat their cake and have it too: to fight the right but not to support the left. Now most of them realize that the moment has come when they must make their choice.

The secessionists, however, confident of popular support at the next elections, remain intransigent. Socialist unity, they agree, is all very well, provided it is formed around their party. "Without last January's split," Saragat recently wrote, "we would have in Italy two Communist parties and no Socialist Party. The struggle for Socialist unity under such conditions would have had no chance of success: under present conditions it can bank on a solid nucleus represented by our party." To which argument Lelio Basso, secretary of the Socialist Party, retorted, "Politically our party represents in Italy the only Socialist force that has roots in the working classes, and without them there is no socialism. Not to understand this, to admit that there might be a Socialist Party dissociated from the working class, means, according to us, not to be Socialists."

The party that is causing so much agitation, the Communist Party, ended a long period of neutrality in the feud between the two Socialist factions when Togliatti, in his last speech, sharply attacked the secessionists. Clearly, the Communists fear the formation of a De Gas-

* A U. P. dispatch from Rome dated September 24 reported that six leftist parties, including the Communists, had agreed to vote against De Gasperi on a confidence motion in the Assembly; since then the right-wing Socialist leader, Saragat, has modified his stand, and in one of the mildest "opposition" speeches ever heard in Italy announced his whole-hearted support of the Marshall plan. The Communists, majority Socialists, Actionists, and Labor Democrats demand representation of the left—including the Communists—in the government.—EDITORS THE NATION.

peri-Saratag government and would oppose it vigorously. Such a government would be anti-Communist, and yet it would be difficult to label it "reactionary." The Communists would also dislike a Socialist Cabinet, because they are in competition with socialism. The per-

fect formula for them would be a Government of National Union, where many opposing forces would neutralize one another, thus giving the Communists greater power. They know that they have reached the apex of their strength and are now slowly declining.

The Gary School Strike

BY PAUL L. KLEIN

Gary, Indiana

STEEL sets the pattern"—not only in prices but in segregation. In 1906, when a United States Steel engineer laid out Gary, he thoughtfully plotted separate areas for Negroes and whites, and the Gary Land Company, a Steel subsidiary, enforced the policy. Gary now includes among its 130,000 citizens a higher proportionate number of Negroes than any other city north of the Mason and Dixon Line. Most of them were brought in by the steel companies.

Perhaps U. S. Steel fosters dissension between Negro and white workers in order to weaken the union; perhaps it would like the community to be occupied with racial conflicts while it quietly presses for its requested \$10,000,000 local tax cut, which will raise the average family's burden \$30 a year. Even if not guilty on these counts, U. S. Steel certainly created and has maintained the separateness and tension which three weeks ago flared once more into anti-Negro demonstrations. Race hatred has again hit the children of Gary. And make no mistake: it was the carefully nurtured property-devaluation boggy that scared up the Emerson School strike here.

White students in Gary have always attended the school in their home district; Negro pupils have been "allowed" to exercise an "option" to attend some other school. Last year the school board announced that, starting this fall, the "option" would be revoked for grammar-school students, and, later, for students of all ages.

As a result of the new policy, Emerson—with 1,800 students, the least crowded of all Gary's schools—was assigned thirty-eight colored children in grades up to the sixth. On opening day the high-school students struck. "No niggers for us!" they shouted. Immediately the school board declared it would stick to its ruling. For the first few days, while a few Negro-hating parents were injecting the children's ringleaders with fools' courage, the school authorities watched and waited; they

took no action, but threatened legal steps against the delinquents' parents under Indiana's new anti-hate law and under laws against contributing to truancy. During this period public opinion was being mustered against the race bigots. Urged on by the League of Women Voters and the C. I. O. Steelworkers, most of the civic organizations supported the board. (I was told that the spokesman for U. S. Steel in the Chamber of Commerce tried last year to prevent the chamber from giving its approval.)

It is heartening to note that although individual members of an organization are sometimes opposed to democratic principles, the organizations themselves, under public scrutiny, can be forced to come out for right and justice. This was particularly true of the religious groups in Gary. While many ministers lifted no hand or word against the strikers, the Deanery (Catholic), the Ministerial Association (Protestant), and the Council of Churches all spoke out. Among other groups which stood up to be counted were the Anselm Forum, with members drawn from Gary's fifty-odd nationalities and religions, the Bar Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the A. V. C. (the Legion and V. F. W. were silent), the P. C. A. (there is no local A. D. A.), the Chamber of Commerce, and the Communist Party. Particularly notable was the stand of the *Gary Post-Tribune*, the town's only daily. In a municipal-election year this Republican voice firmly supported the non-segregation policy proclaimed by the Democratic administration—a fact which forced Steel's Republican candidate also to express his approval. Perhaps highest praise of all should go to Mayor Joseph E. Finerty. When informed months ago that the policy would make political trouble for him, Finerty decided not to run again in November, thus obtaining a free hand to implement his school board's decision.

The strike reached its peak on Friday of the first week. Over the week-end an arrest was made under the state law, subpoenas were issued to the parents of strikers, and by Monday students were beginning to return. During this time the board continued to issue subpoenas. "The policy sticks," it announced, "and you are violating the law by keeping your children out." The

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parents' strike committee hired a lawyer; he, too, told them they must send their children back. By the following Monday—two weeks after school's opening—attendance was again normal.

WHAT factor was most immediately responsible for the strike? It is interesting to note that at no time was there any violence against colored pupils; this reinforces the conviction of most observers that fear of property devaluation, not of classroom association, motivated the strikers and their parents. Furthermore, attempts to get other schools to walk out failed.

Somewhere at the root of the disturbance is a man called Louis C. Christopher, now running for mayor. Christopher has a long and unsavory record: he is a leader of the Serbian National Federation, which is allied with the Slovak League, known during the war for its pro-Nazi stand. He is alleged to have instigated the similar Froebel School strike here two years ago. The anti-Negro parents' committee, which has voted to per-

petuate itself, is supporting Christopher's campaign for the mayoralty.

But attendance at committee meetings has dwindled, and funds are running low. Christopher seems to have no chance to be elected; nor is it likely that his intrusion into the race, as an independent, will throw the election to the steel industry's candidate. Counter-action has begun: the Steelworkers are about to launch a racial-education program, and other groups have similar plans. Moreover, in a few years the high schools, and later the electorate itself, will be composed of young men and women who are now children in the elementary grades and receiving a democratic, non-segregated education.

The most hopeful sign from Gary is that progressives have united to enforce a liberal policy. Also important, the bigots have been compelled to conduct the fight on the liberals' level, with legal and political weapons. But the fight is not yet won, and Gary cannot afford to relax.

La Guardia

BY JOSEPH LILLY.

IBELIEVE LaGuardia is understood most clearly if he is looked at as a Westerner. His most malleable years were spent as an army kid at a frontier post in Arizona, when Arizona was yet territory and the age of legend was fresh enough to be indistinguishable from truth. Like Westerners he also loved the fight for its own sake, the rougher the merrier. When he was in Europe as a young consular clerk he looked back to Arizona, not New York. New York consciously came later. Though he was born on the lower East Side he seemed to me to love New York as do others who come here pursuing careers—as a prize, precious and wonderful.

So deeply did he feel for the Plains farmer that he was a leader of the farm bloc while still Representative from Manhattan. Last year he was presented to a howling crowd of Minnesota wheat growers by their spokesman as "the best Congressman Minnesota ever had," and everybody there understood and applauded. His big Stetson was a symbol of cow puncher and Congressman combined, whether he intended it so or not.

People often talked about his faults, perhaps because he not only declined to hide his faults but made them

conspicuous, sometimes needlessly, deliberately, and wrongly. He wanted to be known accurately for what he was—no false colors. Nor did he conceal his deepest virtues. He spoke frankly of his love of domesticity, quiet, slippered domesticity, and its natural concomitant, children. He loved children unashamedly and without stint—all kinds, colors, and creeds. When he became Mayor the whole city became his paternal responsibility, to be nurtured, taught, developed, educated—and to be whacked when circumstances required. A patriarchal mayor, he hated with terrifying vigor anyone or anything, inside or outside the city, which in his opinion would injure New York or New Yorkers.

He was a bookish as well as a practical student of government, and he believed the final test of the democratic process was offered by the municipalities. When he became mayor, city government was at its nadir; when he left City Hall, not only was New York's pride restored but official capability had been rebuilt in many American cities. The countless physical and administrative transformations the city owes to him were nothing compared to this accomplishment—the result of his will and character.

But LaGuardia liked most being a Congressman. While mayor he often said he was happier in Washington and wished to return there. He was popular among Congressmen, too, and among departmental bureaucrats, which is rare indeed. The Norris-La Guardia Act was

JOSEPH LILLY, covered LaGuardia's first mayoralty campaign for the World-Telegram. In 1934 he was appointed assistant to the city comptroller and later president of the Tax Department.

his greatest legislative feat, but he was eternally involved in contests. His reelection was always difficult.

The summit of his career was a defeat. He met it a year ago, at Lake Success, when he failed to persuade the United Nations to replace UNRRA with a simpler, more compact organization that would be financed and operated internationally to reconstruct and feed Europe. Believing profoundly that the situation called for healing, not bickering, he protested bitterly against the use of food as a political instrument. He knew at first hand all the factors in the festering international equation.

An American, but a humanity-loving American, he was convinced that the decision to act nationally instead of internationally would deepen, perhaps irretrievably, the division between East and West. He warned explicitly against what is happening now and asserted boldly that if the nations could not agree on a method of saving the starving victims of the war, they could hardly be expected to agree on less simple matters. His speeches on the subject brought the most frigid diplomats to their feet in applause. Most of these, following instructions, voted in support of his idea, but the United States killed it.

LaGuardia's love for the United States was mature and at the same time school-boyish. I believe he would have undertaken almost any mission that any President of the United States assigned to him. Yet he had the moral courage to stand before the roster of the United Nations, defy his President, and accuse his government of doing exactly what everyone today can see it has done.

He had known in advance what position the United States delegation intended to take, and he fought as he had never fought before, by personal plea and by confidential letter, in public meeting, over the radio, by excitation of pressure groups, by button-holing delegates—in the hope that he could arouse public opinion and compel a change of heart in the State Department. There was a good response, but after two army C-47's were shot down by Tito's airmen, neither the American people nor the government could be wholly reasonable. These addresses of LaGuardia's are classics.

The election last year depressed him greatly, but he saw it also as the reaction that constantly recurs, an expression of post-war and post-Rooseveltian political exhaustion. He thought it would take many years for the liberal side to recover. He seriously considered the notion of an entirely new party, but thought it could not have much strength for a long time. However, his sense of political reality was very acute. He knew the danger of further dividing our people in an international crisis and how great were the technical difficulties of forming an effective third party.

Last year in Europe he was his buoyant, defiant self in every country where he found things amiss. He risked being denied the privilege of seeing the collective farms

of the Ukraine and the orphans' homes of Byelorussia, about which he had been most curious, by going into a Kilkenny fight with the Communist high command in Vienna. He had said the Russians should get out of Austria, allowing the other Allies to do likewise, and give the Austrians a chance. The Russians resented this advice, but LaGuardia felt it his duty to give it because feeding the Austrians was his problem.

The Constituent Assembly in Rome listened with close attentiveness to his long lecture on the way to form a democratic regime. He met banqueting Russians toast-for-toast in Kiev and managed to praise what he considered good in them in one end of a sentence that at its other end carried

a bare-knuckled reply to a remark he thought unfriendly to Uncle Sam. He came home very tired, then plunged into his great fight.

Hard-boiled, hard-bitten, rasp-tongued, he gloried in being considered a very tough guy, a ruthless fighter; yet he was the most sentimental, kindly, and gentle of men. When the pressure was on he thought little of keeping waiting important men whom he had dragged to come to his office, but he would drop everything to talk to a little girl about things that interested her. Whenever he went on trips he never failed to telephone his wife and their children. He hated to waste money on a needed new suit for himself, but he insisted upon his official right to pick up the check when he was out with people.

In his last active year, when he was in Washington pouring out his remaining energy in a herculean and hopeless effort to feed, clothe, and give material hope to several hundred million human beings who were victims of the war, he occasionally would complain of feeling old, which was quite unlike him. He rarely left his hotel suite at night—his family being in New York—and after the last messages and phone calls he would sometimes drowse off to sleep from sheer fatigue while he listened to a radio concert.

But in the morning he was the same old tiger, eyes narrow and blazing, demanding the impossible, insisting that it be done immediately, damning the enemies of his purpose, impatient that every assigned task was not accomplished at once. He knew no friend when the public interest was to be served.



Caricature by Seligson

LaGuardia in Action



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Gambling in Food

IT WOULD be unfair to assign the sole blame for the recent spurt in food prices to the commodity speculators, but the effect of their operations has been to supercharge an inflationary motor already running at racing speed.

The fundamental trouble, of course, is an unbalanced supply-demand situation for which basic responsibility must be divided between the war and the weather. Frost, flood, and drought beating on European fields long starved of fertilizer have had a devastating effect on crops. According to the latest reports, prospective wheat production on the Continent, excluding Russia, is below one billion bushels—20 per cent less than the yield of the poor 1946 harvest. And in many countries the important supplementary crops, such as potatoes, are proving disappointing.

The United States has reaped a record wheat crop, but spring floods and summer droughts have severely curtailed corn production, and further damage is threatened by early frosts. That means a shortage of feed at a time when home demand for meat, butter, eggs, and other animal products is far above pre-war levels. High prices for such commodities encourage farmers to hold their grain off the market and to divert wheat from human to animal consumption. Consequently, the price of wheat, despite the large crop and a 20 per cent reduction in allotments for export, has moved upward as rapidly as that of scarce corn. It appears that the total food supply in sight just isn't enough to satisfy American appetites at present income levels and to provide for Europe's minimum requirements. The answer may be that Americans should "eat less" as Senator Taft has put it, but with all controls abandoned, the only way that end seems likely to be achieved is rationing by price. That has two consequences: (1) the burden of reduced consumption is placed on the low-income groups, whose diet is already below full health standards; (2) foreign nations, competing for grain against American purchasers of steak, find their scarce dollars exchanging for smaller and smaller quantities of food.

This tragic situation has not been made by speculators, but it is made for them, and in taking advantage of it they render it worse. The classic defense of speculation in commodity futures is that it tends to moderate the swings of the market. Under normal conditions that is possibly true, but in times of either marked glut or severe famine the activities of the commodity gamblers lead to a gross exaggeration of price movements. When the bears beat down prices, producers are apt to become panic-stricken and to throw their commodities on the market for fear they will become worthless; when, as today, the bulls are in the ascendancy and bidding quotations up and up, farmers are tempted to hold back their produce, causing a further shrinkage in visible

supplies to serve as an excuse for still higher prices. So, while in the long run speculation may not greatly affect average prices, in the short run it causes distortions in the supply-demand picture and places heavy strains on the whole economy.

It is now twenty-five years since the passage of the Commodity Exchange Act, which provided for federal regulation of commodity markets. In that period certain former abuses have been ended, or at least checked. The more flagrant varieties of price manipulation have been outlawed, and limitation of commitments and other restrictions on large traders have made the "cornering" of markets nearly impossible. But as J. M. Mehl, head of the Commodity Exchange Administration, remarked recently, federal regulation "does not extend to such important matters as margins and price fluctuation limits, even though these may constitute an effective means of curbing excessive speculative activity and unwarranted price movements."

In the stock markets margins are fixed by the Federal Reserve authorities and since early in 1946 have stood at 75 per cent of the purchase price—a rate which has certainly served to discourage gambling. The commodity markets, however, determine their own margins, and they have been kept relatively low. On September 11, following criticisms by Republican Senators and others, the Chicago Board of Trade raised requirements on corn and wheat but only from 35 to 45 cents a bushel. Thus by putting up \$4,500 a speculator can still buy for future delivery 10,000 bushels of wheat valued, as of September 24, at over \$26,000. No wonder that gamblers who have been frozen out of stock trading by the present stiff margin rules have flocked to the commodity markets.

Seeking mitigation of "the ravages of the speculative fever and the chills and shakes that follow," Mr. Mehl has requested—he cannot order—the Chicago Board of Trade to raise margins on grain deals to at least one-third of the selling price. His plea has been echoed by Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, and Senator Flanders, chairman of a Congressional subcommittee investigating prices, has demanded 100 per cent margins. More recently members of this same group wired the President urging the Administration to use every means in its power to restrain commodity speculation, which "is accentuating market fluctuations instead of decreasing them." They added: "It is incredible that so large operations in the necessities of life should be permitted on such small cash margins."

It is indeed, but the directors of the Chicago Board of Trade have so far shown no sign of taking action. They know that without further legislation the Administration is powerless, and they are fully aware that Congress is not anxious to interrupt its vacation for this or any other reason. For instance, on September 13 Senator Irving M. Ives declared (1) that unless "the wild speculation in grain and other food stops, the Administration or Congress or both will have to take some action; (2) that he saw no reason for a special session. As long as our legislators take so lackadaisical a view of their duties, we are unlikely to see any voluntary action to curb gambling in food taken by the commodity exchanges, whose members profit handsomely from boiling markets."

A Special Supplement of ^{THE}Nation

PALESTINE *and* *the* MIDDLE EAST

Power Politics Spells War

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

What Price Arab Oil?

BY I. F. STONE

Egypt's Bid for Power

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Palestine and the Middle East

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

A LOOK at the map on this page puts the Palestine issue, now before the General Assembly of the Nations, in its true context. There you see a small sliver of land wedged between the sea and the immense territory that comprises what is conveniently if rather inaccurately known as the "Arab world." The sliver is Palestine, and its future will be determined by the pressures and interests that dominate the eastern Mediterranean and the Arab states. To understand the fierce debate that has centered on Palestine for the past twenty-five years and is reaching its culmination at Flushing Meadow Park this week, one must go far beyond the claims and counter-claims of Zionists and Arabs. It is necessary to understand something about the political and economic development of the whole Arab world and above all to grasp the meaning of the struggle for power in the Middle East. The fate of Jews and Arabs alike depends upon the balance of forces and the strategies employed in that struggle.

Persons unacquainted with the Middle East are likely to apply to the area political concepts to which they are accustomed at home—concepts of sovereignty, of party and class, of constitutional structure. This tendency has led to many misconceptions. It has, for example, inclined Western-

ers to give too much weight to arguments based on national divisions, too little to those arising from communal relationships. It has overemphasized the sovereign identity of states; minimized the importance of religious minorities or of tribes or classes which may be moved less by a sense of nationality than of kinship or a common faith. One of the most important facts to realize is the absence, in the Arab world, of any dominant sentiment of unity. So-called Arab "nationalism" is a force, but it is not nationalism at all in the Western sense—since it may lead Syrian tribesmen to raid Jewish settle-

ments in Palestine—but rather an emotion that can be aroused in opposition to supposed infringements by outsiders of religious or communal rights and traditions.

Throughout the Middle East the chief unifying factor in Arab affairs has been the pressure of external interests; while the social, economic, communal, and sectarian organization of Arab life has consistently made for division and even conflict. In fact, the divergences in religious belief, in tradition, and in economic activity have done more to separate the Arab peoples than their language has served to unite them. Sometimes the differences are so great as to make impossible a stable society within a single political framework.



The failure of the pan-Arab movement generated during the First World War was variously ascribed to the "divide and rule" policy of Great Britain, to Zionism, and to the rivalry between France and Britain. This was fortunate for the Arab leaders since it absolved them from the necessity of searching for the causes of failure within the movement itself. The truth is that England and France did more to unify the Arabs, whether purposely or not, than to sow dissension among them. The unity was, one must admit, mainly of a temporary and artificial character, furthered for reasons of expediency, but the resulting organization of Arab forces, unstable as it is, has created the illusion of an integral Arab nationalism.

Under Turkish rule the Arab world was never a self-contained area. Variations of climate and geography gave rise to very different economies which produced different religious and political orders. Bedouins were spread over three-quarters of the Ottoman Empire; they still form a large part of the population of Iraq, Syria, and Transjordan and a majority in Saudi Arabia. Among these nomad peoples themselves one finds diversity, but the Bedouin way of life has certain common characteristics that have influenced the whole area. Sharper contrasts developed between Bedouins and the people settled in towns or on the land, contrasts more striking than the similarities of religion and speech.

Even in the cultivated areas are groups maintaining a separate entity based upon tribal ties. The persistence of the feudal relationship among families and tribes of the Nuseiris, Isma'ilis, Matawalis, and Druzes, for example, has led to their continued existence in the settled parts of Syria as self-contained communities. So too the Christians, especially the Maronites in the Lebanon, have produced societies whose religious and political organization, education, and standard of living set them apart, not only from the Bedouins and the more primitive elements among the peasants and townfolk, but from their own social counterparts in such typically Arab cities as Homs, Hama, and Damascus. In many respects those ancient towns have maintained their character as "caravan cities," natural centers of a regional economy marked by a slow cultural development. By contrast, the Zionist enterprise in Palestine has not only re-created the historic Jewish character of that region, but has given a new direction and speed to its evolution.

The continued dominance of communal and tribal ways of life largely control the political behavior of the Middle East. Divided by national boundaries—often

foreign-made—organized as kingdoms or republics, the Arab world is still ruled mainly by religious or family hierarchies whose power is not related to the formal constitution or geographical limits of the state.

AGAINST such a background, what is the prospect of a successful, progressive pan-Arab movement, such as the members of the League of Arab States like to picture? Clearly no real unification can take place until economic changes modify existing social contrasts and level up the general standard of life. As long as the economy of the region remains so backward in its overall development, as long as the divisions among the Arab peoples prevent common action for any end, we must expect the survival of government by local notables and tribal leaders—a mixture of theocracy and feudal oligarchy. Only something like social revolution will make possible a real integration of the Arab peoples.

The hope of such fundamental change rests not with the Mufti and other Führers of the Arab League but with those men who have made the blueprints for an economic renaissance of the Middle East through the development of its natural resources. Almost inevitably this development must find its start in Palestine, where the Jewish pioneers have already shown the way toward social and political regeneration. The zeal and scientific intelligence which have brought life to the arid hills of Judea and the desert of the Negev can be applied with equal effect to the huge areas to the east and north. Water and modern techniques are what the region needs to lift its peoples out of apathy and ignorance and the primitive political systems that breed in economic stagnation.

But all the fruitful plans of reclamation will founder if the great Western nations, in pursuit of power or security, continue to subsidize the greedy ambitions of Arab politicians. This is a formula for preserving decadence in an area that desperately needs to be brought into the modern world. So in the end we come back to the overshadowing fact of power politics, the struggle for dominance in a strategic area. In this struggle the happiness of peoples becomes a side issue.

The prospect of a solution that rises above considerations of power to a broader concept of peace and stability rests now with the United Nations. The report of the U. N. Special Committee on Palestine provides a sober and judicious basis for decision. It is a high responsibility of the General Assembly to study the recommendations of the committee in the context of the whole situation in the Middle East—the prospect of a slowly emerging democratic society, the possibility of economic and agricultural development, the needs of the Arab peoples as opposed to the demands of their rulers, and finally the rights of the Jews, both those established on the land of Palestine and those still detained in the dismal camps of Germany and Austria.

Power Politics Spells War

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, September 16

WHILE the overriding principles of policy in Southeastern Europe and the Middle East have not changed save in detail, a different pattern of rivalries is now to be found there. French influence in the Levant has been largely destroyed; Italian colonial ambitions have been broken to pieces; and it is a reasonable assumption that, for the next decade at any rate, the German *Drang nach Osten* has no possibility of revival. Now it is Great Britain and the United States on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other which maneuver for predominance in this vital area. When the professional rhetoric of the statesmen and the diplomats has been penetrated, the objectives remain what they were before 1939—the strategic positions which permit the effective use of air and sea power, for attack or for the defense of communications, and which insure the control of oil.

Mr. Bevin's policy in this area has turned solely upon these two considerations. Apart from some declamatory phrases about democratic institutions in Greece and the need to raise the standard of living in Arab countries, at no point has he made a decision which would have enabled the observer to infer that he was Foreign Secretary in a Socialist government elected by an overwhelming majority of the people of Great Britain to carry out a Socialist policy. On the contrary, had his decisions in this area been made by a Tory Foreign Secretary, they would surely have been denounced in the House of Commons by the men who are now his colleagues.

The person at the head of the Foreign Office has changed; the foundations of the policy have remained unchanged for fifty years. Keep a friendly Greece so as to dominate the eastern Mediterranean. A friendly Greece is necessary as a safeguard of Malta and Cyprus, both of them vital air and naval bases, and to protect Egypt, which is the gateway to the Suez Canal and therefore the keystone of the arch of British eastern communications. On control of this region depend access to the oil of the Middle East and the significance of the Persian Gulf as a dagger directed at the heart of Caucasian

Russia. That is why Mr. Churchill may be said, for all serious purposes, to have invaded Greece. That is why Mr. Bevin has maintained an army of occupation there. That is why, as economic pressure and Socialist opinion have forced Mr. Bevin to withdraw British troops, President Truman is beginning to take over his responsibilities. Under cover of democratic formalities reaction is maintained in power lest the Greek government fall into Communist hands and Greece become another Russian satellite in Southeastern Europe. The new Sophoulis-Tsaldaris government was manufactured by the unwearied efforts of the American Minister to Athens and Mr. Loy Henderson of the State Department. None of us knows what kind of government the Greek people really want. What they are going to get is a government approved in Downing Street and Washington, with the understanding that America now accepts financial responsibility for its safety and may have to accept military responsibility, too.

It was inevitable that the Second World War should reopen the issue of Anglo-Egyptian relations. What is at stake is not merely the British right to maintain troops in the canal zone but the future of the Sudan. It is difficult, however, to see why Great Britain should now feel any concern about the canal; obviously air power makes it virtually useless for shipping if the enemy can attack in serious strength. The problem of the Sudan is far more complex. There is a theoretical Egyptian sovereignty. There is no satisfactory evidence either way of what the inhabitants of the Sudan would themselves prefer. But I believe it is certain that Egypt, under the government of an ambitious and semi-fascist king and a corrupt oligarchy of rich effendi who have shown no interest in the condition of the Egyptian masses, would undo what good the British have attempted to do in the last fifty years. The British have, by treaty, the right to maintain their present position until 1986; and there is, I think, no reason to suppose that the Foreign Office will move beyond the offer—on the whole a reasonable one—which led Egypt to go before the Security Council.

THE other Arab countries raise far clearer issues. They have probably the richest known oil deposits in the world, and these are all worked under concession by British or American companies which pay subsidies to Arab princes. The oil is fundamental to both air and naval power. Great Britain or America or both must have military control of the region, partly to guard the pipe lines and partly to be in a position to move against Russia directly—as a major power astride the Middle

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at the University of London, was formerly chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party. This is the first of a series of articles written exclusively for *The Nation*. It will be followed by "America—World Power No. 1"; "Europe—Is It Done For?"; "Russia—Fact and Fancy."

East could do, especially if Turkey should prove friendly. Military control of the Middle East is, moreover, the only way in which Anglo-American interests in Persian oil could be protected from Russian attack.

That is why Great Britain, under Mr. Eden, called into being the Arab League, which is a method of assuring British predominance in the external relations of the Arab states; Britain was to give them military defense against possible attack from without and against any internal disturbance which might jeopardize the oil concessions or the pipe lines. That is why the Chamberlain government, in the spring of 1939, sacrificed the whole purpose of the British Mandate in Palestine to the policy of appeasing the Arabs. That is why Mr. Churchill's government, during the war, maintained the status thus announced, despite Arab treachery in Iraq and Syria. That is why Mr. Bevin persuaded his Labor colleagues, with one minor variation, to break every pledge they had made to the Jews up to polling day in the general election of 1945.

The alliance of a technologically advanced power with reactionary interests in a medieval country is one of the best-known examples of the imperialist pattern. Almost every argument that Mr. Bevin has advanced in defense of his policy in Palestine is plainly nonsense as soon as it is seriously examined. It is nonsense to say that to carry out Labor's pledges to the Jews would throw the Arab states into the arms of Russia. No one knows better than the Arab ruling classes that their authority would be completely destroyed as soon as they came under Russian patronage, quite apart from the fact that Russia could only move in as their protector after being victor in a major war; Great Britain and the United States would not allow themselves to be evicted from these oil fields without fighting. It is nonsense to say that fulfilment of the pledges to the Jews would mean an Arab rising of important dimensions. First of all, such deep disagreement divides the Arab states that they would not effectively cooperate. Secondly, not one of them has the equipment for modern warfare that would enable it to last for a fortnight against Great Britain. Thirdly, though there might well be an *émeute* in Palestine, and even armed infiltration into it from other Arab territories, the whole thing would be nothing more than a big police operation if the Palestinian government, under its British aegis, handled the situation firmly and admitted that the Jews had the right to defend themselves. The argument, fourthly, that fighting in Palestine might affect either or both of the new dominions of Pakistan and India is adequately answered, by saying that both these dominions have sufficient problems of their own to handle without taking on the troubles of the Arab states.

The truth is that Jewish immigration into Palestine on any large scale means material progress there. This

has repercussions over the whole of the Middle East; and it will in the long run produce a situation fatal to the functionless Arab lords whom Great Britain maintains in power as the easiest form of insurance for its oil supplies. That in the process the Arab masses are condemned to be a mainly illiterate, poverty-stricken, and disease-ridden sacrifice is excused by the fact that outside Palestine itself the Arab states are now theoretically sovereign—and members of the United Nations—and therefore it would not be fitting for Great Britain to interfere in their domestic affairs. The main thing is to be sure of the oil. The present pattern of power makes Great Britain sure of the oil. Anything else is of minor importance.

LET me say here with emphasis that behind this British pattern is the profound conviction of American support. I know that American public opinion has been deeply and sincerely hostile to Mr. Bevin's policy in Palestine and its tragic consequences. I know, too, that President Truman has consistently asked for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees from Europe into Palestine. Nevertheless, it is important to bear two things in mind. First, as Bartley Crum has pointed out, any American action in behalf of the Jews, whether under President Roosevelt or President Truman, has always been followed by private assurances from the State Department to the Arab rulers that such action was merely a gesture to which they need attach no serious importance. And, secondly, America has now so vital a stake in Middle Eastern oil that the State Department and the Defense Department in Washington are as haunted by Russian ghosts as their opposite numbers in Whitehall. Mr. Bevin likes to say that if Great Britain withdrew from the Middle East, there would be a large vacuum which someone must fill; he wants the British public to feel the proper Kiplingesque shudder at the prospect of Russia filling it. The simple truth is that nothing except complete breakdown would compel Great Britain to create the vacuum; and if it did, it would have made arrangements for the United States to fill it.

The situation at which we have arrived is, in its large outlines, a simple one. All over the world the United States is organizing what forces it can manipulate in an all-out effort to prevent the expansion of Russian power. As part of that effort predominance in the Middle East is essential; that is why there is so large an American fleet in the Mediterranean. (The United States appears to hope to base this fleet in Italian ports if agreement from the Italian government can be obtained, which is likely if the De Gasperi government remains in power.) In this area it has the full cooperation of Mr. Bevin. The Truman loans to Greece and Turkey are an integral part of this policy; their purpose is to strengthen the two states as barriers against a Russian approach to the Medi-

terranean. This effort must in its turn be fitted into the Marshall plan, which seems likely to offer long-term aid to the Western European states on condition that they stand firm against any understanding with Russia and accept the desirability of rebuilding western Germany on the basis of "free enterprise." The real effect of the policy is the division of the world into two groups, with the United States containing Russia and its allies from bases on every side of the Soviet sphere of influence.

THE report of the United Nations Committee of Inquiry on Palestine leaves both the United States and Great Britain in a very difficult position. The minority plan would for all practical purposes make the future of the Jewish "national home" impossible; an attempt to carry it out would be resisted, intelligently enough, by Haganah as a betrayal of the pledges made in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The majority report offers real prospect of a solution, but at the price of ill-will toward Great Britain and the United States on the part of the Arab ruling class, a good deal of Arab rioting, and a threat not only to the existing oil refineries and the pipe lines but to the continuance of the present leases, especially in Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

These are troubled waters in which, at the Assembly, the Russians have the chance of fishing with great enjoyment. If the majority report is accepted, Mr. Bevin clearly loses whatever is left of the reputation he so fanatically staked on his ability to solve the Palestine problem. He has to evacuate some eighty to ninety thousand troops in a brief period; and in the face of Arab hostility he has to work out where British troops are to be placed in the Middle East to fill that "vacuum" which he so fears. The American government must balance delicately between a public opinion which quite rightly thinks that the Jews have been treated with grave injustice by Mr. Bevin—his decision to take the 4,400 Exodus refugees to Germany is the unbelievable climax of his errors and prejudices—and its own anxiety about the future of the oil supplies in these richest of known reserves.

This is what power politics have led the world to face. Every human reality in the Middle East has been neglected in a vast and dishonest jockeying for strategic preponderance and oil. The continuance of power politics is bound to bring continuing deterioration in international relations. The United States will aid anti-Communist efforts everywhere in order to weaken Russian policy in this region. Russia, in return, will create as many difficulties as possible for the United States. In its endeavor to check the spread of socialism, which it regards as hardly distinguishable from communism, America may break the Labor government by offering it economic assistance on impossible terms and cause divisions in France and Italy so deep that civil war must follow.

YET there is another way, and I may be permitted to emphasize that it is an American way. That way is, through the medium of the United Nations, to organize the whole of the Middle East, including Persia, in gigantic and related systems built upon the model of the TVA, with modifications suggested by the Lilienthal plan for atomic energy. There would be, to give three examples, a Persian Authority, a Jordan Valley Authority, and a Euphrates Valley Authority. Each of them would be governed by a commission, appointed by the United Nations, on which Persia, the Arab states, and the Jews would have their appropriate representation. To



Courtesy of Ha'aretz (Jerusalem)

these commissions would be transferred the oil concessions which are the core of the present difficulties. Each would be in charge not only of the oil in its area but also of irrigation and power schemes. Each would pay a fixed annual sum of reasonable proportions to those who own the concessions, like Ibn Saud, and would sell oil freely to any customer able to buy it. After the payment of administrative charges the profits would be devoted to the modernization of the Middle East.

I am aware that this will be a blow at the immense power of the small class which lives richly from the exactions of Arab feudalism; the answer surely is that nothing less will make it possible for the exploited masses to emerge from their misery. I am aware, too, that it will be a blow to the complex of oil interests which now, under the patronage of their respective governments, are the major source of the reaction and unrest in this area. The obvious answer, again, is that it is far more important to take steps to safeguard the peace of the

world than to protect a form of predatory capitalism which has had an almost continuously ugly and evil history. If it be said that such an approach invades the sovereignty of half a dozen states, some of them members of the United Nations, the plain answer, as every honest man knows, is that their sovereignty is a hypocritical pretense; they are simply a theater for the maneuvers of the three great powers for predominance, and their poverty-stricken masses are the outstanding victims of those maneuvers.

As the Assembly's debate comes into view, the Middle Eastern question, with that of Greece, which can-

not be separated from it, is the test of whether the United Nations has some reality or is the fig leaf used by governments to conceal their hypocrisy from their weary people. It is useless to talk of a universal passion for peace if no government takes any steps to organize the conditions in which peace is possible. "Absolutely everybody is in favor of peace in general," wrote Lenin in 1915, "including Kitchener, Joffre, Hindenburg, and Nicholas the Bloody, for everyone wishes to end the war." That is very much the situation in the world today. Everyone wants peace and understanding—provided it is on his terms.

What Price Arab Oil?

BY I. F. STONE

UNTIL the Gromyko speech on Palestine at the United Nations last May, the principal boggy trotted out against a pro-Jewish solution in the Holy Land was that it would drive the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union is also on record for partition—if a bi-national state is rejected—and the satisfaction of Jewish national aspirations, the new boggy is that in the event of such a solution the Arabs would refuse to sell us their oil. Firmly imbedded in American thinking at the moment is the notion that Arabian oil is necessary to national safety. The corollary is that to offend the Arabs is to lose the oil.

That the shrewd Pashas and acquisitive merchant capitalists of the Middle East might commit themselves to Stalin and Marx in sheer self-destroying pique, inviting in the social revolution, rather than see a small strip of Middle Eastern littoral go to the Jews puts a considerable strain on credulity. It is equally fantastic to believe that native ruling classes and monarchs would give up a rich source of funds for similar reasons. What would they do with their oil? Use it as lubricant for camels?

Little is known of the extent to which oil interests have determined State Department attitudes on Palestine. The strategic situation of the Middle East makes it a crucial area in world politics irrespective of oil, and the general undercurrent of State Department policy toward Jewish aspirations in Palestine would be hostile even if there were no oil in the area. One suspects that oil is rather an additional argument than a conclusive factor within the department.

Some light is thrown on intra-departmental fears and controversies by Herbert Feis's "Seen from E. A.," a wryly philosophic memoir of the author's work as adviser on international economic affairs in the department. Feis says at one point: "Arab opposition to further Jewish

immigration into Palestine might express itself in a repudiation of existing American and British rights and a search for Russian protection in such measures." But what the Arab rulers want is dollars, not socially hazardous "protection" from Moscow, and Feis concludes that such a move is "highly unlikely."

Just how unlikely it is may be seen from the dispatches sent back to the *New York Times* last year by C. L. Sulzberger, one of the very few American newspaper correspondents ever to visit Saudi Arabia. In the *Times* of November 28, 1946, cabling from Dhahran, Sulzberger reported that although Ibn Saud "has been irritated with the question [of Palestine], the King told one Aramco [Arabian-American Oil Company] executive that rumors that he might withdraw the oil concessions because of American support of the Zionists were 'hot wind.'" On December 4, in a cable from Hadda, Saudi Arabia, Sulzberger, after seeing the King, told of Ibn Saud's correspondence with President Truman and said, "Despite the differences that have arisen in their respective points of view over Palestine, however, King Ibn Saud has never even considered canceling or voiding the oil concessions that are being developed in this country by United States companies."

It is also interesting to note a bit of history disclosed by Feis. He says that in the late autumn of 1945 Ibn Saud was offered but rejected a \$25,000,000 advance from the Export-Import Bank. The reason was not American support of Zionism but a far more cagy and practical matter, "a phrase in the contract drawn up by the lawyers of the bank that Ibn Saud construed as requiring a pledge of oil royalties toward repayment." The following spring came the report of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine and widespread American support of its conclusions. "These," Feis says, "did not

deter the arrangement in August of a ten-million-dollar credit 'to modernize Saudi Arabian transport and agriculture.'" This reluctance to let anti-Zionist principles impede profitable monetary transactions may explain the significant vagueness of the Arab Office spokesman in London who on September 22 threatened "a complete economic and cultural break" with Europe and America if the United Nations should attempt to partition Palestine. When asked whether this might mean withdrawal of American and British oil concessions, the spokesman said only that it "might." One suspects that in Arabic, as in Latin, *pecunia non olet*.

THAT Middle Eastern oil is cheap and plentiful is not to be doubted. That money is to be made on its exploitation is clear. That the United States faces an oil famine without Arabian sources of supply is, however, more than dubious. An oil-famine scare was drummed up after the last war to enable American companies to muscle in on Iraq oil, and a similar scare has accompanied the more recent move into Saudi Arabia. As far back as 1916 Mark L. Requa, later general director of the oil division of the United States Fuel Administration, warned in a report to the Senate that our oil resources would be exhausted within a decade and that the United States was threatened with "commercial vassalage" for lack of petroleum. But after two world wars and the mass production of the automobile, the United States today has higher proved reserves than ever before in its history. The Committee on Reserves of the American Petroleum Institute reported recently that "in each and every year since 1936, with the single exception of 1943, the total of new additions to reserves has exceeded production during the same year. In 1943 we drew on our reserves for 1¼ per cent of total production." At the end of 1945 estimated proved reserves were 59.4 per cent higher than in 1936. Reserves were 12½ per cent greater after the war than in 1939.

The United States is a long way from an oil famine. There is much progress to be made in the rate of extraction; until recently the industry got little better than 20 or 30 per cent of the oil in any field; today at least 50 per cent can be obtained, and in some fields the yield is as much as 80 per cent. Petroleum yields about 40 per cent of gasoline, but newer cracking processes can step this up to 80 or 100 per cent if necessary. By hydrogenation—the addition of hydrogen—it is possible to obtain more than one gallon of gas from a gallon of petroleum. There is a wide margin of quality improvement possible. And, finally, much oil prospecting remains to be done. At present we have developed about 8,000 square miles of oil fields. Wallace Pratt of Standard Oil, one of the country's foremost geologists, estimates that there is an area of about 1,700,000 square miles in which geological considerations make it reasonable to assume that

oil may yet be found. Past experience leads geologists to believe that at least 1 per cent of this vast territory should provide oil. That would add 17,000 square miles to the 8,000 square miles already in production.

The experience of the last war, when the rich oil-bearing lands of the Dutch East Indies fell in one swoop to the Japanese, and Hitler almost succeeded in seizing the oil territories of the Soviet Union and the Middle East, should have taught us the danger of depending on distant sources of supply. From all I can gather in Washington today, military planners are operating on the reasonable assumption that in the event of a war with the Soviet Union we should be unable to hold the oil regions of the Middle East. The best we could do would be to damage the fields as much as possible before withdrawing. It would be far cheaper and safer to develop sources of petroleum at home than to stake too much on distant sources of "cheap" oil that is cheap only when one does not consider the cost of their protection.

The last annual report of the Secretary of the Interior on the progress of the liquid-synthetic-fuels program of the Bureau of Mines shows how close we are to commercial exploitation of coal or shale for gasoline. The report said that new research developments now place the cost of producing gasoline from coal or shale at from 7½ to 9½ cents a gallon, only a few cents higher than current costs of extracting gasoline from petroleum. The figures do not include profit or interest on investment but neither do they reflect large-scale operations. "At the present rate of research progress," Dr. R. R. Sayers, director of the Bureau of Mines, declared, "production of synthetic petroleum products on a commercial basis is possible within a few years." An investment of far less than will be spent on sea and air forces to protect Middle Eastern oil could bring this about at any time.

The Department of the Interior estimates, encouraging as they are, have already been made obsolete by a recent discovery. Dr. Gustav Egloff, research director of the Universal Oil Company, told the petroleum division of the American Chemical Society in New York on September 17 of a startling new development. It appears that shale contains 200 grams of uranium a ton, or a ton of uranium oxide to each 5,000 tons of shale. Sweden is already extracting both uranium and oil from shale and has spent \$35,000,000 on a commercial plant. The possibility of obtaining uranium from shale means that oil may turn out to be a by-product obtainable at a price less than that of gasoline from petroleum. American shale deposits are estimated to contain 100 billion barrels of oil, or five times present proved reserves of petroleum in the United States and four times those in the Middle East. The uranium-shale development indicates that oil will grow more plentiful and cheaper in the United States as we come closer to the age of atomic power, which will ultimately make gasoline a subsidiary fuel.

THIS is not an argument against developing Middle Eastern oil; in a peaceful world there is a virtually unlimited market for additional energy sources. One set of vivid figures may show just how much more power the world could absorb. In 1946 the annual per capita demand for gasoline in the United States was 571 gallons as compared with 95 gallons in the Western Hemisphere outside the United States and 14 gallons in the Eastern Hemisphere. To millions of human beings now little better than beasts of burden, wider use of material energies would bring new life and emancipation. The purpose of this analysis is not to disparage the great contribution Arab oil resources may make to the world, and should make with attendant benefit to the peoples of the

Middle East. Its purpose is to indicate (1) that Arab oil is not a life-and-death matter for the United States, (2) that the Palestine problem can be solved without reference to it, (3) that the whole question of Middle Eastern oil may be approached without panic or dog-in-the-manger frenzy. For without some such statesman-like and magnanimous approach as the proposal for an international Middle Eastern oil authority which was outlined to the United Nations last July by the International Cooperative Alliance, a purely unnecessary struggle for oil between the United States and Britain on one side and the U. S. S. R. on the other will make life miserable for both Jew and Arab in the Middle East and may set the world aflame.

The Land and the People

BY W. C. LOWDERMILK

CIVILIZATION is running a race with famine. The issue is still in doubt, and the challenge must be met by the statesmen and farmers of all nations. For hungry people do not keep treaties, or keep the peace; neither will they stay within their own borders. Food enough for all people is the first requisite for peace.

Palestine brings into bold relief the chief problem before the world today, which is to meet the food needs of rapidly growing populations by reclaiming damaged and neglected land areas. Palestine also suggests the solution. A Jordan Valley irrigation and power project such as I proposed some years ago, along the lines of the TVA, would be a demonstration of how the eroded and arid lands of the entire Middle East could be restored to fertility. The project has been worked out in detail by competent engineers and declared feasible. It should not cost more than \$250,000,000, a sum which could be paid off in fifty years at 3 per cent interest. The scheme is financially sound, and it would enable Palestine to absorb several million more people—all the displaced persons who want to go there.

The findings of the world food survey made in 1946 by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations are startling. Even before the war, in 1939, more than half the people of the world were undernourished. Only a third enjoyed an adequate diet. Since

the war the situation has become steadily worse. The phenomenal growth of the world's population in recent times—from 545,000,000 to 2,250,000,000 in the last three hundred years—makes it imperative to raise the productivity of the limited crop lands.

A study of land use in twenty-seven countries, including the so-called cradles of civilization in the Far and Middle East, showed me that where man has lived longest in organized societies, there, with a few notable exceptions, the land is in worst condition. Civilization is not yet a complete success. It tends to mine out the very basis of its existence. Moreover, the best lands are already under cultivation, and it appears that the cultivated area of the earth can be increased by only about 8 per cent. There are no more continents to discover, explore, and exploit. All we can do is develop what we have.

For this reason the Jewish agricultural-industrial settlements have a special meaning for a land-hungry and food-hungry world. The Jewish colonists in Palestine have done the finest work I have seen on four continents. In a country of feudalistic landlords and exploited peasantry they have accomplished the most successful colonization of modern times and demonstrated that the future offers even greater possibilities.

With faith and devotion born of long tradition the Jewish colonists have drained deadly malarial swamps and transformed them into fruitful fields and orchards. They have controlled soil erosion on 7 per cent of the land of Palestine, all they have been permitted to buy under the White Paper. They have repaired ancient terraces and built new ones to hold the soil on slopes. They have planted these to vineyards and olive groves as of old. They have practiced scientific farming. They have introduced many new varieties of fruits, vegetables,

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and dairy and poultry breeds to supplant or improve local varieties. Through scientific management of the bee industry they have obtained several million additional pounds of honey annually. After centuries of deterioration under Arab occupation and the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine has been re-created as a "land flowing with milk and honey." Trees have been planted by the million on rocky and eroded hills; shifting sand dunes have been pinned down and turned into orchards or thriving poultry farms. Chemicals have been extracted from long unknown sources in the Dead Sea and sent to distant markets.

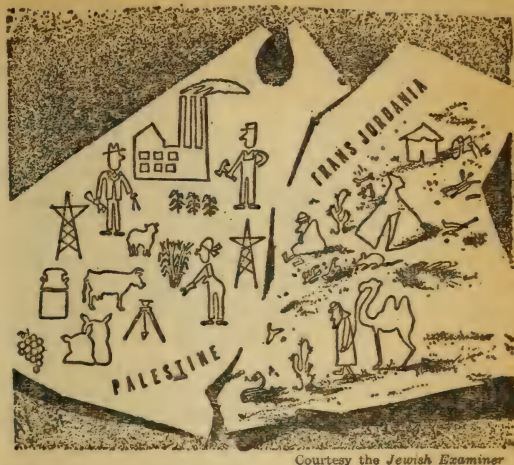
I studied many of the 318 Jewish agricultural colonies and found that they have worked out an adjustment of people to land that should interest the world at large. Without exhausting the land as we did so wastefully at first in this country and without exploiting cheap Arab or Jewish labor they are hammering out patterns for the development of industry and natural resources that make for a sound social order with plenty of room for individual initiative. Their introduction of decentralized industries into cooperative agricultural settlements shows how the subsistence agrarian economies of China, India, and the Balkans might be set on their feet. The man-power of local industries is available for the harvest rush, and during the slack season farm labor can be employed in small factories.

The present political approach, based on appeasement of the effendi who for centuries have ground down the masses, will never stabilize Palestine and the rest of the Middle East. Only a better way of life for the people will bring peace and democracy. A Jordan Valley Authority, providing abundance for all, would resolve the Palestine deadlock as force can never do.

SINCE I first proposed a Jordan Valley Authority in my little book "Palestine, Land of Promise," the Commission on Palestine Surveys has divided the necessary engineering projects into eight steps which can be carried out simultaneously or one at a time. John L. Savage, who designed and built Grand Coulee and Boulder, or Hoover Dam, spent several weeks in Palestine as consulting engineer and has given the plans his approval.

Palestine and Southern California are similar in topography, climate and rainfall, and crops. What has been done in California can be done, proportionately, in Palestine. Water for irrigation and power for industry are the two chief needs. The JVA would divert the sweet waters of the Jordan and other streams and carry them to dry, fertile areas for irrigation. Arabs and Jews together now irrigate about 100,000 acres; the JVA would bring water to more than 750,000 acres, reviving earth that has lain arid for centuries and making it produce two or three crops a year.

Hydroelectric power for industry would be created by



Courtesy the Jewish Examiner

the Mediterranean-Dead Sea project. The salt water of the Mediterranean would be brought through a twenty-eight-mile canal and tunnel from a point near Haifa to the rim of the depression and dropped through two great power-houses into the Dead Sea, which is 1,300 feet below sea level. The Dead Sea is a huge evaporating pan of some 240,000 acres in a desert area hot as a furnace. The water loss of between seven and seventeen feet a year has hitherto been made up by fresh-water streams. The JVA would replace the influx of sweet water with a stream of sea water from the Mediterranean flowing at the rate of 1,000 cubic feet a second. This sizable stream, falling nearly 1,300 feet, would produce, in conjunction with other power possibilities of the JVA, about one-fifth the power generated at Boulder Dam. Nearly one billion kilowatt-hours of cheap electric energy would be available.

How can such a project be financed? The Nazis confiscated eight billion dollars' worth of Jewish property. Of this, \$250,000,000 might well be exacted as reparations from Germany and expended on the JVA.

Other valley authorities in the Middle East might be financed with oil royalties. Power and irrigation projects in the Tigris-Euphrates valley would enable the ancient Mesopotamia, now Iraq, to support twenty to thirty million people in decency instead of four million in dire poverty. And Iraq is the greatest undeveloped food basket in the world.

The deadlock in Palestine should show the United Nations that if they want peace in the Middle East they must increase the well-being of the Arab states. A first step would be to take over Palestine. Let the United Nations set up the Jordan Valley Authority as an example of what can be done. Let them in due time assist the Arabs similarly to develop their countries. Only through the full use and conservation of natural resources can a peaceful world be built.

Egypt's Bid for Power

BY MAURICE FERRO

THE end of Egypt's long fight for independence, first from Turkish rule and then from the dominant influence of the British, seems close at hand. The Egyptian delegation has brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations a demand that Britain be asked to remove its troops and military installations from the territory of Egypt and terminate its administration of the Sudan. At the same time Egypt is actively opposing the proposal of the United Nations Commission on Palestine to partition that country between Jews and Arabs.

Egypt's sovereignty is no longer in question, though its actual independence is still conditioned by the interests and strategic necessities of the great powers. But Egypt today is itself a power in the Middle East; it dominates the League of Arab States and occupies a favorable bargaining position in relation to Great Britain.

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

It was not until after the defeat of Turkey in the First World War that Egyptian nationalism won its first major success. During the war, when Turkey came in on the side of Germany, Britain deposed Khedive Abbas Hilmi, proclaimed Egypt a British protectorate, and set up Hussein Kamil, son of Ismail, as Sultan. At this time the advocates of Egyptian independence were led by Saad Zaghlul Pasha, an enlightened patriot with moderate views. At the war's end, on November 13, 1918, he headed a delegation which visited the British High Commissioner to renew the demand for Egyptian freedom.

In February of 1922 Britain finally agreed to give up the protectorate. Egypt became independent, and Sultan Fuad, who had succeeded his brother, Hussein Kamil, in 1917, was named King. But Britain kept its right of condominium over the Sudan. And when on November 20, 1924, the British governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated by a band of young Egyptian extremists, the British issued an ultimatum calling for the immediate withdrawal of all Egyptian troops from the territory. Within a month the Anglo-Egyptian condominium had ended and the British ruled alone.

Despite the agreement of 1922 Egyptian independence did not become a reality until 1937. A year earlier, in return for a formal promise to cooperate in abolishing the Mixed Tribunals and the Capitulations (which accorded foreigners fiscal and juridical immunity), the

British obtained permission to keep troops on both banks of the Suez Canal for twenty years. The next year, at Montreux, Britain and Egypt agreed on the immediate abrogation of the Capitulations and the liquidation of the Mixed Tribunals in 1949. Thus Egypt achieved actual sovereignty, with the single limitation that it allow British units to be stationed in the canal zone. As for the Sudan, Article 11 of the August, 1936, treaty restored Anglo-Egyptian condominium.

The Wafd, Egypt's Nationalist Party, had accomplished its historical purpose: independence had been won. Now the leaders in Cairo had to devise methods to combat British predominance in the Arab world.

At the end of 1937 Farouk came of age. He promptly dismissed Nahas Pasha and chose Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha as prime minister. The young King was ambitious; he dreamed of becoming Commander of the Faithful, of unifying Islam. But there was faint hope of that: at Amman reigned the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, who claimed to be descended from the Prophet; King Ibn Saud, the powerful ruler of Arabia, guarded the approaches to the Holy Land and seemed little inclined to yield his place to another; France held Beirut and Damascus; Great Britain, Jerusalem. King Farouk could do little more than affirm his Moslem piety by observing Friday devotions with a maximum of publicity in the mosques of Cairo and Alexandria; through thus saying his prayers with his people he gradually achieved a measure of popularity. But Egypt still had no effective foreign policy. It did no more in the Levant than proclaim its sympathy with the Arabs of Palestine.

FAROUK AND THE ARAB LEAGUE

Then came World War II. Under the influence of Nazi and Fascist propaganda the Arab world began to stir. At Cairo the government sequestered German and Italian property but took no pains to conceal its sympathy with the Axis. Force has always impressed the Arabs. Nazi-inspired dreams of "liberation" swept through Islam. As British troops moved out to meet Rommel, they were forced to maintain a strong rear guard, and British diplomats pleaded with Farouk to recall Nahas Pasha, the only Egyptian leader who had observed the letter of the 1936 treaty.

When the Axis troops were driven out of Africa and Hitler met defeat at Stalingrad, the danger to British supremacy in the Middle East disappeared. Now was the moment, Britain decided, to carry out the promise made by Mr. Eden to create an Arab League. From the first it was assumed that Egypt would play the principal role in

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such an organization, since it was the most populous and, thanks to foreign investments, the most prosperous of the Arab countries. For his leadership of the movement King Farouk counted on winning the gratitude of the Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians, and even of the peoples of Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Actually, of course, Egypt was planning something greater than a simple Arab League; it envisaged an empire stretching from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic.

But while Farouk is ambitious, he is also realistic. He knows that Britain will not abandon the Middle East, key to its lines of communication and its oil supply, at a time when rival interests are penetrating deeper and

deeper into that region. He knows, too, that Ibn Saud will never allow him to usurp the title and functions of Commander of the Faithful. The external obstacles to his ambitions plus the peculiar political situation in his own country impel him to tread very warily. The Egyptian students and workers and a certain section of the intelligentsia are demanding social and political reforms, the evacuation of British troops, and the unification of the Nile Valley. But Farouk is loath to see the British pull out completely from the Middle East. Like all the other Arab rulers, he is terrified lest communism take hold of the people and break the power of the feudal caste.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

ALMOST everywhere in the towns throughout the Roman Empire, and far beyond it in the East, Jewish communities traded and flourished, and were kept in touch through the Bible, and through a religious and educational organization. The main part of Jewry never was in Judea and had never come out of Judea.

Manifestly this intercommunicating series of Judaized communities had very great financial and political facilities. They could assemble resources, they could stir up, they could allay. They were neither so abundant nor so civilized as the still more widely diffused Greeks, but they had a tradition of greater solidarity. Greek was hostile to Greek; Jew stood by Jew. Wherever a Jew went, he found men of like mind and like tradition with himself. He could get shelter, food, loans, and legal help. And by reason of this solidarity rulers had

everywhere to take account of this people as a help, as a source of loans, or as a source of trouble. . . .

We cannot tell here in any detail the history of that smaller part of Jewry that lived in Judea. These Jews had returned to their old position of danger; again they were seeking peace in, so to speak, the middle of a highway. Thrice Jerusalem was taken and twice the temple was destroyed. It was the support of the far more powerful Diaspora that prevented the little country from being wiped out altogether, until 70 A. D., when Titus, the adopted son and successor of the Emperor Vespasian, after a siege that ranks in bitterness and horror with that of Tyre and Carthage, took Jerusalem and destroyed city and temple together. He did this in an attempt to destroy Jewry, but indeed he made Jewry stronger by destroying its one sensitive and vulnerable point.

—H. G. WELLS: "The Outline of History"



Courtesy New York Public Library

What matters most to Farouk is Egypt itself. His objectives are, first, Egypt's rapid political and social evolution, and, second, nominal union of Egypt and the Sudan. Because of the threat of communism he wants to resume negotiations with Britain and eventually to conclude an Anglo-Egyptian alliance. In King Farouk's mind a good solution of the Middle East problem is one which means tranquillity for Egypt. A good solution could not be guaranteed if the British quit this part of the world immediately. If an alliance were concluded, Egypt would assume responsibility for the upkeep of military installations guarding the Suez Canal and of aerodromes at Alexandria, Cairo, and el Fayed. This would enable the British to develop their naval base at Haifa and to strengthen their garrisons in Palestine, Transjordan, and Libya. Egypt would be completely free, yet protected against pressure from without.

Intelligent Egyptians consider the Arab League an elaborate façade without firm buttresses. But like their king they are flattered by their country's leading role in it and hope that it can serve Egypt's interests. Still, some Egyptians have told me that so far the league has been

of use only to Syria and the Lebanon and to certain ambitious politicians. They believe the league should never have become involved in the Palestine problem. While they are outspokenly hostile to a "Zionist" state, which in their eyes would constitute a foreign body in the Arab world, they realize that such a state must inevitably come into existence. Partition, they think, is certain to bring bloodshed, provoked by the politicians and by the fanatical politico-religious Moslem Brotherhood. They bitterly deplore these troubles, which they look upon as artificially stimulated and sure to have repercussions in Egypt.

Does it follow, then, that the United Nations should abandon its efforts to solve the problems of Palestine and Egypt? Certainly not. But care must be exercised to insure that application of the General Assembly's recommendations do not bring bloody reprisals. A U. N. solution of the Anglo-British dispute or the Palestine issue should include safeguards against outbursts of terrorism by irresponsible elements. If the nations of the Middle East are to enjoy sovereign powers, some international machinery must be set up for the protection of minorities

Inside Arab Politics

BY J. L. TELLER

THREATS of armed resistance against any attempt to modify the White Paper restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases by Jews in Palestine have been issued frequently by Arab politicians, and relayed by correspondents and observers, ever since the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, in the spring of 1946, recommended the admission of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s into Palestine. The threats have increased in volume and vehemence since the publication of the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), recommending the partition of Palestine into two states—one Arab, one Jewish.

Although students of Palestine affairs do not rule out the possibility of Arab attempts to thwart partition by means of guerrilla warfare, they see more evidence of another kind of bloodshed in that country—a struggle between the Grand Mufti and his political opponents.

The Arabs of Palestine can hardly hope to succeed in an armed uprising against a trustee power authorized by the U. N. to implement partition. Such an operation

would require aid from outside Palestine, and it is difficult to see where it could come from. Certainly not from the League of Arab States, whose secretary-general, Azam Pasha, shrewd, sensitive, and soft-spoken, has clearly indicated that the league's resistance to any solution short of an Arab state in the whole of Palestine would be political and carried out through the United Nations. Nor is Ibn Saud, absolute ruler of Saudi Arabia, likely to risk his multi-million-dollar deals with the United States by conspiring to frustrate a United Nations solution of the Palestine issue. Syria is preoccupied with its economic troubles and ever on the alert against annexation designs by Iraq and Transjordan; and one need hardly point out that Christian Lebanon is not eager to increase the number of Moslem states that hem it in. At least two Arab states, Transjordan and Iraq, are known to be involved in the Arab strife in Palestine.

DESIGNS OF TRANSJORDAN AND IRAQ

Ruled by the Hashemite royal house, Transjordan and Iraq have identical designs on Syria and the projected Palestine Arab state. They hope to annex them outright or merge them in a Greater Syria federation. The most formidable barrier to this scheme is the Mufti, Haj Amin Husseini, who maintains one-party rule over Palestine Arab affairs. It is the Mufti's ambition to impose his

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personal control over an all-Palestine Arab state as a first step toward realizing an even greater aim, that of reviving the caliphate and ruling a Greater Arabia encompassing all existing Arab states. Such a dream would be shattered by the creation of a Greater Syria dominated by the Hashemite family.

The conflicting ambitions of the Mufti and the Transjordan-Iraqi dynasty are the major but not the only elements in the political conflict developing in Arab Palestine. In a showdown with the Hashemite alliance the Mufti might at one time have hoped for assistance from King Ibn Saud, implacable foe of King Abdullah of Transjordan, and his grand-nephew, the ruler of Iraq. But the Mufti's larger aspirations have ended any chance of an entente with the old monarch of Arabia. To be caliph has long been Ibn Saud's ambition, too.

THE MUFTI'S OPPONENTS

While the Mufti's men staff the Arab Higher Committee, his opponents staff the Arab Offices in Jerusalem, London, and Washington. In Washington the chief of the Arab Office is Musa Alami, a brother-in-law of Jamal Hussein, the Mufti's cousin and lieutenant and acting chairman of the Arab Higher Committee. Musa Alami has repeatedly rejected the Mufti's demand that he place the Arab Offices under the control of the Arab Higher Committee. Although officially an instrument of the Arab League, these offices draw their financial support not from the league itself but from two of its member states, Transjordan and Iraq.

Prominent in the Palestine opposition to the Mufti is Achmed Shukeiri, a spruce lawyer from Acre who was once associated with Musa Alami as head of the Arab Office in Jerusalem and Washington. Shukeiri is about to launch an Arab People's Party which hopes to have its base in the cities, until now the Mufti's main source of revenue, and to break once and for all the control of Arab politics by the old ruling families. His associate is a highly influential urban Arab who can marshal considerable financial support, Dr. Yusuf Haikal, chairman of the Jaffa Municipal Council. They have already succeeded in alienating the Arab Workers' Society from the Mufti, a major coup. This society, founded and until recently controlled by the Mufti, has emerged in recent weeks as the Arab Labor Party, following a meeting of its executive committee to which Shukeiri and Dr. Haikal were invited.

The opposition's first international appearance was in Geneva during the sessions of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. Defying the Arab Higher Committee's boycott, the opposition conferred with and submitted proposals to UNSCOP. Participating in the meetings and in the preparation of memoranda were Dr. Yusuf Haikal, Musa Alami, and Mohammed bey Barad'i, a retired Palestine judge who

was recently decorated by King Abdullah; Nuri es Said Pasha, Prime Minister of Iraq; Sami Pasha Rifai, Prime Minister of Transjordan; and Camille bey Chamoun, former Lebanese ambassador to London and the Arab League's envoy to UNSCOP.

BOTH FACTIONS USING VIOLENCE

The Mufti has never countenanced opposition in Palestine and does not intend to do so now. The time-honored methods of political warfare in the Levant are bribery and violence. In past years the violence has been unilateral, with the Mufti's gangs striking down his opponents with impunity. Although he must direct affairs from his "exile" in Cairo, the Mufti has managed to resume his vendettas in recent months. At this moment three Mufti "Murder, Inc." cells are supposed to be operating in Haifa, Nablus, and Tul Karem. The Mufti's opponents, however, are determined this time to answer violence with violence. They have already managed to infiltrate the Mufti's own stronghold, the Arab Youth Organization, which is composed of two "armies," ostensibly centrally led but operating separately—Futuawah, sworn to the Mufti, and Najadah, whose men are outfitted and paid weekly allowances by the opposition and freely enlisted by the Arab Legion of Transjordan.

Frequent clashes between Futuwah and Najadah are not the only indications that civil war is brewing. The Mufti and the opposition are enlisting mercenaries from neighboring countries. Syrians are easy to recruit whenever drought strikes their land. Several thousand joined the Mufti's bands during the Palestine disturbances in 1936-39, which coincided with successive poor crops in the Hauran province in southern Syria. This year the Hauran has again been stricken by drought, and agents for both the Mufti and the opposition, exploiting the situation, are offering Hauranites a "glamorous warrior's career" with lodging, board, and "money to send home." The Damascus newspaper *Al Nassar* reported on September 4 that 10,500 Syrians had crossed into Palestine during the past year, which ended for the Moslems in midsummer. Hiring agents for the Arab Higher Committee and for King Abdullah have also been interviewing applicants in Beirut, Cairo, and Alexandria.

The most recent victim of this inter-Arab warfare was Sami Taha, chief of the Arab Workers' Society mentioned above. Sami Taha was shot down by the Mufti's hireling as he was walking toward his home in Haifa on Friday, September 12.

Until recently the conflicts in Palestine Arab politics were largely over theoretical power and the control of the funds of eleemosynary institutions, but now that partition and an Arab state are in the offing, the struggle between the Mufti and his opponents is over vastly more substantial matters.

Their Voyage Will End . . . IN PALESTINE

British piracy, tear gas, machine guns, rubber hoses, clubs and fists—none of these has broken the spirit of the refugees of the Haganah ship *Exodus 1947*. Nothing has weakened their will to go to Palestine.

Herded back into the concentration camps of Hamburg, in the German graveyard of the Jews, they dauntlessly proclaimed:

"We are determined to return to our homeland. Brutality won't deter us from our objective."

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Del Vayo—Marshall Plan vs. Socialism

THE sixteen-nation conference on the Marshall plan finished its work with unexpected speed. Hunger does not permit delay. The conferees have slashed by almost a third their original request for \$29 billion of American aid; even so, this country will have to send Europe between four and five billion dollars a year for the next four years. To sell this to Congress, the Truman Administration is already hinting in public and warning in private that the money must be spent if Europe is to be saved from communism.

From the beginning the plan had this appeal. When Molotov walked out on the Paris conference, he handed the anti-Soviet crowd their strongest talking point. For certain American liberals the plan offered an ideal way to help a starving Europe and at the same time force Russia into a general political retreat. In their enthusiasm for a stop-Russia policy they overlooked the danger that the Marshall plan might block European socialism more effectively than it would communism. In its final consequences this is an anti-Socialist plan, a part of a deliberate move to force Europe into the free-enterprise mold. In this effort capitalist aggression and American idealism make a perfect team.

I say this without irony. I am the first to admit that this country's intervention in Europe is not inspired solely by a desire for new markets or as a preventive of overproduction. It is an American article of faith that Europeans can best be saved by strong doses of the same brand of free enterprise that led the United States to prosperity. Writing recently in *Le Monde*, Bertrand de la Salle, a moderate French liberal just back from the United States, declared: "The psychological climate of America is favorable to an effort to restore capitalism as the world economic regime." It is not financial imperialism alone; evangelism also plays a part. For the moment a harmless heretic like Ramadier may be used—at least until a French De Gasperi can be found—but in a later stage only the representatives of pre-war industrial Europe will be trusted with the complex tasks of reconstruction.

On the Continent skepticism and suspicion of the Marshall plan have steadily increased in the past two months. Frederick Kuh, who followed the Paris conference with minute care, reported on September 14 in *PM*: "The United States method of preparing the Marshall plan is intensifying anti-American feeling in Europe." Criticism, he said, is not limited to Communist circles "but is emanating from all sectors of the European community." Intelligent Europeans are worried equally by the economic aspects of the plan and its political implications.

At first Secretary Marshall's proposal was warmly received. American help was desperately needed, and no party was prepared to risk losing votes by attacking it—least of all the Communists. On July 6, four days after Russia's refusal to take part in the Paris conference, Palmiro Togliatti declared that the Italian Communists were in favor of the plan provided it did not encourage the division of Europe

into two blocs or subordinate Italy's economy to foreign capitalist interests. In France Maurice Thorez took much the same position, with the specific reservation that the Marshall plan must not be used to revive German industry at the expense of French security. Had the Communists believed that the American proposal would not be turned against Russia, they might have proved far less insistent than the Socialists that nationalization must be carried through. *Dirigisme* in France is a Socialist platform. The unshakable Ramadier might remain Prime Minister forever were it not for the directive of the Lyon congress that he either reinstate full controls or resign. Judging by the results of the by-elections in Liverpool and West Islington the British remain loyal to socialism despite intimations from Americans inside and outside the Administration that Washington would be more sympathetic if Britain would give up its nationalization program.

Europe's mood was clearly reflected in the excellent speech of Jan Masaryk to the U. N. General Assembly. The Continent has already gone to the left, he said, and will resist any attempt from the outside to switch it back.

But it looks more and more as if Congress would oppose the Marshall plan unless it carries with it a guaranty of European good behavior. What this means is indicated by the reactions of various Senators and Congressmen to the report of the Paris conference. Said Senator Ferguson: "We must curb the spread of socialism as well as communism, and stimulation of private enterprise is the only way to do it." The well-informed Mr. Krock told *New York Times* readers the other day: "It appears to be certain that the following ideas will be strongly urged in Congress, some with considerable support in the executive arm: (1) Nations whose basic economic recovery is to be assisted by the United States must, during that period, suspend political experimentation with systems proclaimed to be hostile to our own. . . ." Here, then, is the condition number one for American aid. Influential government officials, notably Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, are convinced that now is the time to put an end to Socialist "nonsense" in Europe.

But socialist planning is not an ideological caprice. It offers the only possible way to rebuild Europe and at the same time give political democracy a chance. In its present unstable condition, damage done in one place is felt all over the Continent. American rejection of Britain's nationalization policy in the Ruhr, for example, has weakened Socialist strength in France as well as in Germany. Should British Labor give up its program, all other European Socialist parties would suffer.

If American liberals in their all-out support of the Marshall plan help to defeat socialism in Europe, their own natural allies will be wiped out in the inevitable clash between the extreme right and the Communists. The recent statement of the Americans for Democratic Action unfortunately ignored this inescapable fact.

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In the Wind

HOW did you find it down in Delray Beach?" asked the Candle.

"Palmy," replied the Wind. "By the way, do you happen to know who owns the world?"

"I know who's going to own the world, if that's what you mean," the Candle said. "The insurance companies are going to own the world. Of this, I have long been convinced. A few statistics released last month by the United Press only go to bear me out. What do you think is the richest corporation in America—for all I know, in the world?"

"If you mean," said the Wind, "the corporation with the greatest total assets, then it's the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Eight billion, forty-five million dollars and a few odd—very odd—housing projects. Since I also read the United Press, I know which corporations are third, seventh, eighth, sixteenth, and seventeenth on that list. They are the Prudential Insurance Company of America, the Equitable Life Assurance Society, the New York Life Insurance Company, the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. If you were president of the last-named corporation, you could put your John Hancock to a check for \$2,037,505,696, and still be \$33,988,289 richer than Ben Fairless and his crowd."

"Oh," said the Candle. "Well, let's talk about the poor people. What is it that they say on the back of the paper match-books that they give out these days at Hamburg Heaven at Madison and Sixty-second?"

"That," said the Wind, "is a snap. They say, 'Catering to those who are aware.' Now I'll ask you one. What is the most redundantly christened Pullman car on all the New York Central's tracks?"

"Soft touch," the Candle said. "The car is named 'Imperial Empire.' Robert R. Young has it picked out for his personal expropriation, immediately after the Anschluss."

"You are doing very well," said the Wind. "Have you been West lately? How are things out there?"

"Things are blooming," replied the Candle. "May I quote from the San Francisco Chronicle? And the Examiner? California students, it reports, will be taught mathematics without social significance. The State Board of Education has accepted two math textbooks only after extensive revision. Seventh- and eighth-grade students will now get a 'true, propaganda-free' picture of present living conditions. The deleted passages often gave 'pathetic pictures of life in the United States.' For instance: the passage 'one-third of our people are poorly housed' has been deleted. So has reference to 'the horse-and-buggy days.' That, as we all know, was 'used as a term of reproach by President Roosevelt against the Republicans.' References to 'slums and slum clearance' have been eliminated. Our average annual income has been changed from \$1,200 to \$2,400. The price of a \$975 new car has been readjusted to fit present trends. Shall I go on?"

"No," answered the Wind. "I see what you mean. Above all, let us avoid the pathetic picture."

BOOKS and the ARTS

Peace Without Victory

END OF A BERLIN DIARY, by William L. Shirer. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

IT WAS the compact intensity with which Mr. Shirer drew his pictures of day-to-day events in Hitler's capital that made "Berlin Diary" so impressive a book. "End of a Berlin Diary" does not and could not have the same vertebrate strength, for during Mr. Shirer's second term in Berlin, from October to December, 1945, the smoke of war was still drifting over the broken country and events had not settled into a dynamic pattern. Even so, "End of a Berlin Diary" is a powerful book, and a tragic one. There is no victory in it. Reason has not triumphed and the men who control and are controlled are merely blundering from day to day. The postscript, written a year later, is not more optimistic.

As Mr. Shirer reports the post-war German scene there is little vision in the conquerors and no salvation in the uprepentant Germans. At times the author himself appears to be caught in the general confusion. He is afraid of the future Germany, as well he might be, since he knows and reports the failure of the Anglo-American denazification "effort." Yet he knows that without a restored Germany Europe must remain crippled. Despite this he is critical of the British Labor Party for wanting to build up the Ruhr once more. In another place he declares that the reconstructed Ruhr must be placed under international control and at least some of its products distributed to Allied countries. The idea of control, of course, is not absent from the hazy and falteringly carried out plans of the British. And one hesitates to approve of the "tribute" idea, if that is what Mr. Shirer means.

But these criticisms tell little against the merits of a book that so vividly reports the facts upon which political schemes must rest. The real problem of Germany is not that its industry has been destroyed. Mr. Shirer declares that it has not been destroyed. At the

height of the Allied bombing in 1944 German factories maintained a higher level of production than ever before in the history of that country. Indeed, American officials told him that German industry was virtually intact, and in his opinion an unhindered Germany could build a powerful military machine in five years. We may believe that the destruction of the ordinary tools of living is the main hindrance to the raising of production under the Allies. And we may believe, with the author, that the working class is the only one to offer hope. In that case, the moral dereliction and the political infantilism of the German people, their failure to recognize their responsibility for the tragedy, must be a check to hope. That is the state of mind which Mr. Shirer vividly describes.

Upon all this I would venture only one qualifying remark. It is vain, I think, to expect any country ever to recognize its guilt in explicit fashion. Even an individual whose behavior sug-

gests that he is tormented by guilt rarely does that. In general it is unwise to frame post-war policies in the light of the political and emotional standards of the war itself, even when there has been no possible doubt of their rightness. Certainly, in the case of Germany there can be no way forward that does not entail huge risks. The risks, however, really derive from the state of the exterior world rather than from conditions within Germany. There can be no new Germany until the present conflict of nations is solved. As Mr. Shirer says, the danger is that the Nazis will profit by the political battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. That is the growing cloud which he sees in the place where the horizon should be.

During his second stay in Germany Mr. Shirer had access to the vast bulk of documents seized by the Western Allies. The study of them has compelled him to change his opinions on certain points. At one time he thought

THE LATE SUMMER

Everything still, oh, absolutely still.
Who would have thought Pomona was like this,
So almost like Medusa? But she is.
No breath whatever stirs
This warm domain of hers.
Under the drooping willows, whose festoons
Hang down like chains of green and heavy stones
Two lovers stand, holding each other close.
They neither move nor whisper; and their pose,
The taller one unbending for the kiss,
Is like the deaf, the rigid, like all those
Most hopeless listeners,
Locked, shut, held fast in nothing.

By the cove

The great log, with the broken antler, lies
Heavy and huge and gray,
An old, old ram, or mountain sheep, who came
To drink, and failed, the water being steel.

Oh goddess, goddess, need it be this way?
Break, lift, the trance, the spell. Let the wind rise,
Let branches, in the bright September, move,
And garments flutter, as the singing girls
Take home the harvest, in the cool of love.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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that Hitler was bluffing at Munich. Now he is sure that he was not. Hitler would have gone to war in 1938, and in Mr. Shirer's belief it would have been wiser to have accepted battle then. One agrees. But even taking into account his evidence that a number of generals were plotting to overthrow Hitler, one cannot agree that the war would have been a short one. At that time the animating force of Hitler's "idea" was already as evident as the fact that the Europe of Daladier, Chamberlain, and Stalin was hopelessly divided. These three leaders were enfeebled by ambiguities in their doctrines or by other political and social factors. Hitler, a sick man who had warded off the graver symptoms of his disease by creating an absolving myth, had far greater possibilities of dynamic action than the West. His myth had already taken hold of a majority of his people and by turning their aggressiveness against others had given them a spurious and perverse health. That was the observed fact, dramatically reported in "Berlin Diary" and set down again in the Nürnberg section of this book. The most important facts concerning the war are not material but psychological facts.

It is as a psychological report that "End of a Berlin Diary" must be read. Its high point, surely, is the account of Hitler's end contained in the interrogation of the German air woman, Hannah Reitsch, here given in full. Physically cowering beneath the ruins of Berlin, his body trembling and consumed with fever, Hitler still raves out his malignant dreams. The myth has broken, and the sickness, no longer held in check, is like a possessing demon. He must die there, for the honor of Germany, yet others must escape to pour out his hysterical hatred upon the men who had betrayed him. He broods over maps, disposing his non-existent armies according to his overwhelming intuitions. He is obsessed with the notion of suicide, he will die to prove himself the sacrificed God of Germany. All of his huddled followers must kill themselves, so that his idea may live. Even in his will he seems to think that the victors will carry out his wishes and erect an art gallery in his heroic memory. Most terrible of all, perhaps, is that tiny de-

tail of Hitler's marriage. The forms were observed. "The persons of 1 and 2 declare that they are of complete Aryan descent and have no hereditary disease to exclude the marriage. Signed by the competent official—Wagner." Amid catastrophe he will make that marriage which he had thought would destroy his power over German women, but still he must make it according to the squalid law of his vanished Reich. What happened after *Götterdämmerung*, when the flames had consumed Valhalla? The other Wagner did not say. There came about something like the vast, evil-haunted dereliction that Mr. Shirer describes in this powerful book.

RALPH BATES

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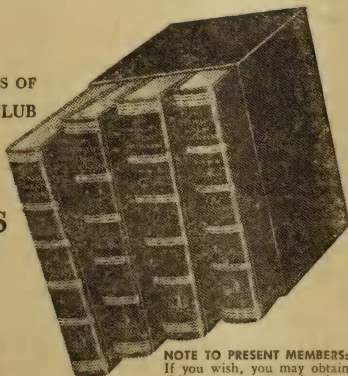
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extremely good. They begin with some pages from William Harrison's description of England in the reign of Elizabeth and end with an excerpt from Wendell Willkie's "One World." In between are selections from public papers, speeches, articles, books, and private letters, providing a catholic assortment of points of view.

Personally, I have but two complaints to offer. In contrasting European feudalism with American freedom—a main theme of the work—Dr. Hacker seems to me to have stacked the cards a little by playing down some of the darker aspects of the New World. In particular, his documentation tends to concentrate on developments in the North and West and to overemphasize the role of New England idealism. The South is comparatively neglected. Again, since Dr. Hacker stresses the vital part played in the rise of American civilization by private enterprise, he should surely have illustrated more fully the ideas and motivations of the entrepreneurs. I find here no cullings from the rich business literature of the golden twenties—a period in which our industrial leaders were very articulate about their hopes and beliefs. No doubt many of their pronouncements now seem uncommonly silly, but some study of them is essential for an understanding of the period.

Turning from the documents to the text, I find much debatable matter presented in an admirable manner. Dr. Hacker is an exceptionally clear and incisive writer and has a sharp eye for significant detail. But the point of view that inspires this work is likely to surprise and shock some readers who remember him as one of the most trenchant critics of capitalist society.

It is, indeed, difficult to believe that the Professor Hacker responsible for these volumes is the same Louis Hacker who in *The Nation* of July 26, 1933, so fervently attacked the famous "frontier" theory of the late Frederick Jackson Turner. Reviewing a posthumous collection of Turner's papers, he wrote:

The historical growth of the United States, in short, was not unique; merely in certain particulars and for a brief time it was different from the European pattern largely because of the processes of settlement. With settlement achieved—that is to say, the historic function of ex-

tensive agriculture performed, class (not sectional!) lines solidified, competitive capitalism converted into monopolistic capitalism under the guidance of the money power, and imperialism the ultimate destiny of the nation—the United States once again was returning to the main stream of European institutional development.

In the General Introduction to this new work Dr. Hacker totally repudiates the ideas expressed in the preceding passage and adopts Turner's view of the uniqueness of American civilization. True, he finds that the frontier "safety-valve" provides only a partial explanation of this fact. Of equal importance, he thinks, are the four "cornerstones" of the American tradition—freedom of religion, freedom of enterprise, the weak state, and equality of opportunity.

There is a startling contrast between this analysis and the Marxist interpretation of American history which Dr. Hacker gave us in his earlier works. Once he believed that the class struggle was developing in this country more slowly but no less surely than in Europe. Now he minimizes the importance of class conflicts, describes the American outlook as essentially middle-class, and suggests that the equality of opportunity which encouraged that outlook is still a potent factor in our society. Undoubtedly the facts support him up to a point, but like others who have seized on this idea he fails to qualify it sufficiently. It is true that class lines have been exceptionally fluid in this country and that a large section of the workers have always had a middle-class point of view. But it is also true that American middle-class predominance has received physical and moral support from the existence of depressed groups who could be depended upon to do the dirty work. There were always immigrants crowding into the Northern cities and mining districts, and in the South there were the Negroes.

Dr. Hacker's generalizations about "the weak state" also strike me as over-simplification. I certainly would not dispute his contention that the American Revolution was as much a revolt against the hindrances to free enterprise imposed by the centralized British state as it was a struggle for political freedom. But the objection of

many of the Founding Fathers was not to a strong state as such but to a strong state not under their control. As soon as the revolution was won, they did their best to establish a strong state built on property rights. True, Hamilton was defeated and the Federalists kept in check for a long time, but after the civil war the rising industrialists and financiers captured the federal government and made it powerful to the extent that suited their interests. If the state was weak in repelling raids by the propertied class on the public purse, it was certainly strong in protecting that class from the demands of the workers.

This relation between economic and political power which was emphasized by the radical Louis Hacker of the thirties is played down by Professor Hacker today. The man who once, perhaps too crudely, believed that all capitalist societies followed the same laws of growth and decay now sees American capitalism as a peculiar and benevolent institution.

However, even so drastic a shift in viewpoint is not, in itself, cause for criticism. Freedom to change one's mind is, or ought to be, a fundamental human right. Nobody can blame Dr. Hacker for discarding his Marxian spectacles: they often seemed badly out of focus to me. But we are entitled to ask why he has seen fit to replace them with the rose-tinted glasses of Candide.

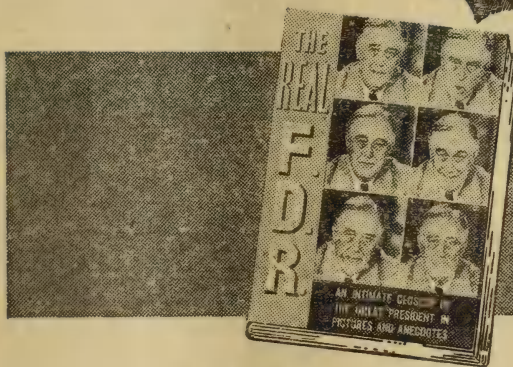
KEITH HUTCHISON

The Mexican Folk

A TREASURY OF MEXICAN FOLKWAYS. By Frances Toor. Crown Publishers. \$5.

MEXICAN folklore is one of those large, rich, tangled areas into which many have ventured and which few have successfully penetrated. It has become a happy hunting ground for would-be writers in search of a subject, for in this largely uncharted field practically anything goes, and one man's guess is as good as another's. No comprehensive study has been made of the subject since the days of the Spanish Conquest, when certain priests and missionaries recorded, with perception and acumen, the folkways of the conquered. A few centuries later came Prescott,

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whose magnificent book was mainly historical. And now there is the recently published "A Treasury of Mexican Folkways" by Frances Toor.

The "Treasury" is, indeed, the first and only reference book covering all aspects of current Mexican folkways. This is its chief virtue and claim to distinction. It is also the first major enterprise undertaken by Miss Toor since she ceased publication, a decade ago, of *Mexican Folkways*. This truly excellent magazine, founded and edited by Miss Toor, enlisted as contributors, experts in the field. In the "Treasury" Miss Toor has again done a good job of compilation. For the book consists, mainly, of material condensed from the findings of other investigators. Only a fraction of the data was gathered directly by the author herself. This limited first-hand knowledge of the field may partly account for the lack of definition and sharpness which generally derive from immediate contact with the subject or thing described. And a naturally dull literary style does not help overcome this initial difficulty.

It is true that in writing the "Treasury" Miss Toor undertook a vast assignment and one that certainly no one else in Mexico had the patience and tenacity to see through. For this all credit is due her. The book has over 500 pages of text and is illustrated with 170 excellent photographs and with 100

line drawings and 10 attractive color plates by Carlos Merida. The approach is non-technical and popular. Although there are a number of errors and misconceptions in the "Treasury" it will undoubtedly remain the standard reference work on Mexican folklore for many years to come, since there is no other. Moreover, some excellent material is contained in two of its sections, Legends, and Songs and Dance Music; here the flavor comes through straight, without benefit of comment or interpretation. Several representative tales are told simply and well. About seventy-five pages of songs and of dance music, with words and musical notation, are made available for the first time in a single volume. The selection covers a wide range, including primitive, religious, revolutionary, and dance songs, Christmas music, ballads, and serenades.

The major part of the book deals with family, community, and work relationships and institutions; with agriculture and religious practices; with birth, death, and marriage rites and beliefs; with regional arts and crafts, customs, ceremonies, attitudes, fiestas, and dances. But while there are many data, there is little insight into the complex culture patterns of the Mexican folk. And there is no attempt to classify and correlate the unwieldy mass of material. Instead, there are sporadic generalizations, fortunately infrequent, for they are rarely

felicitous, as—"The people seldom sang after the Conquest because only those who are free and happy sing." And, in describing mariachi bands, "One occasionally finds a rustic Bach among them." With the confidence of a radio commentator, Miss Toor describes music never heard by living man—that is, the music of the Aztecs—as "vigorously rhythmic . . . the expression of a virile warrior race." And she asserts that European instruments played by the natives "have a primitive sound." Yet these instruments sound the same in Mexico as elsewhere—like brass, violins, and guitars. The word "primitive" can indeed be applied to them in some cases, but only to signify their crude manufacture.

It is surprising also to discover that all the ritual dances are still performed "with faith, ability, and grace, as before the Conquest." During twenty-five years in Mexico Miss Toor has miraculously managed never to see a listless, graceless, dull performances of even one of the ritual dances! Others have been less fortunate. The author cites three outstanding dances as pre-Hispanic or as having aboriginal characteristics, among them the *Concheros*. Yet this dance of the Soldiers of Christ is not pre-Hispanic, and its aboriginal characteristics, if any, are highly dubious, as the theme and treatment clearly show. Christ is commonly supposed to have been introduced into the New World by the Spaniards. But possibly Miss Toor has private sources of information. Only such very private sources could account for the remark that when the Soldiers of Christ, as the *Concheros* dancers are called, perform for the Virgin of Guadalupe, they remember the Aztec goddess, Tonantzin.

The book has other shortcomings. Frequently the amount of space allocated to various subjects appears to depend more on easy accessibility of source material than on intrinsic value. Thus only a page is devoted to the ritual dances of Yucatan, and those of Chiapas are covered in less than a page. There is the incorrect implication that the *Acatlaxquis* is restricted to one village only, whereas it is actually performed in a number of localities. According to Miss Toor's brief description of the *Quezales*, it consists of a few simple figures to different melodies. Nothing could be

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farther from the truth. Actually the *Quetzales*, one of the most interesting and possibly one of the oldest of the indigenous dances, has a rather complicated choreography. Its distinctive quality of movement is characterized by smooth, sweeping gestures, and by low bent knee movements and turns reminiscent of Javanese dancing.

These are only a few of the errors of fact and judgment in the "Treasury." The basic fallacy is the assumption that, with rare exceptions, everything in Mexico is beautiful. The adjective itself recurs with sledge-hammer insistence on page after page of the book, sometimes in paragraph after paragraph. But beyond the hackneyed writing, there is the fact that not only the good, the true, and the beautiful exist in Mexico, but also evil, falsehood, and ugliness. Yet they have been almost completely expurgated from the "Treasury," which paints Mexico in beautiful, beautiful, beautiful tourist colors.

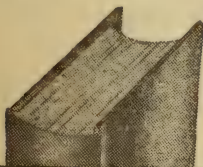
This determination to avoid unpleasant facts is nowhere more strikingly expressed than in the naive, uncritical descriptions of local miracles. The discussion of both Catholic and pagan prac-

tices and beliefs reveals an almost wilful ignorance of the origins of both and, occasionally, even of the means by which Catholic faith and institutions were imposed on the Mexican folk. Thus no reference whatsoever is made to the documentary evidence disclosed in recent years of Indians who died of hunger and exhaustion while building the convent of Chalma. Instead, Miss Toor is content merely to repeat the pretty story about a humble shoemaker from Jalapa who became Padre Fray Bartolomé de Jesús María and who built the convent, cloisters, and cells of that famous convent.

And yet this rather superficial study of the life, ways, and culture patterns of the Mexican folk has been almost universally hailed as the outstanding work of an expert by other experts in newspapers and magazines throughout the country. Whether these reviewers have praised the "Treasury" through ignorance or simply in the spirit of auld lang syne does not matter. In so doing they have performed no service to the intelligent reading public or to Mexican folklore.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

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Transatlantic Kitsch

PROUD DESTINY. By Lion Feuchtwanger. Viking Press. \$3.50.

AS A novel this account of Benjamin Franklin's visit to Louis XVI's court is tedious, cheap, and insufferably long. The only reason for any further comment is its considerable significance as a cultural symptom.

In recent years a number of Continental writers—Remarque, Asch, Feuchtwanger—have discovered the delights of American commerce. By artfully merging American best-seller slickness and vulgarity with the mindless torpor of the conventional European *roman* they have contrived a profitable formula which book-club members take for serious writing. Actually these writers turn out transatlantic kitsch, a product of the union of European middle-brow weariness and American low-brow commercialism.

The basic approach of this kind of novel, of which "Proud Destiny" is a perfect example, may be described as historical voyeurism. Subsuming history

under his ego, the novelist revels in his unchecked manipulation of great events ("it was no accident that on the morning of June 6 . . .") and the gossipy intrigues which edge them. The reader's basic function is to submit to the novelist, who tells him where he may peek into the past. Hence the reader does not experience freely and on equal terms with the author the emotions and meanings suggested by the novel; they are fed to him strained, diluted, and formularized. Whereas genuine literature promotes a relationship of maturity and fellowship between reader and writer, this kind of historical novel results in a relationship as between tourist and guide: the former submits himself to the latter's direction in exchange for a glimpse of history's sights.

Ah, but such sights! We thrill to Marie Antoinette's bed-chamber ceremonies, at which thirty-six ladies dress her; we stare with members of the royal court as Marie suffers her accouchement; we envy Franklin's vantage point as he rests on the edge of a bathtub in which a French beauty soaps her limbs; and

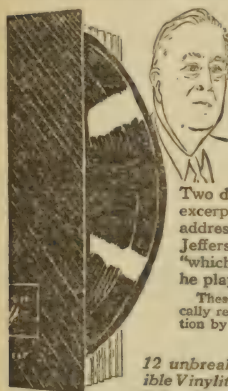
we snicker with his courtiers at Louis's fear of an operation which would permit him a normal sex life. (Here we also feel a bit superior; no red-blooded American would wait seven years to consummate a marriage with Marie Antoinette!) Feuchtwanger refrains from explicitly describing sexual activity, for he knows how much more suggestive are the sado-masochistic trimmings of sex within a royal court's authoritarian structure. Consequently "Proud Destiny" is a sustained literary tease.

Politically, Feuchtwanger also knows which way the winds blow. He throws a dry bone to PM readers by putting into Franklin's mouth a few phrases about "progressives" which suggest the happy thought that old Ben was the eighteenth-century Henry Wallace. But "progressivism" is subordinated to the novel's main theme—persistent flattery of all things American. At seventy-two Franklin is shown to be more virile than the French courtiers and the intellectual superior of the great minds of Europe. Feuchtwanger knows that though the American reader enjoys a glimpse of the fleshpots of Europe, he still requires reassurance of his superiority over the decadent Europeans. The extent to which Feuchtwanger is ready to offer this reassurance seems somehow remarkably related to the present domination of the European continent by the American dollar.

"Proud Destiny" suffers from literary elephantiasis, a disease, endemic to American publishing, which is dangerous to readers and fatal to reviewers. Like other best-sellers, the novel is outrageously padded; its author spins pages of trivia in that style of judicious imprecision which some people find so impressive. How one longs for a blue pencil!

Finally a word about the reviews this book has received. It would be absurd to become indignant with the publisher or author, for they are business men, but one cannot refrain from expressing astonishment and anger at the extravagant praise the newspaper reviewers have lavished on "Proud Destiny." After all, what is the point of reviewing books if one does not fulfil one's first obligation, which in this instance is simply to tell one's readers that the book is a piece of trash?

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Letters to the Editors

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE WEST

[We devote most of our letter columns this week to a representative selection of the many comments we have received on Margaret Marshall's article in the issue of September 13: *British Socialism, Soviet Communism, and the West*.]

Should Clear the Air

Dear Sirs: I was deeply impressed by Miss Marshall's article in the September 13 issue of *The Nation* entitled *Socialism, Communism, and the West*. I have long held her views on the meaning of the British experiment to American liberals, and on their curious blindness to its implications.

I warmly subscribe to the thesis that liberals and radicals should unite quickly "on a program of fighting for democratic socialism in Europe, beginning with democratic socialism in Britain." But various shibboleths are in the way, including the American liberal fixation about India and colonialism. Miss Marshall's article is capable of helping to clear the air for American liberals on this whole issue. BARRY BINGHAM

Louisville, Ky., September 16

Clarifying

Dear Sirs: Please tell Margaret Marshall how much her article has done to clarify my own thinking and feeling and thereby to give me courage to face the black reaction ahead of us all.

HORACE B. ENGLISH

Columbus, Ohio, September 17

Satisfying Reading

Dear Sirs: Not in a long time has an article, in any publication, been as satisfying reading as Margaret Marshall's *British Socialism, Soviet Communism, and the West*, in *The Nation* of September 13. The historical perspective in the comparison between violent revolution, as in Russia, and "revolution by consent," as in Britain, is, I think, as excellent as the balance and maturity of such judgment are rare.

The wish to see the British type of social and economic change succeed is, I am sure, shared by very many people

here and abroad, and it is to be hoped that the Administration and particularly Congress will show enough understanding of the issues involved to act effectively to save Britain and Western civilization.

As for Britain itself and its problems, I wish a way could be found to convince its working men and women, and especially the coal miners, that the cause of the Labor government is their cause and that failure of that government would be their failure, probably for a long time to come. GEORGE MAURER

Penn's Grove, N. J., September 16

Too Much Civil Liberty

Dear Sirs: I would like to comment on Margaret Marshall's article, *Socialism, Communism, and the West*. To expect liberals and radicals to be inspired by the vacillating, insipid performance of the British Labor Party is asking too much. The leaders and policy are so

similar to the Social Democrats of Germany after the First World War that I view the English "socialism" of Attlee and Bevin with apprehension. Their inaction can form a bridgehead for fascism, unwittingly, no doubt, but just as disastrously as if planned.

Margaret Marshall's smug assumption of the superiority of the West fills me with dismay. The patronizing tone used when referring to Eastern Europe could very well come from a Ham Fish or a Rankin; it is particularly shocking to find it in *The Nation*. I feel the Slavic East has much to offer mankind. Russia, although far from a Utopia, is still the only Socialist state in existence. If Western Europe can bring about true socialism without dictatorship or bloodshed and with unimpaired civil liberties, then it will be time for liberals and radicals "to throw their hats in the air."

Civil liberty in England proves to me that the "Socialist" government there has been so timid and apologetic in its reforms that reaction is secure and feels

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no necessity of starting trouble. If fundamental reforms occurred, the government would find that saboteurs and fascists would have to be incarcerated or "all hell would break loose."

After reading the "cold war" articles in the *New Republic* of September 15 by Leland Stowe, Constantine Poulos, and others, Margaret Marshall's sorry article reads like an unfortunate "wish piece" for Christian Scientists.

PELOMINA IRAND OSINSKI

Dayton, Ohio, September 16

Challenge to the Race

Dear Sirs: Miss Marshall's article in *The Nation* of September 13 is the most clear picture of what is going on in the Western world that I have read since reading Toynbee.

Indeed, it is a challenge not only to American liberals but to the human race, or at least to that section of it that we call the West.

L. COLIN SUMMER

Maplewood, N. J., September 12

Hits the Nail

Dear Sirs: I was so glad to read Margaret Marshall's article, Socialism, Communism, and the West. I am just back from three months in Europe meeting with leaders and studying conditions there. It seems to me that Miss Marshall has hit the nail right on the head.

It has become the habit for many liberals to decry the Social Democrats of Europe, not seeing that in so doing they were repudiating the democratic method. Miss Marshall has done a splendid job in focusing attention on the importance of the British experiment.

I welcomed the article also for the inferential approach that it gives to the support by progressives of the Marshall plan. Many liberals are opposing the Marshall plan, or refusing to support it until they know every detail. To take such a position in this hour of crisis in Western Europe is to help defeat support for Western socialism. Progressives must be in there pitching for the Marshall plan and seeing that it is used in the most constructive manner.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

St. Paul, Minn., September 17

Nothing to Shout About

Dear Sirs: Margaret Marshall is unduly astonished at the failure of liberals and intellectuals in America to throw their hats in the air and shout themselves hoarse at the triumph of socialism in Great Britain. It is true that there was premature shouting and celebrating when the Soviet revolution put in an appearance. It is precisely because our liberals and intellectuals have since discovered that their shouting was premature, because they find themselves now

compelled to shout in a different tone, that they are a bit more careful in their applause of the English "revolution."

We have seen that merely taking on the label of socialism does not usher in the millennium. When tyranny of the worst order is being practiced in the name of socialism in one country, there is nothing to be jubilant about when another group of Socialists makes its appearance on the stage in a different country. Our liberals and intellectuals can be depended upon to do their share of applauding twenty or thirty years hence if the British brand of socialism ushers in a better way of life than their people had under capitalism or the Russian people have been "blessed" with under the Russian brand of socialism.

So far one feels that the old Russian adage, "May God help us if a mujik should become a lord," has proved to be correct. I doubt whether the worst Tory could have acted more heartlessly with the Jewish refugees than the so-called Socialist Bevin.

J. ANTHONY MARCUS

Rye, N. Y., September 12

Bed Rock

Dear Sirs: Margaret Marshall's British Socialism, Soviet Communism; and the West is the best article *The Nation* has printed in twelve years. One may not

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agree with it in every respect, but the important thing is that it gets down to liberal bed rock for our times. I hope there will be more like it.

SIDNEY HOOK

Brooklyn, September 22

Exciting and Important

Dear Sirs: Miss Marshall's article on British Socialism, Soviet Communism, and the West is by far the finest political article I have read this year—most exciting and extremely important. I hope this is one thing that everyone will see. It should have a decisive influence on public opinion. VAN WYCK BROOKS
Chilmark, Mass., September 15

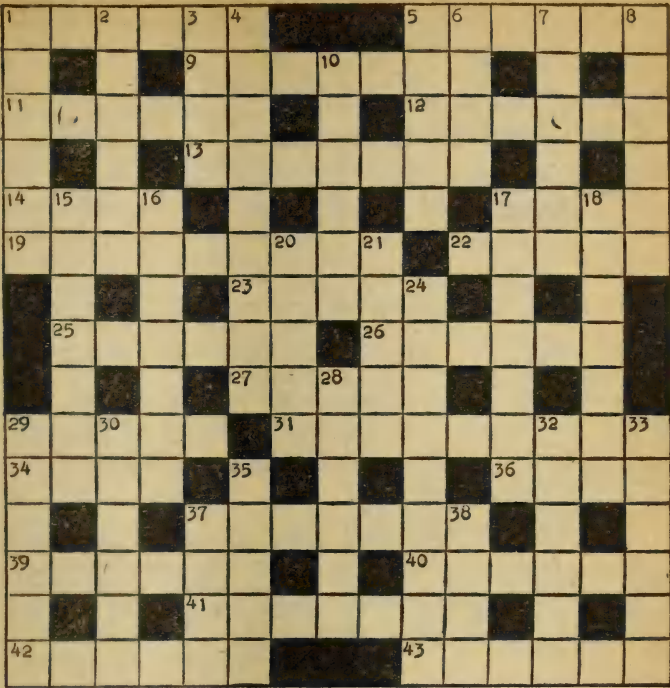
[Letters commending the article, in much the same terms as those above, were also received from Alan Willard Brown, Jule Brousseau, Michael M. Davis, Herman Eberling, Albert Guérard, T. Swann Harding, Charles A. Johnson, Ralph de Toledano, Lionel Trilling, and Robert A. Young.]

Ickes Did Something

Dear Sirs: Richard Neuberger performed a public service, in *The Nation* of August 30, in calling attention to the unconscionable exploitation of the native fishermen of Alaska by absentee corporations. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Neuberger has slipped up on a few facts which need to be understood if protests against "absentee ownership" are not to be misaddressed.

First, it is inaccurate to say that "although Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior was in charge of the Fish and Wildlife Service for more than a decade, he did nothing to return the salmon industry to Alaskans." During the six and one-half years—not "more than a decade"—from July 1, 1939, when the Bureau of Fisheries was transferred to the Department of the Interior, until February 15, 1946, when Secretary Ickes resigned, the following important steps were taken by him to return the salmon industry to Alaskans:

- 1. On February 13, 1942, Secretary Ickes approved an opinion of his solicitor, Judge Margold, declaring that salmon-trap sites on native beaches belonged to the natives.
- 2. On March 20, 1942, Secretary Ickes asked the Attorney General to pass upon a second solicitor's opinion holding that the absentee owners who now monopolize the Alaskan trap sites, and



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the fifth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 It is not true that films do it in the showing. (6)
- 5 Listen to this! (6)
- 9 Air in the Highlands. (7)
- 11 Accidents will. (6)
- 12 When it sounds, the Caledonian comes back in. (6)
- 13 Papers are so sired. (7)
- 14 A large number to slay in the past. (4)
- 17 Give up? It sounds like a grain. (4)
- 19 Plays airs with loss of power. (9)
- 22 A bothersome kind of wart. (5)
- 23 Founder of a republic. (5)
- 25 Its grounds are not kept. (6)
- 26 Not one of the in-laws. (6)
- 27 Even passed hands are. (5)
- 29 Carroll initiated a hunt for it. (5)
- 31 Sailors found them impressive (but not the newspaper crowd). (5-4)
- 34 This writer is keyed-up. (4)
- 36 Londoner's hedge for a border. (4)
- 37 Celia is one, and shows it. (7)
- 39 Does it make a pilot shake? (6)
- 40 These are of little account in Russia. (6)
- 41 Eternally searches for food? (7)
- 42 Get after a sailor, if he hits it. (6)
- 43 Cretan delicacy. (6)

- 10 Foreign sort of airs about the United States. (6)
- 15 The judge sometimes finds this grand! (7)
- 16 K-rations? (7)
- 17 It's necessary to acquire a faculty for this. (7)
- 18 Rather sketchy representation. (7)
- 20 Blessings on him that first invented—"Don Quixote. (5)
- 21 Purloined neck-piece. (5)
- 24 Descriptive of the loser of the debate? (9)
- 28 A car in a wreck? This might come in handy! (6)
- 29 Strict when it's laced? (6)
- 30 Might seem to be fruit under a press. (6)
- 32 Coming years give expression to this. (6)
- 33 A kind of boiler. (6)
- 35 Topic covered at a sewing-bee. (5)
- 37 Not the dead file. (4)
- 38 Comparatively plain, on the face of things. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 231

ACROSS:—1 SHELF; 4 BRAID; 9 OTHER; 10 AMBER; 11 ROGER; 12 CARAVAN; 16 TASSEL; 19 GEARED; 22 ADORATION; 23 SNOW; 24 IAGO; 25 BUGLE CALL; 26 ESAU; 27 IRAN; 28 CRITERION; 31 PACKED; 33 OREADS; 36 DENTINE; 39 HOSEA; 40 GLOOM; 41 CALYPSO; 42 WHEAT; 43 NYASA.
DOWN:—1 START; 2 EVENS; 3 FORCED; 4 CHAR; 5 SLAV; 6 BORNEO; 7 AUGER; 8 DARED; 13 ALONGSIDE; 14 ABASEMENT; 15 AGITATION; 17 AMNESIA; 18 SAWBUCK; 20 ANILINE; 21 ENGLAND; 29 REDACT; 30 OREGON; 31 PSIAW; 32 CASTE; 34 ADOWA; 35 SAMBA; 37 NILE; 38 IMPS.

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thereby control the world's salmon supply should be regulated, as other fishermen are regulated, by the imposition of maximum trap and catch limits. The Attorney General, on April 8, 1942, concurred in Solicitor Margold's anti-monopoly opinion.

3. On July 15, 1944, Secretary Ickes ordered hearings on Indian claims to a number of trap sites occupied by absentee owners.

4. On July 27, 1945, Secretary Ickes decided, after extensive hearings and investigations, that eleven of these trap sites included shore lands belonging to natives, and this decision was reaffirmed on January 11, 1946.

3. On January 31, 1946, after an extensive study of the Alaska salmon monopoly, the Secretary promulgated regulations designed to break the monopoly's stranglehold by limiting each company, with its affiliates and subsidiaries, to twenty traps, with notice that the maximum would be reduced over a five-year period to ten traps, and by throwing open all the surplus trap sites to newcomers, with preference to local communities and local cooperatives.

6. In the midst of hearings on the anti-monopoly regulations, and while the Indian communities were preparing to take over the trap sites to which they were entitled under the Ickes decisions, a new Secretary of the Interior arrived on the scene who has steadfastly refused to carry out the Ickes decisions in favor of Indian ownership of trap sites—and timber—and has refused with equal steadfastness to put any limit on the monopolists' power to hog as many of Alaska's trap sites, the most valuable areas left of our public domain, as they can hold by force, violence, and the sort of corruption that Mr. Neuberger describes.

But that is another story. Perhaps Mr. Neuberger will tell it. When he tells that story he should not forget to mention that Governor Gruening and Delegate Bartlett both protested vigorously against Secretary Ickes's anti-monopoly regulations. Governor Gruening at a public hearing on February 25, 1946, characterized the Ickes proposals to reestablish free enterprise as "drastic and revolutionary" and likely to create "confusion" (breaking up monopolies is always denounced as leading to "confusion"), and Delegate Bartlett attacked them as "disruptive."

FRANCES LOPINSKY

Washington, September 17

Tuna Is Better

Dear Sirs: Neuberger's Fish and Politics makes a good point (in your issue of August 30). On nutrition, however, Neuberger skates on thin ice. To say that salmon "has a greater nutritional value than almost any other food" is dubious enough. To give as evidence the testimony of one policeman is more so. The Department of Agriculture's Misc. Pub. 572, Tables of Food Composition, shows that tuna is better than salmon in calories, protein, fat, iron, and thiamine; and that canned corn beef and canned chicken are better in all those food elements but thiamine.

WILLIAM H. MORRIS

Garrett Park, Md., September 23

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NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

BEFORE THIS ISSUE IS READ, WE MAY BEGIN to see the shape of things to come in Palestine. It is not a good omen that both the United States and Russia ducked the issue until further stalling was impossible. But one thing became clear as the days passed. If Secretary Marshall and President Truman had been swung by the Arab threats toward an anti-Zionist position, they gave evidence of swinging back again under heavy bombardment of facts from the other side. The facts were not only political ones, cogently presented by Messrs. Flynn and Sullivan and others whose eyes are already fixed on next November. They were also strategic facts. While the State Department's attitude has largely complemented the attitude of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, it is by no means a foregone conclusion, even in Washington, that American security requires Arab rule in Palestine or appeasement of the Arab League and the Grand Mufti. A Jewish state in Palestine would mean the beginning of progress toward Westernization and decent social conditions in the Middle East—and these are the prerequisites of international stability. Primitive countries, strategically located and rich in essential raw materials, offer the best possible breeding places for the maneuvers of power politicians. It is this more enlightened view of American interests that the President and Mr. Marshall are supposed to have held. Assuming that they have not been threatened or argued out of it, the American position is a clear one. We will back the UNSCOP report and offer our cooperation in setting up the necessary international interim regime to enforce the majority recommendations. If the British should pull out—as Mr. Creech-Jones's statement implied they might—the task of implementation will be that much more complicated. But it will have to be undertaken with or without Britain, and the United States will be faced with the obligation to join other nations—Russia obviously included—in maintaining peace and preparing the way for the two new states in Palestine.

✱

THE FACTS ON WHICH A DECENT AMERICAN policy would be based were laid before the Assembly in a memorandum, submitted last Thursday, October 2, by the Nation Associates. The document, entitled "Could the Arabs Stage an Armed Revolt Against the United

Nations?" says even more than its name implies. It provides the essential material on the development and conditions of life of the Arab countries without which no sensible answer to the question can be made. The Arab states, in spite of nationalist activity—largely vocal and political—are socially stagnant. Their armed strength exists only where it has been built up and maintained (as in Transjordan) by Western powers. Their capacity and will to work—or fight—as a body have never been demonstrated, and the political divisions among them argue against such a possibility. The document offers evidence, on the other hand, that the Jewish army in Palestine, the Haganah, is strong enough to maintain order in the country without foreign help. If the attitude of the United States has been conditioned by fear of a vast, organized Arab uprising, the facts presented in the Nation Associates' memorandum show the folly of such a notion.

✱

AFTER FIGHTING HARD TO PREVENT IT, the United States finally agreed to a proposal made by France and Belgium that the findings of guilt against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania in the Balkan dispute be dropped. The American decision, announced by Herschel V. Johnson in the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly, astonished the delegates. They had assumed that the United States was determined to stick to its own resolution, introduced at the start of the session, bluntly accusing the Balkan states of violating the Charter by helping the Greek guerrillas. Such phrasing would obviously have forced the accused nations and their backers to defy a decision against them. Then the United States was expected to propose a plan for action under the now famous Article 51 permitting collective or individual defense against armed attack. Mr. Johnson's strategic retreat indicates that such a scheme was viewed with disfavor by the nations on whose support we depend; the strong pleas of France and Belgium undoubtedly helped bring about our sudden shift in strategy. The question is: Has the move come too late to soften the resistance of the Balkan states? No new formulation can wipe out the fact that the United States has publicly charged them with violation of the Charter; and Mr. Johnson made it clear that his offer to withdraw the charge was conditioned on an *advance agreement* by them to accept a new United Nations border watch. If they refused, the guilt charges

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would snap right back. This is not, we think, the way "to contribute toward the maintenance of genuine peace and tranquility," as Mr. Johnson phrased our government's objective in Eastern Europe. If the American delegation really wanted to end the deadlock, they would adopt the French-Belgium formula without strings or qualifications.

★

GREAT BRITAIN NEEDS NO LESSONS FROM the United States in curbing the abuse of civil liberties. We did none too well with our Christian Frontiers before the war, and the Ku Klux Klan has been a tolerated curse for some seventy years. But we have never had quite the brazen self-avowed fascist movement that appears to be growing in the industrial centers of Britain, and the government's seemingly tolerant view of it is painfully reminiscent of the Social Democrats' attitude in pre-Hitler Germany. Drew Middleton, reporting to the New York Times, writes that "Sir Oswald Mosley and the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women are arousing considerable anxiety." Street meetings, at which black-shirted men hail Hitler and Mosley and urge violence against the Jews, have become weekly features of the London scene; the slogan "Perish Judah" is scrawled on the walls of London's East End buildings; and the Horst Wessel song is chanted in the streets. Yet J. Chuter Ede, the Home Secretary, has refused to ban fascist meetings even in the Jewish sections of London, where they are bound to be incendiary. And although several fascists have been arrested, he continues to allow the police to demand the names of hecklers in order to turn them over to the fascist chairmen under a regulation that clearly calls for reinterpretation or repeal. Just as our own slightly disguised fascists reached the peak of their daring in the depths of the depression, so England's political scum rises to the top in a period of severe strain and frustration. In the long run, a restoration of economic health is what will save the country, but meanwhile it should be obvious to its leaders that self-destruction in the name of civil liberty is not one of the obligations of a democracy.

★

THE FOLLY OF GIVING AID TO BRITAIN SO long as a Labor government persists in its "Socialist experiments" is a favorite theme for some of our tory politicians and publicists. Our proper policy, they hint, would be to withhold all further financial assistance until the half-starved British voters holler for the return of Churchill. We shall be interested to learn the reaction of this school of thought to the "Industrial Charter" just indorsed by the annual conference of the British Conservative Party. Here is no ringing defense of free enterprise, no blast at centralized planning, no wholesale denunciation of public ownership. On the contrary, the charter calmly accepts the necessity for large measures

of government control, particularly during the present crisis. "We will not remove the control from any necessity of life," it declares, "until we are certain that it is within the reach of every family in the land." The charter proposes to restore private dealings in cotton, and partially to denationalize road transport and civil aviation, but it states definitely that the coal industry, the railroads, and the Bank of England will continue to be publicly owned. When the charter was first published last May, it aroused the right-wingers to bitter opposition. But that opposition has melted away under the heat of continued Labor by-election victories. At the Conservative Party conference last week, the vote in its favor was practically unanimous, with the only criticism coming from that unalloyed diehard Sir Waldron Smithers, who growled, "Milk-and-water socialism." That is an apt description, but big-business supporters of the Tories will probably take heart from some of the less publicized sections of the charter, which suggest that the state, while settling the broad outlines of the national economic plan, will "delegate" very important powers to private industrial organizations. This would mean increased authority for the "trade associations" which have long restricted competition in most British industries—a very nice arrangement from the monopolists' point of view.

✱

THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE HAS GIVEN way a little in its stand against increased margins on future grain contracts. While rejecting the Secretary of Agriculture's request for a minimum 33 1/3 per cent margin, it has introduced a sliding-scale arrangement which will increase initial margin requirements by 5 cents for every 10-cent rise in quotations. On the day this new plan became effective, both wheat and barley rose 10 cents, thus automatically raising margin rates for these grains from 45 to 50 cents a bushel. But with December wheat close to \$3, speculators can still buy contracts to the value of nearly six times their cash deposit. It is, perhaps, not surprising that there has been little sign of reduced speculation since the change in rules, or that although grain prices have been rather erratic in the past week, the trend is still upward.

✱

IT IS A FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN CONCEPT that a man is innocent until proved guilty by due process of law. Yet in Tampa, Florida, the old concept is being reversed for the special benefit of the American Legion. That organization appears to be worried about the growing strength and effectiveness in Florida of the American Veterans Committee, which helped defeat a white primary bill in that state. In partial revenge, Legion officials in Tampa recently blocked the efforts of the Tampa University A. V. C. chapter to obtain a donation of county-owned land for its clubhouse. Then they

apparently told Dr. E. C. Nance, president of the university, that the A. V. C.—the whole A. V. C.—is a "Communist-front" organization. Dr. Nance's response was surprising, since he is reputed to be a liberal, and has, in the past, been friendly toward the A. V. C. His decision was to ban the veterans' organization from his campus until its members "have proved that the charges brought against them by the American Legion are not true." A hearing, at which such proofs might be offered, was scheduled for early this week, and we do not know the results as we go to press. Whatever they are, the hearing ought never to have been called and a liberal college president ought never to have succumbed to the prejudices of Legionnaires.

Political Justice in Eastern Europe

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AGAINST fantastic obstacles, the peoples of the Balkan and Danube countries are fighting through a social revolution. The process is one *The Nation* has followed, and reported, with absorbed interest. During the short period since the war ended, old class relationships in Eastern Europe have been turned upside down, old ruling groups thrown out of power, old systems of ownership swept away. In some countries, the change is taking place by relatively slow and orderly stages; in others, through violent seizures of property and control and the forcible elimination of former owners. The degree of violence depends partly on the social and political background of the country, partly on the impact of the war. Where a country was devastated by invading armies and Nazi terror, where collaboration flourished and civil war raged, the revolution has taken a grimmer form. But only American diplomats in Eastern Europe, nostalgically consorting with the dispossessed relics of pre-war power and privilege, would demand of those countries a smooth, orderly transition to the new society—or, much better, a return to the old system of feudal elegance and comfortable corruption. These diplomats and their superiors in Washington succeeded long ago in convincing the Eastern European peoples of America's implacable hostility to the changes they have made; better a thousand Tsaldarises than one Tito. Is it surprising that the State Department's protests against electoral frauds in Hungary or political convictions in Belgrade or Sofia should be roughly rejected?

By its fixed reactionary policy, this country has forfeited any influence it might have exercised toward moderating the rigors of revolutionary change. Worse, it has encouraged some democrats in Eastern Europe to

bet their political futures—even their lives—on the hope of Western approval and help. It was a British diplomat who said ironically and privately, a few months ago: "Poor Petkov! He's been living all this time with his head out the window watching for the American planes to come roaring over." The Englishman did not imply a "conspiracy" with the United States for a projected invasion of Bulgaria; he implied a feverish hope that the non-Communist Agrarian forces Petkov represented would win tangible American backing. The contrary is, of course, the fact. American intervention has been limited to manifestation of displeasure—to protests, denunciations, and a refusal to give credits to the governments of Eastern Europe or relief to their peoples. As a consequence, when the State Department denounced Petkov's conviction, his death was probably assured.

THESE facts make it the more obligatory for Americans who have steadily opposed the Administration's policy and behavior in the Balkans to express openly their opposition to the mounting attacks on non-Communist leftists in those countries. Their words cannot be misconstrued. *The Nation* has wasted no sympathy on fascists and collaborationists; we only wish that none was left in a position of authority in any European state. We believe the press turmoil over the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinak in Yugoslavia was whipped up by clerical and anti-left propaganda in order to cover the complicity of the church with Hitler's agents in Croatia. The State Department's charge that the forced resignation of Premier Nagy in Hungary was no more than a Communist coup ignored, purposely we believe, the deep left-right split in the Smallholders Party and the conspiracy against the regime, established by solid clerical evidence, among the Horthyists and disgruntled ex-landowners who had permeated the party's right wing. Unlike our policy-makers in Washington, we accept as valid therapy the purge of those men who would, if they could, undo the revolution and make of their countries another Greece—or Spain.

But recent political arrests and convictions seem to have gone beyond the limits of legitimate political *épuration*. Men have been put on trial and convicted, usually on charges of treason, against whom no convincing evidence has been presented or at least published. Furlan, a Yugoslav liberal leader who supported Tito long before his government was formed, was lately condemned to death in Belgrade, although afterward his sentence was commuted. It is said that Furlan was a "British agent" working for the overthrow of Tito's regime, but if this is true the facts were not made public, as they should have been. In any case, the Yugoslav government showed wisdom and restraint in sparing Furlan's life.

We hope it will be at least as wise in the case of Dragolub Yovanovich, the Serbian Agrarian leader, on trial for treason. Yovanovich believed in cooperating with the Communists; he emerged from a German prison camp after the war to join the government of Marshal Tito. But he opposed Communist methods and policies and was rash enough to rise in Parliament and say: "The Communists are wonderful. They liberated us from the King and the church; it only remains for them to liberate us from the Communist Party." Yovanovich now stands accused of working for the British and of directing illegal propaganda against the government. But his record speaks in his defense and challenges the accusation.

So did the record of the Bulgarian leader, Nikola Petkov, hung for treason the other day in Sofia. Petkov's entire life had been spent in fighting tyranny. He had opposed the Bulgarian czars and, throughout the German occupation, waged a courageous struggle against the Nazis. His father and brother had been murdered on the streets of Sofia by collaborationists. With the end of the war, Petkov entered the Fatherland Front, but soon found himself in opposition to Communist policies and methods. He was ousted from the government, arrested, and charged with conspiring to overthrow the regime. Petkov admitted only that he had "wanted to rouse the people to fight the Fatherland Front at the ballot box." If a more serious offense was committed, no proof was offered that would have stood up in any Western court.

When Petkov was condemned, democratic newspapers in every country urged a commutation: several recalled the ironic fact that Petkov had rushed to the defense of Dimitrov when the Bulgarian Communist was on trial for his life in the Reichstag-fire case. (Dimitrov kept silent while Petkov hanged.)

NO ONE has even suggested that Petkov and Yovanovich were fascists or collaborationists. They were not involved, to anyone's knowledge, with Eckhardt or Nagy or Machek or the other disappointed politicians who, from their secure retreat in Washington, pretend to represent the interests of the peasants of Eastern Europe. The prosecution's attempt to implicate Yovanovich in their maneuvers, by accusing him of having "received a letter" from Machek, backfired badly when Yovanovich told the court first, that he was not responsible for people who wrote to him, second, that he had burned the letter, and, third, that the prosecution had framed the whole episode (otherwise why would it have had a photostat of the letter alleged to have been sent by Machek?)

Did these peasant leaders conspire against the governments they helped form or only oppose certain policies and tactics with which they disagreed? A coalition

regime presumes differences of opinion and attempts to reconcile them. Socialists and left Agrarians are working with Communists in all the "front" governments of Eastern Europe, and Communists strongly advocate "unity" among the left forces there and throughout Europe. If men like Petkov and Yovanovich are traitors and conspirators, the evidence should be freely published. Not only are justice and the fate of individuals at stake, but the integrity of the left movement as a whole.

Lethargy and Panic

EUROPEANS who suffer through what is likely to be the Continent's bitterest winter in history should take comfort in the thought that they too are playing a part in the titanic squabble between Republicans and Democrats. If we had not elected a Republican Congress in 1946, President Truman would not have to be so circumspect about calling a special session to provide emergency aid, and if there were no election scheduled for 1948, the Republicans would not be so hesitant about calling it themselves.

It might seem, on first thought, that the dire need of millions of people for food and fuel would take precedence over all other considerations and that nobody but a stage villain would even dispute such a course. On second thought, it might seem still more natural for us to rush to the rescue of a starving, freezing Europe inasmuch as our failure to do so will tremendously improve the chances of the Communists in Italy and France and strengthen the influence of Soviet Russia throughout the Continent—a prospect that Republicans, in particular, would be expected to view with some alarm.

Yet all the President of the United States can do in this historic emergency is to suggest to Congressional leaders that they meet soon to decide whether or not to call a special session in order to offer Western Europe, at the last desperate moment, a sum just large enough to provide a bare existence for a few weeks. Of the people of the United States, he asks only that they pass up every fifth slice of bread and be careful what they throw into the garbage can. And in keeping with this mild and leisurely approach to disaster, the leaders of Congress agree to call their committees into session by the middle of November, with the possibility of holding a special session in December that may provide the minimal funds by the first of the year. By the President's own estimate, the situation will become critical in December, and it does not take more than a week for mass starvation to develop. There is no assurance, moreover, that Congress will adhere to schedule. In spite of the most urgent demands from the White House—whether justified or not—it took four months to vote the requested funds for the Greek-Turkish program.

In justice to the President, it should be said that in an immediate sense he has plausible arguments for his policy of gradualism. He must do an educational job on a public that has been shamelessly bombarded with the falsehood that high prices are caused by our present relief shipments to Europe. Second, there is no way of limiting a special session to emergency legislation, and there are Congressmen who would see in the very urgency of a foreign-relief bill a chance to exact a quid pro quo like Knudsen's measure for reducing the burden of high-bracket taxpayers. And third, the President fears that a political-minded Congress, feeling itself under pressure from the Executive, might refuse to budge, in which case not only would the emergency bill be lost, but the entire long-range plan of aid to Europe would be endangered—with shattering psychological effect abroad.

With due regard for these arguments, and even for the unofficial reports that Mr. Truman is prepared to call a special session himself in December if Republican leaders fail to do so, we still feel that the President is seriously at fault for having allowed the situation to deteriorate to its present appalling level. He must have known last July, when Congress was still in session, what every casual observer knew: that Western Europe's resources were tragically inadequate to meet the needs of the coming winter and that its dollar supply was swiftly approaching the vanishing-point. Yet several times during the summer he indicated that no special session would be necessary. As recently as September, he idled back from Rio de Janeiro on a three weeks' cruise instead of flying back to dramatize the emergency. He has done little to rouse the country to the true state of affairs, and even now, while he speaks gravely of urgency, he gives his blessing to the journey of Senator Bridges, whose vital Appropriations Committee cannot meet until he returns, in the middle of November, from a personal-inspection tour of Europe.

The cold mechanics of politics, hard to transcend in any case, are certainly not to be overcome by alternating currents of lethargy and panic. The Constitution lays down the duties of the President, but no document can prescribe those human qualities that make the difference between office-holding and leadership. In the matter of European reconstruction, as in other matters, we believe the President to be well intentioned, but he will have to show a lot more boldness than he has so far displayed if Western Europe is to be saved from chaos. As for dilatory Congressmen, we call to their attention Marquis Child's interesting report from Rome that the Soviets, with a wheat surplus on hand, are waiting for the psychological moment. When the Italians reach the starvation level and find themselves unable to live on words from Capitol Hill, the Russians will send in the precious grain—and the battle for Italy will be over.

Palestine and Other Disputes

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 6

WHEN it was rumored that the session of the Palestine Committee had been called off last Saturday afternoon so that delegates could get out to Ebbett's Field for the fifth game of the World Series, most denizens of the press gallery hailed the news as a sign of awakening good sense. For the play at Flushing and Lake Success last week had been dreary and uninspired. No Lavagetto by any other name had bounced a double off the back wall. No Gionfriddo had plucked defeat out of the blue. And contempt for umpires' decisions—investigation-committee reports they are called out here—was at an all-time high. The battle of peace, last week, was a murky affair.

The rhetoric and recriminations which have come to be regarded as a necessary part of the plenary sessions have been carried over into the committees. And what is doubly exasperating, those who have been making the most use of their parliamentary right of debate have shown the greatest reluctance to accept the will of the majority—another quaint democratic tradition. On Wednesday we heard the acting head of the Arab League threaten to drench the Holy Land in blood if the majority report of the Palestine investigating committee was adopted by the Assembly. And all the week, in the sessions of the Political Committee, the Slavic group—eloquent in their denunciations of Greek fascism and American and British imperialism—refused to admit the validity of a General Assembly committee as one means of helping settle the Balkan dispute. This is not merely an archaic reiteration that absolute national sovereignty must be considered the inviolable bastion of peace. It is also a flat refusal to accept any justice in the claims of a dissenter; it is insistence that all right is on one side; it is branding the opposition as the enemy, the blackguard, the warmonger. If the United Nations is a school of international democracy, quite a few members are still in the kindergarten.

PROBABLY the best and strongest speech this week was made on Friday by Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, the president of last year's General Assembly. It was pretty plain that he did not have much use for the present Greek government. It was also evident that he thought the Slav states were drawing a long bow when they laid all the blame for the Balkan trouble on the imperialist shenanigans of England and the United States. But chiefly he drove home the point that hours

and days of mutual recrimination were getting nobody anywhere. "The important thing," he said, "is to settle the Balkan problem; let us get out of the deadlock where we have been left by the Security Council and let us show the world that the Assembly is capable of doing something practical and reasonable in order to put an end to the conflict which even today shows it may become grave in the future." Mr. Spaak's words, which were listened to with an attention given to few speeches in that committee, may have had something to do with Herschel Johnson's surprise statement on Saturday that the United States was prepared to leave the guilt paragraph out of the American resolution.

BUT Mr. Spaak was emphasizing a truth that went far beyond the Greek issue to the very heart of the United Nations' present difficulties. There must, of course, be freedom of discussion—and in the world as now constituted that means freedom to give ideological dissertations, accusatory harangues, and partial expositions of history past and present. But at some point in the debate the supremacy of the world parliament, the supremacy of the Assembly, must be asserted. It is possible for the legalists to point out the limitations of the Assembly as written into the Charter. It is possible for the mechanics to suggest ways in which administrative defects can be repaired. (There is a thoroughly useful report on procedural reforms which this Assembly will discuss before the end of the session. There is more than a spark of a good idea in the American plan for a "Little Assembly," which of course will not pass in its present form.) But no legalistic dialectic and no mechanical tinkering can be taken as a substitute for the will of the majority to make the Assembly work as the instrument for world peace.

It is perfectly clear that the authority of the Assembly has not yet been established. And one basic reason is that maintaining the balance of power is still the major concern—particularly among the great powers. Take the stupid business of the third seat on the Security Council. It was proper that Canada should replace Australia. Granting the new solidarity of the Latin American bloc, it was proper—or inevitable—that Argentina should replace Brazil. Why was it, then, not proper that the Ukraine should replace Poland? The Anglo-American argument ran that the Ukraine was actually an integral part of the Soviet Union—as it probably is—and that some more independent state like

Czechoslovakia should go on. But Czechoslovakia did not choose to run, and why should Britain and the United States decide which of the Eastern group should get on the Council? Isn't the Ukraine a member in good standing of the United Nations? And are the Ukraine and Manuiski much harder to swallow than Greece and Tsaldaris or Argentina and Perón? It is true that India has a valid claim in its own right for a post on the Council, a claim which Mrs. Pandit stated clearly. Probably on the basis of size and geographic significance it should be a permanent member. But in the immediate situation this is beside the point. What we have seen has been a misguided effort to upset an existing arrangement for the Security Council, and it should not have been allowed to develop. Probably by the time this article is in print the Ukraine will have been elected and some—but not all—of the damage will be repaired.

But if the mishandling of the Security Council issue showed shortsightedness, at this moment there seems grave danger that the prestige of the Assembly is going to be dealt an even greater blow by the shrewd maneuverings of the powers on Palestine. Were it not for

the underlying preoccupation with the balance of power, the Palestine problem could unquestionably be settled along the lines of the majority report. The Arabs have not improved their case by their testimony in this Assembly. The threats of Jamal Hussein irritate rather than impress. On the other hand, the moderation, firmness, and reason of Rabbi Silver reinforced the conclusion most delegates have reached that the majority report should be accepted and implemented. But no effective action could be taken unless backed solidly by the United States. And at the end of the week the United States was still silent. Probably narrow considerations of Middle East strategy are making it hesitate. Next week may show whether the United States has the imagination to seize world leadership in an issue where the way of justice is clearly marked.

Interested readers may purchase copies of the Nation Associates' new memorandum to the General Assembly, "Could the Arabs Stage an Armed Revolt Against the United Nations?" by writing to 20 Vesey Street, Room 1010. The price is 50 cents.

What Keeps Them Apart?

BY JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

IT USED to be thought—and apparently still is by some people—that foreign affairs and foreign policy should and could be separated from domestic affairs and domestic politics. In a limited sense and with respect to limited issues, that is true. Under the wise leadership of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull the United Nations organization was successfully established on a non-partisan basis. Partisan politics were likewise set aside in the negotiation of the peace treaties with Italy, Finland, and the Axis satellites in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, in general it is impossible to separate foreign affairs from domestic, and it becomes increasingly so as the issues in foreign affairs involve economic

considerations. Attempts to treat them as separate are sometimes fantastic: one recalls, for instance, the recent nearly successful effort to place a higher tariff on wool just when United States officials were trying to negotiate trade agreements in Geneva.

Not only can foreign and domestic issues not be separated, but in the opinion of many persons both here and abroad the most important question to which makers of foreign policy in all countries need an answer is primarily an American domestic problem: Are we going to have a depression? Foreign statesmen, notably those in the Kremlin, are already basing their policies on their guesses as to the answer. On whether or not a depression is in the offing, and on how we deal with it if it comes, hangs not only the success of the Marshall proposal but so much more besides as to stagger the imagination.

So indissolubly linked are foreign and domestic policy as to call into question the validity of the old maxim that "politics should stop at the water's edge." It is doubtful, in fact, whether politics *can* stop at the water's edge: witness the present debate over whether to hold a special session of Congress to deal with the European economic crisis.

The role of the United States in foreign affairs may become before long an acute domestic political issue.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON lately returned to the faculty of Williams College after nearly five years in the State Department. Most recently a member of the department's new Policy Planning staff, headed by George F. Kennan, he was for the previous two and a half years chief of the Division of International Security Affairs, and in this capacity attended a number of United Nations meetings involving dealings with the Soviet Union. This article is based on a commencement address Mr. Johnson made at Williams on September 26.

There is a real question whether the effective fulfilment of our responsibilities does not demand radical improvements in our machinery of government—perhaps even to the point of amending the Constitution—to bring

about a more efficient relationship between all those responsible for the various decisions necessary to the adoption and implementation of foreign policy. The difficulties and even dangers of such measures are many. Yet it is appropriate to recall that it was the inability of the Confederation government to deal successfully with foreign



Drawing by Wrigley

Foreign Minister Molotov

relations which led to the Convention of 1787.

The international scene bears little resemblance to that of 1939. And in many respects it is quite unlike that which in 1945 we hoped would confront us two years after the end of the war. The novelty of its present aspects should be stressed because that novelty is itself one of the most significant factors in international relations today and will continue to be important for some years. Our thinking is inevitably conditioned by the past. Time is vital, and the greater the novelty of a situation the greater the difficulty which statesmen and people have in adopting, in sufficient time, policies adequate to deal with it.

THE most conspicuous feature of the world that emerged from the war is that there are now only two great powers, two veritable super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Eight years ago there were seven. Moreover, the relative stature of these two powers has apparently grown since 1945, as events have revealed that the United Kingdom, China, and France will for some time at least be even less capable of playing decisive roles than was expected only two years ago.

It would be difficult enough under any circumstances for the world to adjust itself to a two-power system: it must revise its concepts of the balance of power, of the relationships between small states and large. But the problem is rendered infinitely more complicated by two related facts. For one thing, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is adequately prepared for its new role. Compared to some states, both had little experience on the pre-war international stage. Both must learn the hard way to play leading roles.

This lack of maturity is far less significant than the fact that the two great powers are the protagonists of

totally different ways of life. This is not the occasion to analyze in detail all the differences—in economic and political concepts, in systems of ethics, in modes of thinking, in techniques of foreign policy. As for the question, "Can the Soviet system and the American continue to exist together on the same planet or must there inevitably be war?" the student of history must answer that war is never inevitable. It is only too manifest, however, that a conflict—what some call a "cold war"—has already begun. So the question becomes: "Will the 'cold war' degenerate into a 'hot war'?" The answer again is, "Not necessarily." In my opinion the American people by their decisions in the next few years will determine the answer to that question.

Two factors influencing Soviet-American relations do not always receive the attention they deserve. One is that the concept of friendly relations among nations which is basic to ordinary diplomatic procedure is apparently entirely lacking in Soviet thought and action. The experts say, and experience substantiates their claim, that for the Soviet leaders relations with all states except those directly under their control are always at best "non-friendly." As General Deane, chief of the United States Military Mission in Moscow during the war, phrased it, "There is no such thing as banking good-will in Russia." The other factor is the extreme difficulty which the Soviet Union and the United States have in even understanding each other. This arises not only from the differences in the two systems but also from the fact that barriers set up by the U. S. S. R. deny both peoples the information necessary to an understanding.

In the last few years a large number of Americans who had had no previous experience with the Soviet Union or Soviet diplomats have been initiated into the mysteries of dealing with the U. S. S. R. I have been through the mill in a mild way and have witnessed the initiation of a number of others. Almost without exception the methods and attitudes of the Soviet representatives have induced in the American negotiators a cycle of, first bewilderment, then frustration, and finally anger. In most cases, fortunately, understanding has come eventually.

The American press and people, too, are left confused and angry by such polemics as Mr. Vishinsky's recent speech in the United Nations General Assembly. Such feelings may be natural, but they are unnecessary and dangerous. Vishinsky said nothing the least bit surprising. He said nothing the controlled Soviet press and the Moscow radio and Soviet officials have not been saying for months. He used no new techniques. He merely took advantage of the occasion to put all the earlier outbursts together in one gigantic eruption before the whole world. The sooner we learn to take such performances in our stride, the better it will be for us and all concerned, including the Russians.

But if we find difficulty in understanding the Soviet

mind, a single example will illustrate Soviet inability to understand us. Repeatedly, prominent Soviet personages have revealed a complete failure to grasp the American concept of freedom of the press. Vishinsky did it in his speech on September 19 and again in his press conference.

While the fact of two colossal powers facing each other, immature and mutually uncomprehending, is of first importance, the role of the "middle" states should not be underestimated. This is particularly true of those countries which are "middle" not only in size or geographical location but in social philosophy. Too often policies have been suggested which appear to disregard the nations with which we are most closely linked by heritage and community of interest. It is one of the great merits of Secretary Marshall's proposal for European rehabilitation that it was based on a recognition of the importance of the middle powers. If an effective plan is developed and carried out, Mr. Marshall might well paraphrase George Canning and say, with an accuracy lacking in the British Foreign Secretary's famous remark, that he "brought the Old World back to life to redress the balance of the New."

TO MANY the emergence of two super-states will seem less significant for humanity than the release of atomic power, and certainly the most novel and terrifying feature of international life today is that the atomic weapon is loose in the world. Yet in its international aspects the release of atomic energy is at present essentially an element in power relationships, particularly in United States-Soviet relationships, and therefore comes second in a catalogue of the dominant features of the international scene.

The phrase "loose in the world" is not intended to suggest that Soviet or any other scientists and technicians have developed an atomic bomb or are even close to doing so. I do not know whether they are or not. The only information I have on that point is based upon the confusing and conflicting public estimates made by General Groves and numerous nuclear physicists. The phrase is meant merely to underline the harsh truth that today, more than two years after Hiroshima, the world is apparently no closer to effective international control of atomic energy than it was in January, 1946, when the U. N. General Assembly passed the resolution setting up the Atomic Energy Commission.

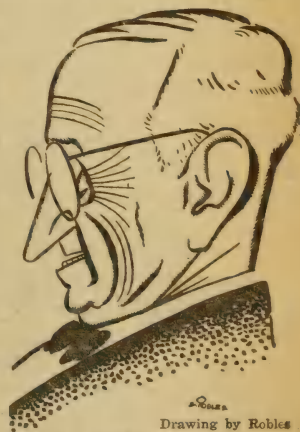
Many statements might be made about the international aspects of atomic energy—political, economic, strategic; I want to make just two. The first is my personal conviction, based upon close association with the subject for many months, that the proposal of the majority of the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission represents the only viable approach to effective international control of atomic energy. The second is that, in view of

the deadlock that has developed, it would be dangerous self-delusion to ignore the possibility that the Soviet Union may have atomic weapons before international control is effected. As Professor Wolfers of Yale has said, if and when that happens, "a truly revolutionary change will have occurred in the military position of this country. . . . With every day that passes we are moving gradually from a position of unusual safety to a kind of earthquake zone which will be rendered livable for our urban population only by the hope and confidence that the outbreak of another war will be prevented."

Another principal component of the current international complex is the United Nations itself. Two significant aspects of the world organization seem particularly worth emphasizing. One is that the U. N. and its related agencies constitute a truly remarkable extension of the multilateral approach to the handling of international problems. The other is that its meetings are conducted in a glare of publicity. Despite Woodrow Wilson and the League, private bilateral diplomatic negotiations have until very recently been the traditional media of international dealings. While still important, they no longer enjoy their former primacy.

One consequence of these new factors is that statesmen now have an additional and different tool for the conduct of international relations. In Washington the question constantly arises, for instance, as to whether an issue should be brought before the U. N. or handled by diplomatic procedures. It is almost always a difficult question to answer, and the difficulty is enhanced by fear of criticism for "bypassing" the U. N. and by doubts as to whether the U. N. can bear the load. Another consequence is that new skills must be developed; negotiation

in private with a foreign minister or an ambassador is a vastly different matter from negotiations with representatives of ten or fifty-four other nations while the world listens in. To present a proposal or argue a point not only to representatives of a number of sovereign states but to the press and public of one's own land, and of foreign countries as well, is a very sobering experience. Not many men, whatever their training and background, are adequately equipped for this sort of fish-bowl diplomacy.



Drawing by Robles
President Truman

On all sides one hears expressions of fear that the present tension in the General Assembly may be the prelude to the disruption of the United Nations. This alarmist point of view seems to me unjustified. One cannot disregard the tension, or the speeches which both reflect and contribute to it. But strong speeches have been made in the past; Molotov's address at the opening of the Assembly last autumn was not so greatly

different from Vishinsky's last week, if differences in the personalities of the speakers be discounted. With all the sound and fury that has characterized the present session, neither of the giant powers is likely to risk the consequences of pulling out of the organization or forcing the other to withdraw. Each has too much to gain by remaining inside—if only to advance its own ideas of what is good for itself and for the rest of the world.

The High Cost of Innocence

BY BETTE W. PENZELL

Montreal, October 3

A LITTLE over a year ago a Canadian Royal Commission startled people in both Canada and the United States by issuing its famous "Blue Book" on alleged spy activities in Canada. Of the twenty-six people accused of subversive acts nine have now been completely exonerated, five were never brought to trial, two have vanished and are wanted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, seven have received sentences totaling thirty-seven years, and the cases of three are still before the courts.

The nine persons who were exonerated have attempted to return to their normal way of life but have met with discrimination and prejudice. Most of them have been unable to get their old jobs back and have found new employers reluctant to hire them. Though they were declared not guilty in a court of law, their reputations have been damaged. Moreover, each of them spent about \$4,000 for his defense, and since they were persons of average income, their savings in most cases have been wiped out and they are in debt.

Of those acquitted Fred Poland, a newspaperman, has been one of the more fortunate. Poland entered the service in 1942 and became an intelligence officer in the Canadian air force. On February 15, 1946, he was taken from his home by the Mounted Police and charged with breach of the Official Secrets Act. A year later he was acquitted. Before the war he had worked for the *Montreal Star*, and he now has returned to his job, receiving the same treatment as any other veteran.

Because his defense had been so costly and his arrest, he believed, a mistake, Poland wrote a letter to James L. Ilsley, Minister of Justice, asking the government to reimburse him. Ilsley replied as follows:

My information is that . . . the Royal Commission found [the evidence] indicated that you had committed

an offense against the Official Secrets Act. . . . This evidence was submitted to counsel for the Crown, who also were of the opinion that the evidence indicated that you were guilty. The magistrate was apparently of the same opinion, as he committed you for trial. I am therefore obliged to conclude that there was some evidence against you upon which you might have been convicted. . . . I am therefore not disposed to give favorable consideration to the request contained in your letter.

Agatha Chapman, another of the acquitted, was formerly an economist for the Bank of Canada and is now in England doing research work at Cambridge University. Before she left for England she gave a statement about her case to the press. In the fall of 1944, she said, the Bank of Canada lent her to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to work on national-income accounts. In late 1945 the bureau decided to create the job of chief of the National Income Unit. Miss Chapman was offered the post and permanent status in the bureau. In July, 1946, when the report of the Royal Commission was made public, she was told not to report to work, and the Bank of Canada put her on leave with pay pending outcome of the charges. In November, 1946, the charges against her were dismissed, without it being necessary for her to offer any defense.

Thereupon she reported back to the Bank of Canada, which suggested that she take a month's leave before returning to the Bureau of Statistics. In January, 1947, an oral examination was held for the National Income Unit post. Miss Chapman took it, but one of the other applicants was chosen. When she returned to her job in the Bank of Canada, the bank forced her resignation by not offering her proper reinstatement.

Matt S. Nightingale was discharged from the army a year before the commission's report was issued, went back to the Bell Telephone Company, where he had worked before the war, and received a promotion. After his trial and acquittal he was told, "It is not in the best interests of the company to rehire you." Though an electrical engineer with twenty years' experience in com-

BETTE W. PENZELL is an American newspaper-woman now working on a Canadian weekly.

munications companies, he had great difficulty in getting another job and finally took one at a much lower salary than he had been earning.

Eric G. Adams, economist and industrial engineer, at the time of the Royal Commission's report was employed by the government's Industrial Development Bank. On his acquittal he went back to the bank. On December 31, 1946, he resigned, having always planned to set up his own practice. He says, "You can't categorically say that I am being discriminated against. On the other hand, every now and then a job will come up that I don't get and there's no other explanation for it."

Adams asked his lawyers whether he could hope to recover from the government any of the \$4,000 which his defense cost him, and they said no. Since a suit against the government could be brought only with the government's permission, his chances would be slim, to say the least.

Dr. Israel Halperin at the time of his arrest was on leave of absence from Queen's University in Kingston, preparing to attend the Institute for Advanced Learning at Princeton. After his acquittal he returned to his teaching at Queen's, but he had lost his opportunity to attend the institute and spent \$6,000 on his defense.

Dr. David Shugar had a temporary appointment as a

physicist in the Department of National Health and Welfare. He returned to the department after being acquitted on the first conspiracy charge. Three months later, when he was to be tried again, he was dismissed. After a second acquittal he sought to get his job back but failed. His defense cost him \$3,000, some of which he has regained through out-of-court settlements with *Time* and *True Magazine* for libel.

The three men tried for infringement of the passport laws—W. M. Pappin, Dr. John Soboloff, and Dr. Henry Harris—were all acquitted and have returned to their former work.

H. S. Gerson and J. S. Benning were both acquitted on appeal but have another charge to answer. There is a strong possibility that the Crown will not press its second charge against Benning. He was released without bail and is looking for a job. Gerson is ill and almost destitute. He was released on bail and cannot seek employment. The other case still to be decided is that of Professor Raymond Boyer, whose first appearance before the court this spring ended in a mistrial. His case will come up again in November.

With only seven convictions the government so far has a score of 30 per cent. The damage to human lives seems out of proportion to the accomplishment.

India's Brown-Shirt Brigades

BY ANDREW ROTH

New Delhi, September 20

PANDIT NEHRU, Mahatma Gandhi, enlightened members of the Indian government, and foreign observers are concerned about the emergence of a number of fanatical communal groups in the wake of the recent Hindu-Moslem clashes. Some of them openly call for the elimination of Nehru and other tolerant, modern-minded members of the government, the conversion of India into a 100 per cent Hindu state, and a declaration of war upon Pakistan. Pandit Nehru has described them as the "Brown-Shirt Brigades," and indeed they bear a strong resemblance to the Hitler storm troops. Like the storm troops they are largely recruited from the frustrated lower middle class and use the technique of the "big lie." No false statement about the Moslems, or even their non-Moslem opponents, is too foul for them if it serves to inflame the passions of the Hindu community and foster the war mentality.

The best-known of these groups is the Hindu Mahasabha, or Hindu Conference, which has a member in the present government. Another is the Hindu Student Federation. But perhaps the most dangerous is the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, or National Service Organization, a body somewhat like the Hitler Youth but as secret and ritualistic as the Ku Klux Klan; the real name of its leader is not generally known. Many observers discount these groups as a lunatic fringe which has come to the fore because of the tense situation, but in Germany in the twenties Hitler and his accomplices were also discounted, as were the young army officers who helped convert Japan into a dangerous war machine.

Not one of these organizations is strong numerically or politically. The Hindu Mahasabha, which is the oldest and most closely knit, took a bad beating in the last elections. But it is capable of exercising considerable pressure on Congress through its many orthodox Hindu supporters. Some of the wealthy Hindu industrialists, including one of the Birla brothers, are reported to be supplying substantial funds.

A number of newspapers are under the influence of these groups. Some, like New Delhi's *Hindu Outlook*,

ANDREW ROTH, roving reporter for The Nation, has spent the past year and a half in North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia.

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My information is that . . . the Royal Commission found [the evidence] indicated that you had committed

an offense against the Official Secrets Act. . . . This evidence was submitted to counsel for the Crown, who also were of the opinion that the evidence indicated that you were guilty. The magistrate was apparently of the same opinion, as he committed you for trial. I am therefore obliged to conclude that there was some evidence against you upon which you might have been convicted. . . . I am therefore not disposed to give favorable consideration to the request contained in your letter.

Agatha Chapman, another of the acquitted, was formerly an economist for the Bank of Canada and is now in England doing research work at Cambridge University. Before she left for England she gave a statement about her case to the press. In the fall of 1944, she said, the Bank of Canada lent her to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to work on national-income accounts. In late 1945 the bureau decided to create the job of chief of the National Income Unit. Miss Chapman was offered the post and permanent status in the bureau. In July, 1946, when the report of the Royal Commission was made public, she was told not to report to work, and the Bank of Canada put her on leave with pay pending outcome of the charges. In November, 1946, the charges against her were dismissed, without it being necessary for her to offer any defense.

Thereupon she reported back to the Bank of Canada, which suggested that she take a month's leave before returning to the Bureau of Statistics. In January, 1947, an oral examination was held for the National Income Unit post. Miss Chapman took it, but one of the other applicants was chosen. When she returned to her job in the Bank of Canada, the bank forced her resignation by not offering her proper reinstatement.

Matt S. Nightingale was discharged from the army a year before the commission's report was issued, went back to the Bell Telephone Company, where he had worked before the war, and received a promotion. After his trial and acquittal he was told, "It is not in the best interests of the company to rehire you." Though an electrical engineer with twenty years' experience in com-

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munications companies, he had great difficulty in getting another job and finally took one at a much lower salary than he had been earning.

Eric G. Adams, economist and industrial engineer, at the time of the Royal Commission's report was employed by the government's Industrial Development Bank. On his acquittal he went back to the bank. On December 31, 1946, he resigned, having always planned to set up his own practice. He says, "You can't categorically say that I am being discriminated against. On the other hand, every now and then a job will come up that I don't get and there's no other explanation for it."

Adams asked his lawyers whether he could hope to recover from the government any of the \$4,000 which his defense cost him, and they said no. Since a suit against the government could be brought only with the government's permission, his chances would be slim, to say the least.

Dr. Israel Halperin at the time of his arrest was on leave of absence from Queen's University in Kingston, preparing to attend the Institute for Advanced Learning at Princeton. After his acquittal he returned to his teaching at Queen's, but he had lost his opportunity to attend the institute and spent \$6,000 on his defense.

Dr. David Shugar had a temporary appointment as a

physicist in the Department of National Health and Welfare. He returned to the department after being acquitted on the first conspiracy charge. Three months later, when he was to be tried again, he was dismissed. After a second acquittal he sought to get his job back but failed. His defense cost him \$3,000, some of which he has regained through out-of-court settlements with *Time* and *True Magazine* for libel.

The three men tried for infringement of the passport laws—W. M. Pappin, Dr. John Soboloff, and Dr. Henry Harris—were all acquitted and have returned to their former work.

H. S. Gerson and J. S. Benning were both acquitted on appeal but have another charge to answer. There is a strong possibility that the Crown will not press its second charge against Benning. He was released without bail and is looking for a job. Gerson is ill and almost destitute. He was released on bail and cannot seek employment. The other case still to be decided is that of Professor Raymond Boyer, whose first appearance before the court this spring ended in a mistrial. His case will come up again in November.

With only seven convictions the government so far has a score of 30 per cent. The damage to human lives seems out of proportion to the accomplishment.

India's Brown-Shirt Brigades

BY ANDREW ROTH

New Delhi, September 20

PANDIT NEHRU, Mahatma Gandhi, enlightened members of the Indian government, and foreign observers are concerned about the emergence of a number of fanatical communal groups in the wake of the recent Hindu-Moslem clashes. Some of them openly call for the elimination of Nehru and other tolerant, modern-minded members of the government, the conversion of India into a 100 per cent Hindu state, and a declaration of war upon Pakistan. Pandit Nehru has described them as the "Brown-Shirt Brigades," and indeed they bear a strong resemblance to the Hitler storm troops. Like the storm troops they are largely recruited from the frustrated lower middle class and use the technique of the "big lie." No false statement about the Moslems, or even their non-Moslem opponents, is too foul for them if it serves to inflame the passions of the Hindu community and foster the war mentality.

The best-known of these groups is the Hindu Mahasabha, or Hindu Conference, which has a member in the present government. Another is the Hindu Student Federation. But perhaps the most dangerous is the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, or National Service Organization, a body somewhat like the Hitler Youth but as secret and ritualistic as the Ku Klux Klan; the real name of its leader is not generally known. Many observers discount these groups as a lunatic fringe which has come to the fore because of the tense situation, but in Germany in the twenties Hitler and his accomplices were also discounted, as were the young army officers who helped convert Japan into a dangerous war machine.

Not one of these organizations is strong numerically or politically. The Hindu Mahasabha, which is the oldest and most closely knit, took a bad beating in the last elections. But it is capable of exercising considerable pressure on Congress through its many orthodox Hindu supporters. Some of the wealthy Hindu industrialists, including one of the Birla brothers, are reported to be supplying substantial funds.

A number of newspapers are under the influence of these groups. Some, like New Delhi's *Hindu Outlook*,

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are rabidly against the government. Others are nominally Congress supporters but emphasize an intensely communal outlook and distort the news to suit their purposes. Most Indian newspapers are no more impartial about Moslems and Pakistan than the Hearst papers in America are about Communists and Russia.

The attitude of the Brown-Shirt Brigades toward Mahatma Gandhi shows how fanatical they are. The



Mahatma, as everyone knows, has long opposed certain aspects of Hinduism, especially "untouchability," and like every Indian with any humanity he has been deeply shocked by the recent riots. The *Hindu Outlook* says of him, "Complete annihilation of everything that is Hindu is the underlying theme of all his utterances and actions." He has also been accused of implying

that "the Hindus were the aggressors in East Punjab and hence should not complain of the Moslem atrocities in West Punjab." His Calcutta fast is ridiculed: "No one attaches any serious importance to Gandhi's fasts because everyone knows that they have only stunt value!" All this because he tried to keep Calcutta Hindus and Moslems from flying at each other's throats.

Gandhi is even criticized for advocating the use of Hindustani as a lingua franca for all India. Hindustani is a combination of Urdu, which has a Moslem base, and Hindi, which has a Hindu base. The extremists want Hindi to be the sole language of India.

IF THE communal fanatics dislike Gandhi and refer to him as a "freak of nature," they loathe Pandit Nehru and call him the "evil genius" of India. Some of the Sikhs in East Punjab, who are linked with the extremist Hindu groups by their hatred of Moslems and of those who want to live in peace with Moslems, even talk of "doing an Aung Sang to Nehru," that is, getting him out of the way by assassination as Aung Sang was got rid of in Burma.

Nehru is, of course, very much more vulnerable to attacks by orthodox Hindus than is Gandhi. A Socialist and agnostic, he was obviously embarrassed during the Independence Day celebrations on August 15 by some of the Hindu ceremonies performed over him. Furthermore, Pandit Nehru, one of the acknowledged masters of the English language, is much more at home in Urdu than in Hindi, as is plain from his radio talks.

The fierceness of the campaign against Nehru is due to the fact that he is the least communal-minded of the Indian government leaders and has not considered religion in making his appointments. He would solve India's problems by economic and social advances rather than by a retreat to communalism. He hoped that after India became a dominion he could turn his attention to agrarian reforms and other aspects of modernization. Instead, he has been occupied with trying to prevent further murderous outbursts and with caring for the victims. On one occasion, in Connaught Circus, the very center of New Delhi, he personally rescued two Moslem girls from a band of Sikhs. Naturally he is anathema to the extremists. An editorial in the September issue of the *Hindu Outlook* began, "We impeach the Nehru government for betraying the confidence of the innocent millions of Hindustan." Nehru is also blamed for supporting Indonesia, which will be a 90 per cent Moslem state.

Nehru is not only attacked directly but also through his sister, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, now ambassador to Moscow and delegate to the United Nations. The most recent issue of the *Hindu Outlook* accuses her of being responsible for Pakistan. One must read the actual words of the newspaper to appreciate the tortuous logic and the scurrilous implications of this lying charge:

British statesmen wanted India to be a united and a strong country which would be useful to fight the Russian menace. For this purpose they transferred the complete power to the Congress on September 2, 1946.

Certain incidents in America have changed the whole situation, and the British had to accept partition of India. In the U. N. Conference Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit advocated the cause of Indians in South Africa with great ability and ultimately India won the point against General Smuts.

The personal charms of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit were mainly responsible for converting Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, to [the] Indian side, and that was the deciding factor in favor of India. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's friendship with Vishinsky is well known in international circles. But it was not friendship and charming manners alone that won Russian sympathy for India. Mrs. Pandit on behalf of India promised to form an Asiatic bloc under the leadership of Russia in return for this help. . . .

When the Anglo-American allies were convinced that the transference of power to Congress meant India joining Russia and thus strengthening it, they changed their original plan and decided to befriend Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League. When Mr. Jinnah went to London through Mr. Churchill this friendship was cemented, and a plan to carve out a Pakistan state on the border of Russia was finalized.

For the doubtful advantages of winning the case of Indians in South Africa, India has lost its integrity.

Long live the charms of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and the international fame of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Brown-Shirt Brigades have also been campaigning to eliminate all Moslems from the Indian government, including some who are supporters of Nehru. For example, they accuse Asaf Ali, now ambassador to the United States, of having acted as a spy for the British, corresponded secretly with Mr. Jinnah, and diverted arms machinery from India to Pakistan. Similarly baseless charges have been brought against other Moslems, such as Maulana Azad, who have remained loyal to the Indian National Congress. All these are vilified as "aliens" and "potential fifth columnists."

Instead of a government headed by Nehru the extremists want a government led by "strong Hindus and competent administrators." Many political observers believe that these elements would be happy if Premier Nehru were replaced by Deputy Premier Vallabhai Patel, who is a much more orthodox Hindu and much more communal-minded than either Gandhi or Nehru. Patel, for example, was willing to preside at the opening of a swimming pool in Bombay restricted to Hindus—one can hardly conceive of Nehru doing such a thing. This does not mean of course that the Hindu "Brown Shirts" completely indorse Mr. Patel, or that he shares their ideas. A recent *Hindu Outlook* says, "Not only Pandit Nehru but even Sardar Vallabhai Patel is in a fool's paradise. The Sardar still thinks that it is feasible to build a non-communal state composed of Hindus, Moslems, and other minorities. . . . Hindus have still not realized that a new enemy nation has come into existence as our neighbor."

AS YET the Hindu extremists have obtained only one post in the Cabinet—the Ministry of Industries and Supplies, which has gone to the Mahasabhaist, Dr. S. P. Mukerji. If they succeed in eliminating Nehru and installing a premier and ministers to their liking, they will try to convert India into a "completely Hindu state." In this state all the Hindu religious beliefs, including the sacredness of the cow and the untouchability regulations, would become state doctrines, and professing Islam would be an unlawful act. The Brown Shirts want this Hindu state "to put itself on a war footing immediately." They have already advised the government to "prepare the country for war with Pakistan" and demanded that it "impose conscription and recruit all young Hindus to the army." One contributor to a recent issue of *Hindu Outlook*, after repeating a number of typical fabrications and exaggerations, wrote, "I beseech you to consider the above facts and start preparations to meet the danger by immediately organizing the Hindus for *jehad* [religious war]."

Although few believe that the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh or other extremist organizations are likely to come into power in the near future, police reports indicate that they may cause further strife in Indian cities. A

careful study of the riots which have disfigured India so horribly during the past fifteen months shows that the initiative was frequently taken by the Brown-Shirt Brigades. For example, in the Bihar killings, in which 15,000 or more Moslems lost their lives, the Hindu Mahasabha element within and outside the Bihar government spearheaded the attack. The riots at Garmukhteswar in the United Provinces last fall were incited by the R. S. S., which sent men to the fair being held there to deliver inflammatory speeches and shout provocative slogans.

In Delhi R. S. S. men, wearing white bands round their foreheads to identify them, cooperated with Sikh firebrands to kill or drive out the very substantial Moslem minority. Apparently they had made long and careful preparations. The attackers had lists of Moslem residences in the various districts and divided their forces to "take care of them." In a few days they had killed an estimated 3,000 Moslems, burned and looted many sections of the city, and driven scores of thousands to Pakistan or into miserable refugee camps. After this performance their propaganda squads went into action and said that this had been simply a "preventive measure," that the Delhi Moslems had been preparing an uprising. As proof they pointed to the unlicensed arms collected by the army and police from Moslem houses. However, there is no evidence of any such Moslem plot in Delhi. Undoubtedly the Moslems possessed unlicensed arms, but so did the Hindus and Sikhs.

At this writing the fighting in Delhi has finally ceased, but communal feeling still runs high, largely as a result of the influx of refugees with tales of their terrible experiences. Responsible leaders like Gandhi and Nehru are trying to relax the tension by aiding the refugees and insisting that all the crimes have not been committed by the Moslems. The R. S. S. and other Hindu extremists, however, take the stories of the refugees, exaggerate them, spread them to all corners of the Hindu community, and attempt to organize revenge. Their activities offer a grave menace to the Nehru government.



Drawings by Golden

Del Vayo—Prosperity Is Indivisible

IN MY last article I discussed the Marshall plan in relation to Western European socialism. This week I want to examine it in the light of Eastern socialism. Two recent speeches at the United Nations—the first by Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia and the other by Oscar Lange of Poland—provide an excellent point of departure, for they sum up most cogently the feelings of the non-Communist left in Central and Eastern Europe.

Officially Jan Masaryk belongs to no party, but I do not think it arbitrary to class him among those progressive Europeans who accept the fact that the future pattern of their countries includes a larger measure of Socialist planning. In Masaryk a flair for epigrams and a curious blend of Slavic wit and Latin charm at times create the impression that he takes a rather light approach to world problems. But when he spoke at the General Assembly, he was in deadly earnest.

Oscar Lange is a long-standing member of the Polish Socialist Party and a distinguished economist. His address was one of the most penetrating analyses of Europe's economic tragedy the U. N. delegates have heard; it even won qualified praise from Willard L. Thorp, American representative on the Economic Commission. It will be said, of course, that Lange, like Masaryk, speaks for the Kremlin. But I am convinced that were he still a professor of economics at the University of Chicago, totally divorced from politics, he would have said exactly the same things.

Masaryk and Lange agreed that Europe is already firmly committed in the direction of socialism and will resist any attempt to force it back into the pre-war mold. With polite but ironic regret that his words might send shivers up the spines of certain countries which have flourished under rugged individualism, Masaryk declared that "nationalization of important parts of industry has become the irretrievable program of Europe today."

Lange built a remarkable case for socialist planning by comparing the achievements of his own country since the war's end with the proposals of the Paris conference. Taking the first recommendation of the sixteen-nation report, on the production effort, he pointed out that the index of Polish industrial production in the first six months of this year was 95 per cent of the pre-war monthly average. Moreover, Poland's increased coal output is contributing greatly to general European recovery. In regard to the recommendations on internal financial stability, he indicated that Poland has already attained the goals set by the Paris conference: prices have been stabilized and the Polish treasury shows a surplus for this year. As for economic cooperation among the participating countries, he revealed that although Polish trade with the Soviet Union is higher than ever before, it represents only 43 per cent of total exports, 57 per cent going to other countries. With hard facts and figures he demolished the arguments of the Western bloc-builders. Lange's speech should be reprinted in full and distributed among all those

who prefer peace without a number to World War III. Paraphrasing Litvinov's historic sentence about the indivisibility of peace, the Polish spokesman warned his listeners that "prosperity, too, is indivisible."

A survey of what has happened since the Marshall plan was first proposed shows that Lange was not simply talking for effect. Negotiations to revive trade between East and West have been going on as steadily as if the famous "iron" curtain were really made of paper. Nor is it only the small countries which are seeking such trade; since August one of the major partners in the democratic crusade, Great Britain, has been carefully reexamining its commercial ties with other nations in the hope of securing an export market in the Balkans. Britain is desperately anxious to obtain from Eastern Europe raw materials, poultry, cheese, and other dairy products which it has been forced until now to import from distant colonies and dominions. And despite all the verbal warfare at Flushing Meadow, the Labor government is at this moment preparing to reopen negotiations for a trade agreement with Russia. This was Sir Stafford Cripps's first act as Britain's new "economic czar."

European recovery would have made far more rapid progress by now had the economic problem not been treated as a football in a contest between opposing power blocs. It ought rightly, Lange said, to have been the task of the United Nations from the start. He paid special homage to the work of the Economic and Social Council. Most of the talk in the U. N. corridors these days revolves about the failures of the world organization, and it was a refreshing change to listen to the Polish delegate's constructive examination of the work that has been accomplished. The press and radio have continuously played up the clash and bluster of the Security Council meetings and paid little attention to the problems handled by the Economic and Social Council in the past twelve months. It has, for example, prepared a scrupulously detailed report on economic conditions in Europe, including proposals for meeting the most urgent needs. The U. N., through the work of its specialized agencies, might become the fulcrum of the reconstruction effort. But the Economic Council and all its allied agencies were deliberately bypassed in the Marshall plan. Assurances that Secretary General Lie would be kept informed of decisions reached at the Paris conference did nothing to change the unilateral character of the American proposal.

Leaving aside its political implications, Lange believes that from the strict viewpoint of effective aid the report of the Paris conference has many pitfalls. Most of the foreign capital investments will be concentrated in Western Europe, among sixteen nations which constitute no economic entity. Only a United Europe will ever know peace, reconstruction, and prosperity. The present form and intention of the Marshall plan cannot satisfy any genuine Socialist whether he lives in the East or the West.

Second-Class Children

BY GILBERT LAUE

IN THE United States, in the bread-basket of the world, there are children who can never have a second helping of food; children who never had a whole apple or a whole orange; babies who can't have the cod-liver oil the clinics prescribe; little girls who never wore a dress that wasn't second hand. These are the children whose fathers have died or deserted them, or whose parents were not married, or whose homes were broken up by divorce or the father's physical or mental incapacitation. These are the recipients of "aid to dependent children," as provided by the Social Security Act.

So that these boys and girls can have food, shelter, and clothing, and so that they can go to school, the federal government will match state-aid payments up to a combined maximum of \$24 a month for one child and \$15 a month for each additional child. Twelve states actually meet only the former federal maximum payments of \$18 and \$12. Some states add money to federally matched funds, up to specified limits. A few set no artificial ceiling on the cost of growing up, but in some of these aid is only rendered in "approved" cases. If the health and welfare of all of our future citizens is important, if we are unwilling that some of them should be given a second-class opportunity from the start, then every state must remove the ceilings on aid to dependent children and the strings attached to that aid. Average monthly assistance per family (not per child), as this year started, ranged from \$26.32 in Mississippi—Texas awards just 20 cents more—to \$107.77 in the state of Washington.

In Indiana the limit is set at \$35 a month for a mother and one child. The Lake County Department of Public Welfare in that state, generally recognized as one of the best local departments in the country, decided to look into the results of this arbitrary maximum. Here are some of the conditions it uncovered:

A family living in a basement which is flooded after every rain; a mother and six children crowded into two basement rooms; three families sharing one broken toilet on the back porch; a mother who has put off a needed operation for ten years; five growing children dividing a quart of milk a day; three brothers who stayed out of school for two weeks because they had no shoes; a family whose aid-to-dependent-children grant lasts just

eighteen days—the rest of the month the family borrows from the neighbors, or lives on beans and potato soup.

The department found one mother who had been able to see just two movies in sixteen years; another whose recreation was "going to town to get medicine"; children who are excluded from school because they are unkempt; children who eat at noontime only the extra sandwiches brought especially for that purpose by their compassionate classmates.

In many homes from three to ten people were jammed into one room. Family after family filled themselves with starchy foods, never able to purchase the "basic seven" the children are told about at school. Frequently no recreation could be afforded. Games, movies, newspapers, and radios cost money, and some sort of standard in dress is required for going to church, belonging to the Scouts, or taking part in school activities. And, finally, the department found excessive tuberculosis rates, much nervousness, slowness in school, postponed operations, slow starvation, and one death from malnutrition.

This is how dependent children are aided in the great Calumet industrial region, home of "the world's largest steel mills" and "the world's largest oil refinery."

Because *anything* is better than seeing their children hungry, many mothers go to work. The children may be left alone all day—but they will eat. Often a mother waits on table from six to midnight, and hopes against hope that the reports of her eldest daughter's sex delinquency aren't true. Other mothers move in with relatives although they know they aren't welcome, although their sons and daughters are told every day that they are a burden and a nuisance.

Anything is better than having no roof over your children's heads. So if a man offers to pay the rent, can a mother say no? If she takes it, she can stretch the government check to cover other necessities—until she gets caught and the government aid is cut off.

But the Lake County Department of Public Welfare found not only poverty, sickness, misery, and fear; it found courage and even hopefulness among these mothers. It found them confident that "things will be better some day." They say: "Maybe, I can get a good job next month. . . . Maybe, my daughter will get a raise. . . . Maybe, my son can stay in school. . . . My health may be better next month. . . . Maybe, we can get an apartment of our own. . . . Maybe, I can move away where people won't know my baby is illegitimate . . . next month or next year . . . or the next.

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Things will really get better only when Americans face the fact that many children in this well-fed country are hungry most of the time, when the general public recognizes the disgraceful inadequacy of the aid-to-dependent-children stipend, and when state legislators and national Congressmen no longer have the face to tell their constituents that \$24 a month is luxury.

Is adequate aid to dependent children too expensive? In Indiana, an average state in terms of income, it would cost less than 85 cents per capita per year to give dependent children a diet including the "seven basic" foods and to provide decent housing and decent clothes to wear. It would tax each Indiana citizen less than the price of a haircut. To offset part of the handicap imposed on a child for being dependent in a low-income state, the Social Security Act can and should be amended to provide for greater federal aid to poorer states.

It goes without saying that the princely maximums of \$24 and \$15 for federal matching should be done away with altogether. The cost of raising a fatherless child is too often illogically balanced against taxes. It can really be balanced only against the cost of having failed our future citizens, the greatest resource of our democracy.

Can Private Capital Go Abroad?

BY S. BERACHA

[The memorandum which follows answers a question thousands of Americans have been asking: In these days of huge government loans and other plans for the resuscitation of broken European economies what are the chances for private investment in Western Europe? M. Beracha, who is Economic Adviser to the French government, sent this explanation to Sylvia Porter, financial editor of the New York Post, who quoted a few sentences from it in a recent column. We are indebted to Miss Porter and her paper for permission to publish M. Beracha's full statement.]

THERE has been a great deal of discussion recently about the desirability of foreign private investments in France and other European countries as opposed to foreign government loans.

It is quite evident that France, with its controlled economy and with the majority of its key industries nationalized, prefers government loans to private investments. This is not, however, always in the interest of the lending nation; not only for reasons of profit—although, theoretically at least, an investment brings in more than a loan—but also because public loans always present budgetary problems which are avoided by private investment.

On the other hand, private foreign investors will encounter great technical difficulties in France and other countries as a result of those countries' over-all plans for reconstruction and the nationalization of many industries. As the economic systems in the Old World are today far removed from what is called free enterprise, its countries cannot provide the traditional securities of the capitalist system. The following are some of the problems which will confront foreign investors:

France, for instance, insists on the necessity of exercising ample control over any private capital which is to be invested in the country, in order to be able to determine the amount which should go into one or another industry. It cannot encourage the development of any enterprise outside the framework of the Monnet Plan for the Reequipment and Modernization of France. Moreover, it must limit foreign shares in certain industries in order to assure the industry's and the country's independence. Since French private investments are themselves controlled and directed, foreign capital would not suffer any discrimination in being subjected to controlled diversion toward essential industries such as textiles or paper. This would eliminate the possibility of its being used for the production of, let us say, Coca-Cola. In accordance with the decision of the International Trade Conference in Geneva, any foreign private investment would be subject to "pre-authorization" by the government of the country where it is to be made.

Another problem will be whether foreign investors will have the right to take their profits or even their capital out of the country without restrictions, once they have decided to liquidate their investment. This would be an extremely ticklish question, if it arose. Destitute countries, such as France, which have to resort to foreign credits just because of their trade deficit, cannot permit free movement of capital out of the country, at least for some time to come. On the other hand, France cannot possibly prevent investors from collecting their interest, since this would discourage all foreign investment.

France is therefore willing to find a temporary solution, one which would be in accordance with the principle of free disposition of profits or even capital. It would entail some restrictions in its application, restrictions which would be determined by changing conditions, essentially those involving the balance of trade. If, for example, outgoing foreign capital were balanced by incoming foreign capital, there would be no reason to prevent foreign investors from taking foreign currency out of the country. In spite of such difficulties, agreements can be reached between countries making investments (such as the United States) and those needing foreign capital (such as France) on the basis of the existing economic facts and within the framework of the International Trade Charter.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

European Customs Union—I

FROM the moment that the Marshall plan first burst on the world there has been much discussion of the possibility of a European customs union. To many people both in this country and in Europe the project appeared to be a natural, if not essential, corollary of the mutual self-help program which was to be a condition of further American aid. Nevertheless, it was at a fairly late stage in its deliberations that the Committee of European Cooperation turned its attention to the question. Indeed, it might have been omitted from the agenda altogether but for the prodding of the State Department and the insistence of the French and Italian governments, which seem to have reached some very realistic conclusions about the obsolescence of economic nationalism.

The British government has not been very enthusiastic about the proposal. On the one hand, if a customs union were organized in Western Europe, Britain could not afford to hold aloof; on the other, membership in such a union might prove irreconcilable with the existing empire-preference system. Conscious of this dilemma, the Foreign Office has been inclined to take the line that obstacles to such a project are too formidable and prospects of overcoming them too slight to make discussion worth while. Nevertheless, before the end of the Paris conference the British delegation did agree to join with thirteen of the sixteen nations represented on the committee in creating a study group "for the purpose of examining the problems involved, and the steps to be taken, in the formation of a customs union or customs unions."

Meanwhile, the report of the committee admits that Europe would benefit from the elimination of internal trade barriers. "The formation of a larger free-trade area in Europe," it declares, "could be expected to lead to greater efficiency in many sectors of production, and this would not only increase the wealth of the countries concerned but would also be of assistance in solving the fundamental problem of the European balance of payments." The report hastens to add that solution of this problem requires in addition cooperation with the rest of the world—an incontestable point, since even an economically unified Europe would be far from self-sufficient. Nor can one quarrel with the committee's insistence that formation of a customs union, involving as it must the most complex adjustments in the economies of the participating countries, cannot be achieved "by a stroke of the pen."

Despite the inconclusiveness of the report, it does represent a considerable advance, for never before has so definite an approach to the subject been made officially by so large a group of nations. Moreover, the meeting in Paris provided an opportunity for preliminary discussion of several regional customs unions of the kind already organized by Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg (Benelux). The committee notes that in the course of the conference France and

Italy arranged for a joint investigation of the conditions under which a French-Italian customs union might be achieved. Similarly, the four Scandinavian countries are to examine the possibilities of eliminating their mutual tariff frontiers, and Greece and Turkey are to explore the question of a regional customs union. It is therefore fair to say that the idea of breaking down internal European barriers to trade is no longer the exclusive property of theorists but is definitely on the political map.

Considered from the purely economic point of view, the case for creating as large a free-trade area as possible in Europe is overwhelming. The Continent has great resources, human and material, which should provide for higher average standards of living than its people have hitherto enjoyed. But economic progress has been checked by a network of boundaries restricting the free movement of goods, capital, and labor. Before the war the sixteen nations represented on the Paris committee had a population of 206,000,000. That was an average of 12,250,000 per country—far too small to allow for efficient operation of modern industries which require mass markets to support mass production. Some half-dozen of these countries, for instance, have automobile industries, but between them they do not turn out nearly as many cars as General Motors does in an average year. The result is that despite low labor costs European cars cannot compete with American, while motoring is an unattainable convenience and pleasure for the European masses.

The present is in many ways an ideal time to lay the foundations for a free-trade Europe. In many countries industries have been shattered by the war; nearly everywhere they need retooling. Labor and capital alike could be saved if they were reorganized and located to serve Continental rather than national markets. Before the war severe unemployment in most Western European countries was so big a factor that advocates of free trade could not get a hearing; the whole trend was toward "protecting" jobs. Today most of the same countries are plagued by man-power shortages and are at their wits' end to find ways of increasing production. Free trade could make it possible to get increased production at reduced labor cost by enabling each region of the Continent to specialize in the industrial or agricultural activities for which it is most fitted by reason of climate, raw materials, location in relation to markets, and availability of experienced man-power. It is ridiculous, for instance, for Britain to grow peaches and grapes in hothouses at great cost instead of importing these fruits from France; the French, for their part would not, if Europe were rationally organized, duplicate British facilities for producing certain kinds of machinery.

Yet if the arguments for European economic union are strong, it must be admitted that the obstacles to be overcome are very great. They cannot be surmounted by any sudden rush but will yield only to the most patient demolition workers. It would be a mistake, therefore, for the United States to demand agreement on a customs union as a prerequisite to Marshall-plan aid. Yet we can legitimately press the point that gradual elimination of intracontinental trade barriers is essential to the kind of economic integration on which European recovery depends and still more to the future improvement of living standards.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Books and Bookkeeping in America

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE problems of publishing since the war boom faded and inflation began have been much discussed. Bennett Cerf presented the publishers' side of the case in the *Saturday Review of Literature* some weeks ago. May a few remarks be permitted a non-publisher who has written and read books for many years, on two continents, and under the most varied economic conditions, personal and general? The accepted explanation of the book crisis seems to be that the increase in costs of production and the fact that the price of the finished book cannot be increased in anything like the same proportion have created a situation in which only best-sellers with fat subsidiary rights can keep the publisher in business. It is said that a publisher today must sell at least 10,000 copies of a book in order to break even, and that the first 100,000 sales of a current best-seller netted its publishers only \$700.

This is indeed a serious situation. Assuming that no sane publisher would dare to publish books which were not sure to sell at least 10,000 copies or have a good chance of being taken by a book club or sold to the movies, it is a situation that could actually endanger the development of American literature. For the development of any national literature is mainly dependent upon books which sell less than 10,000 and are not even looked at by movie scouts. Moreover, the absence of flourishing "experimental" literature would eventually affect the supply of best-sellers.

When I came to this country in 1936, I tried to find out why there were no cheap books, books selling for twenty-five and fifty cents. Everybody explained to me that booksellers would not order them and readers would not buy them. Shortly afterward the million-dollar market in pocket books developed.

To the newcomer other features of the American book trade were equally puzzling. There are certainly not enough

bookstores, and the magic bookshop run by the scholarly book-lover which becomes a refuge and a haven for young and old fellow book-lovers is practically non-existent. It is my impression that the average American bookseller does not like books—and is therefore predestined for bad business, like a doctor who does not like people. He is in many instances uninformed and uneducated, and usually seems interested only in getting rid of his staple best-sellers. He is unable and unwilling to serve as an expert adviser to the more discriminating reader. The stock of the average bookshop is ridiculously limited if not small. The life span of a book is as short as that of a blue baby. To acquire an early title of even the most famous living writers it is necessary to search as for the alchemist's stone.

Why is it that Americans do not have and do not buy more books? In Europe an educated person, such as a physician or a teacher or a cultivated business man or working man, will most likely have a library of 500 to 1,000 books. Here, I often see no more than 50 to 100 books in the apartments of intelligent and cultured people—and I remember one outstanding publisher who had no books at all in his luxurious penthouse! There isn't a self-respecting family in Europe which does not own sets of classical writers and the collected works of outstanding contemporary authors. Before the war there was hardly a German family that did not have the collected works of Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, or a French family without a complete Zola and Maupassant. Four different German editions of the complete works of Stendhal were available at the time. How many families in this country own the collected works of Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, Poe, not to mention Hemingway? Do not mention the standard European authors? As Margaret Marshall recently pointed out, one reason, and a scandalous one, why Americans in general are not familiar with the works of Henry James is that no inexpensive complete edition of America's most accomplished novelist has been issued in this country.

Of course, there is not much room for books in this country. The bookseller says that he cannot stock more books because rents are too high. The city apartment dweller cannot buy more books because he has no place to put them—the average book-club subscriber has reached the maximum capacity of his bookcases in about ten years. But in most apartments, nevertheless, there is room for more bookcases—and to me one of the curious things about this standardized country is the lack of standardized, inexpensive, and well-built bookcases.

This is a problem which the publisher might help to solve. It would certainly be to his interest to do so. Couldn't publishers do something to help booksellers get more space—and better-trained and more enthusiastic salesmen? Couldn't they encourage the manufacture of inexpensive bookcases and also the architectural integration of book shelves in apartments and homes? Couldn't they encourage book-collecting? There is no reason why the collecting of books—not by twos and threes, or even dozens, but by hundreds—should not be as widespread as the collecting of stamps. Today in America it is a hobby for the happy few.

As for the books themselves, is there no way of reducing the cost of production? It seems to me there might be more differentiation in format and price between books to be collected and reread and books to be read and thrown away. Why should a thriller be produced and marketed in the same manner as a first-rate work of literature?

On the other hand it might be a good idea if all books were printed first in a cheap edition, and those worth keeping then issued in a more durable and beautiful form. The French have always printed cheap paper-bound copies of a given book for the casual reader and special editions of the same book on exquisite paper for the collector. Publishers, if they followed this custom, could charge less for the ordinary edition, and thereby expand their market, and charge much more than they do now for the special edition. They would be performing a service to American litera-

ture by stimulating and developing a love for beautiful books.

As for cheap editions of good books, these would perform a service of another kind. Dickens's novels were first successfully published in cheap serialized issues like magazines. Why not try this again? A German publisher is now printing Shakespeare and Homer on a rotary press in the form of newspapers. It does not sound appealing, but it is at least a way of distributing literature inexpensively.

One way *not* recommended for improving the sale of books is an increase in sensational mass advertising, which apparently devours a great deal of the publisher's profit. Surely a book does not require and should not have the same kind of promotion as an automobile or a toothpaste. The money might better be spent on improving distribution, on improving quality of design, on developing better bookstores, on inculcating the bookstore habit, on furthering good literary criticism, and on increasing the dignity, the charm, the value, and the availability of books.

Antillean Agony

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE IN THE CARIBBEAN. By Paul Blanchard. The Macmillan Company. \$5.

IF YOU could take a magic plane equipped with a glass floor and wing your way out over the islands of the Caribbean, they would appear, so our author assures us, like "tiny discs of serenity in a blue-green sea." But step ashore on any of them from commercial plane or steamer and you soon discover that their apparent serenity is deceptive. As a matter of fact, the islands are a boiling caldron of misery and mass discontent. And to show the reasons why is the purpose of Mr. Blanchard's remarkable synthesis of history and descriptive sociology, succinctly packed into the 379 pages of this book.

Throughout the Caribbean islands the primary problems are economic and imperialistic, but because the overwhelming majority of their colonial inhabitants are Negroes and Negroids these issues become entwined with those of race and color. Only Puerto Rico can boast a predominantly white population. Since

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Norman Cousins, Editor, *Saturday Review of Literature*, says: "... a vital, well-balanced, seminal book of essays of urgent value to anyone concerned with ideas as means or ends." \$4.50

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they were acquired before the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the fact that there are European colonies on our doorstep has provoked little concern in this country, even during those periods when we were exhibiting an unprecedented enthusiasm for democracy in other parts of the world. Of the groups of colonies in this region, three belong to European powers and one to the United States. In an area about the size of California live some six million people, without the bonds of a common tradition, race, language, or anything else. Even the British possessions, the largest single group, do not have a common currency. As a late comer in the imperialist game, we prefer to speak euphemistically of our colonies—Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands—as “unincorporated territories of the United States.” Perhaps this helps to explain our vacillating policies toward these dependencies as well as our exemplified generosity in money and material aid.

The three independent republics in the area—Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, once a part of the mosaic

of empire—are included in the author's review because they are within the American economic sphere and are influenced to a degree by the overpopulation and poverty of their neighbors.

Since history, with its numerous and diverse contributing circumstances, explains the present plight of the Caribbean colonies, Mr. Blanshard uses it as warp in weaving his background tapestry, his wool being the sociology of the area. The history of the islands, ever since their discovery by Columbus, has been violent. They have been under the rule of first one European power and then another. They have known African slavery and rebellion to the extent that the “odor of black burning flesh still hangs over the Caribbean, and no white ruling class will ever escape it.” Today the white man's rule is dying.

As agrarian appendages to their “mother countries” the islands suffer from one-crop and lopsided economies—most of them even have to import their food. Work in practically all of them is seasonal, and wages are unbelievably low, two to three dollars a week being the average cash farm wage,

with urban industry paying not much more. In other words, the people are agonizingly poor in money and goods. Malnutrition and disease are almost endemic; illiteracy is widespread, since the few schools do not reach the masses.

Except in the American and French colonies, the people have little voice in their government. One result of the strikes and disturbances which swept the area in the late thirties, with their demand for economic and social reform, has been new political concessions, especially by the British. Jamaica has been granted an experimental constitution based upon universal adult suffrage and a two-chamber parliament; the income qualifications for exercise of the franchise in Barbados has been reduced and the number of voters increased. Although colonial governors continue in their habits and mode of life as proconsuls, they are by no means as reactionary as they used to be, despite the rather despicable recent arbitrary acts of a few of them.

Is there any immediate solution for these problems? Our author thinks not, for after admitting that the colonial system in the Caribbean is “undemocratic, antiquated, inefficient, selfish, cruel, and snobbish,” he has to recognize that the system is a going concern and will in all probability last for many years more.

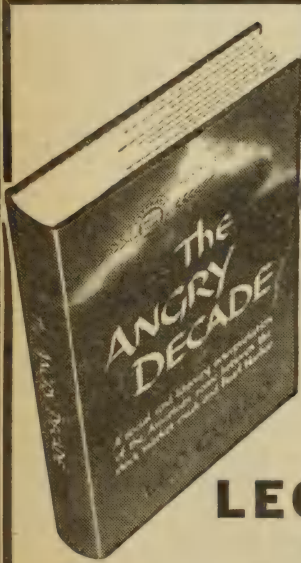
As a State Department official stationed in the Caribbean from 1942 to 1946, Mr. Blanshard was in an excellent strategic position to study the problems of the Caribbean. And he made such brilliant use of his opportunities that his book is the best general study of the area to date.

JAMES W. IVY

California's Golden Youth

CALIFORNIA GOLD. By Rodman W. Paul. Harvard University Press. \$4.50.

NEXT January 24 is the centenary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, and no doubt California will be celebrating the occasion with suitable pageantry. We may also expect a spate of books and articles recalling the more picturesque phases of the great rush to the Golden West. Mr. Paul's book, however, is not an advance section of the anniversary gravy train. It is a scholarly work, the fruit of long research, de-



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signed to dissipate the "thick haze of romantic legend and mythology" which settled over the mining country as a result of the literary efforts of Bret Harte and Mark Twain and, more particularly, their imitators.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Paul's book is worthy but dull. Unsentimental treatment does not detract from the fascination of the subject; moreover, the author has enlivened his pages by re-printing some miners' songs full of authentic folk melancholy and by reproducing some excellent contemporary prints.

Mr. Paul writes of the kind of people who went to the diggings. He tells how they got there; how they lived, worked, and acquired their skills; how they evolved a mining code; how the mining districts developed from frontier camps into fully organized communities. It all happened in the quarter-century from 1848 to 1873 which his book covers. First came the brief period of bonanza discoveries; then the years of gradual transition, during which the miners strove to compensate for declining yields by developing better techniques. The final stage saw a transformation to industrial maturity, with large-scale capitalist enterprises responsible for most of the output and the free and independent miner replaced by the "wage slave."

A point which the author might perhaps have stressed more strongly is that California provided the first example of democratic exploitation of the precious metal. Never before in history had a great goldfield been opened up on a free-for-all basis. There were no royalties to pay to either state or landowner, and in the early stages of the rush, when placers were worked with the crudest equipment, capital requirements were unimportant. Luck and energy were the only passports to fortune.

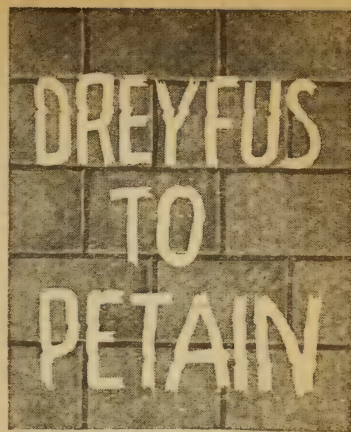
But the day of the independent craftsman proved short. By the end of 1851 the first flush of easy gold-getting was over and miners were forced to turn to techniques too elaborate for the individual or the small partnership. For a time the difficulty was overcome by the formation of cooperative associations of miners who pooled their claims and their labor. But the long-term trend was to capitalist enterprise. It began with the formation of corporations to build dams and flumes to supply the miners with

the water they needed in ever-increasing volume. It was firmly established as the exhaustion of alluvial deposits turned attention to the quartz ore bodies, development of which required large amounts of capital.

Although the evolution of the California mines was so rapid, the gold rush, actually, was rather slow in getting under way owing to the lack of communications. The real stampede from the Eastern states and Europe did not begin until 1849. Meanwhile the early prospectors from the small American communities around San Francisco were handicapped by lack of technical knowledge. The Spanish Americans had a contribution to offer, but they were not made very welcome. As the rush progressed, however, it brought in men with experience gained in the now almost forgotten southern Appalachian goldfield as well as workers from the Old World mining districts of Cornwall and Saxony. The traditional skills of these emigrants were invaluable, especially in such work as tunneling and shaft-sinking. But it was not long before new problems and the increased necessity of saving labor inspired the development of new techniques and machines. Hydraulic mining—the use of powerful jets of water to break down whole hills of gravel—was, according to Mr. Paul, an original California invention.

The experience gained in California was a powerful factor in speeding mineral development throughout the West, for the state was the starting-point for numerous later rushes—to Nevada, Montana, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and even South America. The merest rumor of a new strike anywhere in the Rocky Mountain region was enough to speed hundreds of footloose prospectors on their way.

Gold launched California on its spectacular career and for a time completely dominated its economy. Whether the glittering metal added more to the state's wealth than it subtracted from it is a debatable point which Mr. Paul has sidestepped, perhaps wisely. Against whatever capital fund gold contributed to the development of more permanent resources must be balanced the vast damage to soil, forests, and water supplies caused by the mining methods used. On the other hand, here as in many another region before and since,



Although half a century has passed, the Dreyfus Affair still remains the most mysterious, the fishiest of all causes celebres. And here is the eternal plot: on one side the Big Brass, the ousted aristocracy and the subversive elements of the Church; on the other the intellectuals, the progressives and the people; in the middle, a defenseless dupe who conveniently happened to be Jewish.

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KEITH HUTCHISON

G. B. S.

GENEVA, CYMBELINE REFINISHED, AND GOOD KING CHARLES. By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.

AT NINETY and more, not even a G. B. S. can be expected to add anything to his reputation, and it would be too much to say that the contents of the present volume—written between 1937 and 1945—will do anything of the sort. At best we get mostly repetition of familiar ideas; at worst something that sounds a bit like such a parody as Beerbohm might do of the real Shaw. But for all that, there is still an astonishing energy and a liveliness which would unmistakably identify any one of the more than two hundred pages. All the characters, including the Hitler and Mussolini of "Geneva," the Newton and Charles II of the other play, even the Imogen of the new attempt to improve Shakespeare, talk like Shaw rather than like themselves; but, in the old days, they define an intellectual position more sharply and clearly than their alleged prototypes could ever have done it and they take us again into that delightful Shavian world where everything is so inhumanly logical that one wonders how the world manages to keep in so much unneces-

sary trouble. The prefaces are short, for Shaw, but what other writer between nine and ninety could make what is probably nonsense sound so entertainingly obvious as the sentences which follow: "Plot has always been the curse of serious drama. . . . It is so out of place there that Shakespeare never could invent one. Unfortunately, instead of taking nature's hint and discarding plots, he borrowed them all over the place and got in trouble through having to unravel them in the last act."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Opium War

FOREIGN MUD. Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglia at Canton in the 1830's and the Anglo-Chinese War That Followed. By Maurice Collis. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

MR. COLLIS'S previous books have not only shown him to be a gifted historian working in unfamiliar fields but established him as one of the ten best contemporary writers in English. Some, however, feared that his qualities were so much the product of his rare material that he would fail with a grosser theme. It is not so. "Foreign Mud" has for its subject matter an event which is recounted in any college textbook in Far Eastern relations, the Opium War between Britain and China. In itself the theme is a sordid one, and "Foreign Mud" might have been a raging and scornful tale, with consequent loss of moral authority and delight for the reader. Instead it is handled with re-

straint and objectivity; yet the moral facts are not in the least obscured. As Mr. Collis calmly describes it, British conduct might be summed up in two Chinese characters which Viceroy Lu officially prescribed as the name for Lord Napier, "Laboriously Vile."

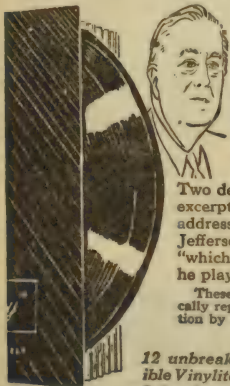
Mr. Collis writes a lovely luminous prose, so that whether his material be of a Venetian voluptuousness or Rembrandtian gloom, his pictures have the formal clarity of a Canaletto and the softly glowing surface of a Vermeer. Nor is the style merely imposed upon the material. As if long years in the Far East had given the Anglo-Irishman an exquisite appreciation of good manners, there is in all he writes a delicate suggestion of ceremonial. The Western rhythm of his narrative is matched with a grave decorum, so that his humor has a rare piquancy and his unimpassioned censures an absolute authority.

The Opium War was not a strange byroad in history, "Foreign Mud," therefore, has less exotic charm than "The Land of the Great Image." And perhaps because the coastal ports of China have been often described, it contains less descriptive imagery than previous books. But the spareness suits the tale, and as compensation the volume is illustrated with plates that in themselves are a delight. I cannot praise the book too highly. It is a model for writers of history.

RALPH BATES

Fiction in Review

TIMOTHY PEMBER'S "The Needle's Eye" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$3) is a difficult book to write about because to praise it in proportion to its marked gifts of taste and grace is to praise it out of all proportion to its interest as a whole work, while to emphasize its insufficiencies is surely to deprive the author of an encouragement he very much warrants. Mr. Pember is an Englishman now resident here. His novel, set in England, is about the young grandson of an English aristocrat who falls in love with the young daughter of a radical journalist. Through Catherine Byrne and her father Harold Wick learns a new view of the structure of society; he becomes a factory worker and an active trade unionist. The story is thin—far too thin to carry the weight



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of Mr. Pember's sensibility. Indeed, its paucity of dramatic narrative is the major deficiency of "The Needle's Eye," a lack for which no amount of careful writing or delicate observation can compensate.

On the other hand, Mr. Pember's sensibility is not of the variety we usually find in plotless novels—and here is one of the chief signs of his grace. The author of "The Needle's Eye" is not himself over-subjective or primarily concerned, like most "sensitive" writers, with asserting his own emotional dominance over the common universe. Rather, he is over-concerned with the too tenuous states of feeling of his characters. This exaggerated interest in motive and response no doubt has its source in Mr. Pember's apprenticeship to Henry James. But the excesses which we forgive in the teacher because he has so much else to give us, unfortunately make for a good deal of tedium in the pupil.

Of course there is a pleasant anomaly in the mere fact that someone of Mr. Pember's leftist political leanings should have put himself to school to James. The choice must be recognized, I think, as an aspect of the generosity of spirit with which Mr. Pember approaches the entire business of writing. In these days, when it is supposed that one can become a novelist simply by self-proclamation, he brings a rare quality of respect to his craft.

Similarly, in this period when literature no less than politics is so busily engaged in dehumanizing the individual, it is remarkable indeed to find any novelist, but especially a "socially conscious" one, who has Mr. Pember's respect for people, who treats them as human beings, not as symbols. "The Needle's Eye" is a novel about economic inequality, but Mr. Pember, far from parceling out virtue in proportion to lack of privilege, and sin in proportion to social advantage, maintains an equal distance of insight and sympathy in relation to all the characters in his story, class heroes and class villains alike. Thus he is able to admit the weakness of Mr. Byrne, with whose politics he is clearly in agreement, and even to mock the extreme emotions of inferiority of an Indian fellow-student of Harold's at Oxford; and he is willing to acknowledge that Harold's squirearchical grandparents are people of large personal dignity and charm.

It is precisely because of these uncommon marks of merit that one wishes Mr. Pember could have conceived a larger narrative outline for his novel, that he had had more things happen, and that he had revealed his characters more through open dramatic conflict and less through reflection. That he is perfectly competent to handle a more open method is evidenced by the few scenes where he tries it—the scene, for example, where Catherine's father comes to say goodby to Harold at the home of his grandparents; or the scenes in the English nursing-home to which Catherine is committed when she has tuberculosis. How much more we learn about the character of Mr. Byrne from the one short passage in which he receives the brunt of upper-class inhospitality than from the endless pages of analysis through the eyes of his daughter; how much more we care about Catherine Byrne when she is permitted to lose her temper at a sadistic doctor than on the basis of her self-probings! It is in sudden moments of this kind that "The Needle's Eye" springs into full free life and that Mr. Pember gives us a glimpse of the direction in which he must work if he is to give us the compelling fiction for which he is, in fundamental attitude, so well equipped.

DIANA TRILLING

Art

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THE exhibition of fifty-eight paintings by thirteen contemporary British artists, organized by the Albright Art Gallery of Buffalo and now running at the Metropolitan (through October 31), is one of the saddest samples of recent transatlantic art that I have seen. The new French painters revealed at the Whitney late last winter were aestheti-

cally corrupt in so far as they tried to make a show of vitality out of the patched-together debris of a great immediate past; but these British painters seem to function on a level of potency so low as to make the very faking of vitality, interest, or novelty altogether out of the question. They are sincere—which is not the same thing as honest—simply because they have not the energy to be anything else. Though the tendencies they embody are various, ranging from modified impressionism to the outrightly abstract, almost all the painters present are emphatically characterized by a lack of conviction that is most marked with respect to color but also affects structure, unity, surface, and everything else required of painting as an art. There is also an inclination, not surprising in the light of the past of English art, to weaken the influences of French painting in the direction of book illustration; uncertain surfaces, the false and meaningless diffidence with which paint is laid on, dull receding color make these pictures shrink to page size, and we forget that they hang on walls.

Henry Moore's tinted drawings are as tasteful and monotonous as ever. John Tunnard, whose abstract oil paintings used to show such remarkable quality in their drawing ten years ago, has declined into a kind of gimcrackery that plays with deep space in a way resembling Dali's; even so, Tunnard retains a bit of distinction. John Piper is an eclectic virtuoso of some skill but little importance. Stanley Spencer lacks that elemental subtlety without which painting cannot attain to the status of art. William Coldstream is represented by a single very sensitive landscape that, conventional as it is in its pre-Fauvist way, meets its own terms successfully; yet on this evidence he could hardly be called a serious modern painter. The most authentic work present, and that by far, is David Jones's singing water colors; however low their pressure and however derivative of Paris expressionism their means, these contribute a little some-

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thing not seen before. Here the tentativeness is not misplaced, is not a result of the artist's difficulties with his medium, but a true and intended expression of his feeling. The other painters shown, of whom the less said the better, are Edward Bawden, Edward Burra, Robert Colquhoun, Frances Hodgkins, Vivian Pitchford, Eric Ravilious, and Graham Sutherland.

Bearing in mind Matthew Arnold's remark on "a tendency in Americans . . . to overrate and overpraise what is not really superior," it is with trepidation that I cite the more or less abstract student paintings of a few young Americans, none over thirty, as a demonstration of what begins to seem our superior literacy in the practice, if not consumption, of art. None of the ten artists presented—in a single picture each—at the "New Provincetown '47" exhibition at Jacques Seligmann's last month has yet achieved a personality, and there is still far too little assertion of individual temperament in their work: yet how high the level is on which most of them paint, how firmly they wield their medium, and with what awareness of the true direction of all that is serious in modern art. In this last respect at least three or four of them already paint more importantly than anyone at the British show; and at least seven of the ten embody a *painterliness* that none of the British except David Jones even surmises.

That "school" paintings could ever

go this far in taste, sophistication, and competence in this country is something no one would have anticipated ten years ago. Think only of the crudeness we still see exhibited every year at the Whitney Annual by supposedly mature and actually accepted artists. Almost all of the exhibitors at Seligmann's have studied at one time or another with Hans Hofmann, and credit for the level of their work—in a country for whose art the question of *level* is the most crucial of all—belongs to him doubly. I doubt whether any other American group show this year will reach an equally high and consistent level.

By way of a postscript on the British show, let me say that I would hesitate to judge contemporary British painting on the basis of the evidence here. Museum directors had their hand in the selection of the pictures and painters for the show—and we should know by now what museum directors do with this sort of thing. Also, Matthew Smith, Victor Pasmore, and Ivor Hitchens are missing. (I have seen Pasmore's work only in reproduction, but I am sure that reproductions cannot lie beyond a certain point; and in this late impressionist the English may have one of the four or five best—or at least prettiest—minor painters of the new age.) I also suspect that, aside from the ineffable Burra, a better selection could have been made of the work of every one of the painters shown at the Metropolitan.

Films

JAMES
AGER

THE elementary beginning of true reason, that is, of reason which involves not merely the forebrain but the entire being, resides, I should think, in the ability to recognize oneself, and others, primarily as human beings, and to recognize the ultimate absoluteness of responsibility of each human being. (I can most briefly suggest what I mean by a genuine recognition of human beings as such by recommending that you see the Italian movie "Shoeshine" and that you compare it in this respect with almost any other movie you care to name.) I am none too sure of my vocabulary, but would suppose this can be called the humanistic attitude. It is still held, no doubt, by scattered individuals all over the world, is still nominally the germinal force of Western civilization, and must still sleep as a potential among almost unimaginably large numbers and varieties of people; but no attitude is more generally subject to disadvantage, dishonor, and misuse today, and no other is so nearly guaranteed extinction. Even among those who preserve a living devotion to it, moreover, few seem to have come by it naturally, as a physical and sensuous fact, as well as a philosophical one; and fewer still give any

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evidence of enjoying or applying it with any of the enormous primordial energy which, one would suppose, the living fact would inevitably liberate in a living being. I realize that I must be exaggerating when I think of it as hardly existing in a pure and vigorous form anywhere in contemporary art or living, but I doubt that I am exaggerating much: I know, in any case, that "Shoeshine," because it furnishes really abundant evidence of the vitality of this attitude, seems to stand almost alone in the world, and to be as restoring and jubilant a piece of news as if one had learned that a great hero whom one had thought to be murdered or exiled or corrupted still lives in all his valor.

This is one of the few fully alive, fully rational films ever made. And one of the beauties of it is that its best intelligence seems to have operated chiefly on an instinctual level, forcing the men who made the film, who are I gather no more than very sincere and quite talented, to do better than the best their talents alone might promise them and better, I imagine, than they planned or foresaw. I suspect that all they intended in this story of two street boys who are caught almost by accident into the corrective machinery of the state, and are destroyed, was an effective work of protest, a work of social art; and that it was more out of the aroused natural honesty of their souls, and their complete devotion to their subject, that they went so much deeper. "Shoeshine" is all that a work of social art ought to be, would have to be to have any worth whatever, and almost never is. It is remarkably perceptive and compassionate in its study of authority and of those who embody authority, serve it, and suffer in and under it. It is also the rarest thing in contemporary art—a true tragedy. This tragedy is cross-lighted by pathos, by the youthfulness and innocence of the heroes, and I suspect that the makers of the film were themselves confused by pathos, but it is stern, unmistakable tragedy as well. The heroes would presumably not have been destroyed unless they had been caught into an imposed predicament; but they are destroyed not by the predicament but by their inability under absolutely difficult circumstances to preserve faith and reason toward themselves and toward each other, and by their best traits and noblest needs as well as by their worst traits and ignoblest needs. Moreover, the film is in no sense a despairing or "defeatist" work, as some people feel it is. I have seldom seen the more ardent and

virile of the rational and Christian values more firmly defended, or the effects of their absence or misuse more pitifully and terribly demonstrated.

The film is almost uniquely moving and heartening for still another reason. Almost every minute of it has a kind of rashness, magnanimity, and deep, wise emotional directness which, I am convinced, can hardly if at all exist in a piece of work unless those who make it are sure they are at one with a large, eager, realistic general audience: in other words, very large parts of a whole people must have been moved, for a while at least, by the particular kind of aliveness which gives this film its peculiar radiance. When that is the case, men of any talent whatever can hardly help surpassing themselves. But when most of a people are in apathy, or sufficient anxiety to stun the spirit, every talent or hope, no matter in what spirit or attitude it may operate, is reduced to a fraction of its potentiality.

Great works of art, and the best hopes of good living, could come out of this quality of spirit, as out of no other. This film is not a great or for that matter a wholly well-realized work of art. It has some very considerable virtues besides those already mentioned: one of the few poignant and maturely perceived "love stories" ever to reach the screen; beautifully directed playing by all the boys, who are all amateurs, and by several naturalistic and a few well-chosen florid professionals; and an illusion of spontaneity which, considering that the director, Vittorio da Sica, had to put his amateurs through as many as thirty-nine takes for one scene, is one

of the pure miracles of fifty years of movies. And in spite of some near-stock characterizations and situations, everyone in the film bulges with a depth and complexity of realness that is immeasurably beyond the hope of mere naturalism; because everybody is perceived as a complete human being, one feels at every moment that almost anything could happen, and that the reasons why any given thing happens are exceedingly complex and constantly shifting their weight. In playwriting, however, and camera work, and cutting, and sound; though it is eloquent, supple, unaffected, and uninhibited, even the very fine best of the film is seldom sharply inventive; one is very frequently moved and pleased, very seldom convinced that anything has been done definitively. Such feeling for form as there is, is more literary than cinematic. But the quality and energy of spirit are so compelling, pervasive, and valiant that I never felt, and cannot feel now, the pain or anger that is almost inevitable in seeing a good thing fall short of its best possibilities.

I gather that this spirit is already fading in Italy; that audiences are wanting and movie people are preparing costume dramas and screen operas. I suppose that it seldom holds a people strongly in focus, for long; it is a terrible pity that no men of genius were able to take advantage of this moment. But a moment which has made it possible for good, less gifted men to make such films as "Open City," the still better "Shoeshine," and a few others which, by their reputation, I hope we shall see soon has been by no means completely lost.

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NEWTON ARVIN: "Atlantic Harvest," Compiled by Ellery Sedgwick

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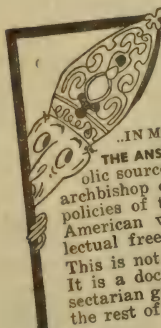
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Isabelita's Trial

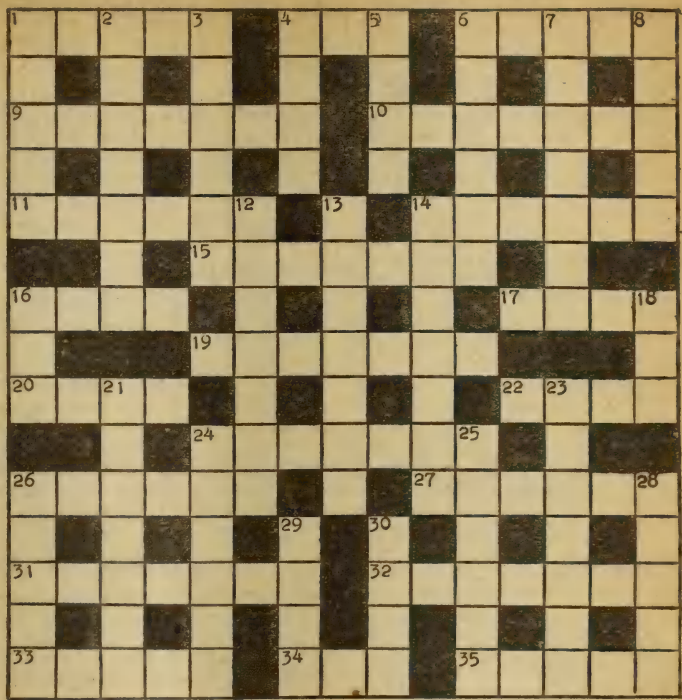
Dear Sirs: On August 7 last Margaret Richards, of the National Union of Students, with headquarters at 3 Endsleigh Street, London, flew to Spain as the only member of an international youth delegation of seven to be granted a visa by the Spanish authorities. Delegates from Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, and France were refused visas. The purpose of the visit was to investigate the case of the nine young Spaniards who had been held in prison for fifteen months for alleged anti-Franco activities. These nine young people, seven boys who were students and two girls, had been held without trial since April 30, 1946.

Possibly because of the many articles in the foreign press concerning the case (I wrote about it in *The Nation* of May 24) and the demonstrations in London and elsewhere in behalf of the nine young prisoners, they were actually brought to trial before Miss Richards reached Madrid. On July 28 they were tried before a court martial in Madrid, and the report was that the prosecution asked for five death sentences and four terms of thirty years. No confirmation of what the sentence was could be obtained in the days after the trial.

On reaching Madrid Miss Richards obtained aid from the British embassy in approaching the Spanish authorities. She requested permission to visit the nine young prisoners. On August 22, after many delays, she was informed that this permission had been granted her by the Director of Prisons, subject to confirmation by the Spanish Foreign Office. The British embassy again assisted Miss Richards in pressing for this confirmation, but on August 27 it was refused, with no reason offered.

In the meantime, working through unofficial channels, Miss Richards was able to uncover the full and detailed story of the case. The following is quoted from her report:

They [the nine prisoners] were charged with placing bombs outside food shops and restaurants on the night of April 26, 1946. No one had been killed, and the only two people, a night watchman and a little girl, to be injured, were not badly enough hurt to receive hospital attention. I visited the shops and the restaurant mentioned in the trial and found that in every case there was a political reason why that particular building had been chosen. Either it was a building run by



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the sixth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Fish traps. (5)
- 4 She's got a big day coming. (8)
- 6 A large command in the navy. (5)
- 9 It's a strict rule—and almost a command, in the army. (7)
- 10 Neat hospital attendant. (7)
- 11 Four feet above the ground at times. (6)
- 14 A sort of oar to use. (6)
- 15 Raids my hosts by the tens of thousands. (7)
- 16 Back part of a carriage. (4)
- 17 Change of tide. (4)
- 19 Typhoid Mary was one. (7)
- 20 Fine French town. (4)
- 22 This meant naught to the Flying Tigers. (4)
- 24 Some people collect heaps of it. (7)
- 26 Where Shakespeare found sermons. (6)
- 27 See, air makes it less difficult. (6)
- 31 Carry me back to support an encirclement. (7)
- 32 Are such books kept on the shelf? (7)
- 33 My car is—perhaps that's why it doesn't run! (5)
- 34 Famous piper returns from his siesta. (3)
- 35 During the war, girls wouldn't believe they grow on trees! (5)

DOWN

- 1 Spray this, as all but the top is stuffy. (5)
- 2 Are Gila monsters used to wearing it? (7)
- 3 The son of the famous piper! (6)
- 4 Fiery, before its return. (4)
- 5 It is penned up in a boy's school. (4)

- 6 These snakes don't multiply as fast. (6)
- 7 Stranded for a good reason. (7)
- 8 Your familiar form before me? (5)
- 12 Pressing his suit was like talking to a wall. (7)
- 13 Such hunters made a best seller. (7)
- 14 Radio jingles? (7)
- 16 Such types were photographic. (3)
- 18 Nannette had this for tea. (3)
- 21 Where the black-birds drink? (7)
- 23 It's obvious I've brought up a depression. (7)
- 24 Here's a prize—you can open it up! (6)
- 25 Lord Nelson was one in later years. (6)
- 26 When bills are this, are they worn out? (5)
- 28 These sores open up, unless nipped in the bud. (5)
- 29 None of this in illuminating gas. (4)
- 30 Don't do it to your friends when they show up. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 231

ACROSS:—1 UNREAL; 5 ATTEND; 9 PI-BROCH; 11 HAPPEN; 12 TOCSIN; 13 DOSSIER; 14 SLEW; 17 CEDE; 19 PARALYSIS; 22 WORRY; 23 PLATO; 25 COFFEE; 26 OUTLAW; 27 DEALT; 29 SNARK; 31 PRESS-GANG; 34 TYPE; 36 EDGE; 37 LIAISON; 39 ACETIC; 40 KOPEKS; 41 FORAGES; 43 NECTAR.
DOWN:—1 UNHASP; 2 RIPPER; 3 APED; 4 LINOTYPED; 5 ACTED; 6 THOR; 7 EASTER; 8 DONKEY; 10 RUSSIA; 15 LARCENY; 16 WARFARE; 17 COLLEGE; 18 DRAWING; 20 SLEEP; 21 STOLE; 24 UNSPOKEN; 28 ARNICA; 29 STRAIT; 30 APPEAR; 32 ADVENT; 33 GEYSER; 35 PICOT; 37 LIFE; 38 NOSM.

the Falange, or it was a luxury shop, full of expensive things which the mass of the people could not buy. Moreover, I found that this incident was the third in a campaign planned as a protest against the regime. A few weeks earlier the students had pasted up posters displaying the Republican flag; next they had pushed under doors duplicated material copied from the clandestine press to draw attention to the crimes of the Franco government.

They were arrested on April 30. First, two of the students nearest to the explosion in the Reina Victoria Street were caught by the police and taken to Security Headquarters, where they were mercilessly beaten with whips and belts. Under this treatment they gave away the names of some of the others, who were arrested the next morning while most of them were still in bed. They were then held for twenty days at Security Headquarters, where they were badly beaten up, in such a manner that terrible scars were left on some of them. Not until twenty days after their arrest were they charged. It was never even alleged that all of them had actually placed the bombs; some had acted as guards in the street without knowing the details of what was going on, though all admitted that they had been involved in a common action.

The day after I was given permission by the Director of Prisons to see them, they were all removed to other prisons—the boys to Burgos, where prisoners are assembled before being deported, the two girls to Ventas, the women's prison in Madrid. There is no evidence that any of them have been maltreated in prison, but all of them are badly underfed.

At the trial, which took place fifteen months after the arrests, no witnesses were called, no previous notice was given to the press or the public, and the whole proceeding was conducted by court martial, with military officers as prosecuting and defending counsel. The Judge Advocate behaved particularly badly, shouting at the prisoners, sneering at them during their evidence, and indulging in political diatribes at their expense.

The prosecutor asked for death for five prisoners and thirty years for four. Defending counsel asked for six months for some, acquittal for others. The sentences, which were not announced, were twenty years for Isabelita Toralba, six years for the second girl, twelve years and one day for four of the prisoners, and fifteen years for the remaining three. (The point about the "one day" is that a sentence up to twelve years is affected by the "loophole laws," which entitle prisoners in certain younger age groups to qualify for remission of sentence and be released in a shorter time. Also, owing to the date of their trial, these nine young people will not qualify for consideration under the terms of the recent amnesty.)

In a recent letter to me Miss Richards has amplified as follows her earlier statement that the sentences "were not announced":

I meant by "the sentences were not announced" that they were not announced at the trial. Journalists found out by asking relatives afterward. The sentences were not announced in the press report which appeared, and which merely said that the court had adjourned to consider the verdict.

Miss Richards's report continues:

As I did not arrive in time for the trial and was not allowed to see the prisoners, I tried to build up a composite picture from many reports. I also attended three trials in the same barracks so as to be able to judge better what had happened to the nine. . . . The trials I saw were bargain-driving between prosecution and defense for the terms of the prisoners who pleaded not guilty. A significant thing was the way in which all the relatives and friends of the prisoners—who, like us, had heard by underground of the date of the trial—made space for us at the front so that we could be seen taking notes. Afterward, they came and shook our hands and thanked us with tears in their eyes for having come, since our presence had an effect on the sentences.

Again, in replying to my question about what was meant by "since our presence had an effect on the sentences," Miss Richards amplifies the statement as follows:

When I said that relatives came up to thank us for having attended the trial, "thereby reducing the sentences," I meant to convey that this is what they said. Many people told us this in general terms. The only detailed statement I had was given me by a man who has been in prison more than once for political reasons. He cited to me the case of a friend of his for whom a sentence of thirty years demanded by the prosecutor was not challenged by the defense. The Cuban legation had taken an interest in the case, and this man said that the presence of an observer from the Cuban legation resulted in a reduction of his sentence to twenty years. Presumably this was inference. He said also that another trial had been deferred because of the presence of foreign journalists on the day when it was to have come up. The British embassy also told me that Zoraa's trial has been said to be coming off on three or four occasions. Observers have been sent, and the trial has not taken place. Here again there is no proof of cause and effect, only inference. But I must say the inference convinced me.

KAY BOYLE

Le Vésinet, France, September 19

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STATE OF NEW YORK } SS.
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Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Ark, who having been duly sworn according to law, depose and say that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1909, and July 2, 1946 (Section 637, Postal Laws and Regulations), to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc.,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Editor, Freda Kirckwey,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Ark,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:
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Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1947.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IF YOU PRETEND A STRIKE ISN'T THERE, WILL it go away? For seventeen weeks now—115 days, as this issue appears—40,000 C. I. O. shipworkers have been conducting a "work stoppage" against three major shipbuilding corporations headed up by Bethlehem Steel. Yet one would hardly be able to learn of the event from the American press. For reasons not altogether clear, but apparently as a courtesy to the procurement agencies of the Navy Department and the Maritime Commission, an almost complete news blackout has been dropped over the nation's biggest current strike. Almost complete, but not quite: in full-page advertisements, Bethlehem has informed the public that shipyard workers are paid too much. What of the union claim that it was forced into the stoppage by the intransigence, arrogance, and deliberate maneuvers of management? What of the claim that Bethlehem, as long ago as the Congressional elections, saw an opportunity to break a union under the statutes which a reactionary Congress was certain to provide? What of the claim that the corporations have boycotted all meetings, since June, of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee—a tripartite board of union, management, and government representatives, set up by the government during the war and still in being for the duration of the national emergency? And the claim that, in so doing, the employers have abrogated a contract with the government? These are all valid questions, but they are to be found only in the strike bulletins of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, and in the union's letters to President Truman—all, as yet, unanswered. We shall try to dig deeper into these questions in a full report on the strike in an early issue. Meanwhile, we wish to call the attention of readers to the fact that the strike is a reality and a bitter one, complete with company scabs and hostile police. Seventeen weeks is a long time, and winter is just around the corner.

★

THE HERALDED OVERHAULING OF THE British Cabinet has come and gone, with political consequences hardly visible to the naked eye. The New York *Times* editorially professes to see in the shift another instance of revolution devouring its children, but this seems an unnecessarily lurid way to describe a shake-up

that leaves a government slightly more youthful, administratively stronger, and politically exactly where it was. In a sense, some of the eleven veterans who were dropped or demoted were holding their portfolios only in order to give the younger men of the Labor Party an opportunity for seasoning. The one shift of consequence was the ousting of Emanuel Shinwell from the Fuel and Power Ministry, and, left-winger though he is, the devouring of this child of the revolution consisted merely in transferring him to the non-Cabinet post of Secretary of State for War. Among the rising stars in the Labor galaxy are Hugh Gaitskill, a professor of economics, who succeeds the peppery Mr. Shinwell; James Harold Wilson, who, at thirty-one, steps in as president of the Board of Trade and right-hand man to Sir Stafford Cripps, the newly installed and extremely powerful Minister for Economic Affairs; and George R. Strauss, succeeding John Wilmot as Minister of Supply. Bevin, Morrison, Bevan, and Strachey remain firmly fixed in their posts, and the Labor Party remains firmly fixed in the saddle. The Tories, in convention assembled, have seen fit to indorse the nationalization achieved to date, and even the *Wall Street Journal's* London correspondent advises his readers that Britain's difficulties have not been "due to the policy of nationalization." In fact, that paper begins to suspect that, revolution or no revolution, the British once more show signs of "muddling through."

★

EAST-WEST TRADE IN EUROPE IS BOUND TO increase, in the opinion of William L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who has just returned from a trip to the Continent. In a press interview, Clayton said that while the revival of the Comintern might deepen the political division of Europe, no insurmountable trade barrier could be erected as long as there was peace. He insisted he did not want to be drawn into any sort of political discussion, but as an economist felt obliged to point out that once a normal rate of production is reached, commercial relations between the East and West are inevitable since their economies are largely complementary. Clayton's common-sense appraisal may help to restore the American sense of perspective. Even as commentators were predicting an irreparable split in Europe, the first shipload of Russian

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wheat arrived in an English port and Anglo-Russian trade negotiations were about to be renewed. Across the Channel, the French, who already have a pact with Poland, are negotiating agreements with several countries in the Soviet sphere of influence. Holland has opened trade talks with Yugoslavia. And there are reports of an impending French-Russian wheat deal. Whether in the Marshall or the Stalin zone, governments are too concerned about the needs of their people this winter to allow political obstacles to check the normal flow of goods. Increased trade between East and West will benefit not only the people of the Continent but the American taxpayers, who will have to shoulder the burden of the Marshall plan.

★

REPRESENTATIVES HOFFMAN AND BUSBEY are men who burn at injustice—to Hoffman and Busbey. The quality is all the more striking in view of their indifference to injustices suffered by those second-class Americans who do not sit in Congress. At the moment, the two Representatives are at white heat because their names are included in a special security file of the Civil Service Commission, a list of uninvestigated but possibly subversive individuals who might some day apply for government jobs. Like victims of their own House Un-American Affairs Committee, these gentlemen complain of "Gestapo tactics" and the technique of the "smear." We share their resentment. This sort of compilation, based on hearsay and unchecked evidence, has no place in the files of a government agency—or in the files of a Congressional committee. Had Messrs. Hoffman and Busbey asked that the entire file be destroyed, we think they could have made out a good case and served a good cause. Instead, they demanded only that Congressional names be removed. The commission, fearing for its appropriations, abjectly agreed, refusing only to let the Congressmen go through the files themselves. Its subversive does the country no favor and merely encourages these two little men in the belief that Congressmen are a race apart.

★

THOSE WASHINGTON REPORTERS WHO CARRY lanterns must have thought they had come to the end of a trail the other day when they interviewed Rustem Vambery, Hungary's new minister to this country. For instead of resorting to the old diplomatic device of lying abroad for his country, Ambassador Vambery took the simple and refreshing tack of saying exactly what he thought about the present plight of Hungary—about the degree of influence exercised upon its government by Soviet Russia, about the percentage of purity in the recent election, about Hungary's prospects for the future. He said he thought Hungary was "more subservient than

is necessary" to Russia but that it would be an overstatement to say that the Soviet Union controls Hungary. He said that the Russian army of occupation naturally has an influence on the mind of the country. He said it was "very unfortunate" that the leaders of the other parties are not as able as the Communist leaders. And so on. He said, finally—and here, we must admit, he made a shameless bow to the great American obsession—that Hungary should not be used as a baseball between the Yankees and the Dodgers! We doubt whether this interview will be picked up by Cholly Knickerbocker, society fancier for the Hearst press, who, a few days before Mr. Vamberg was cordially received by President Truman, "reported" that Washington diplomats "are indignant because they'll now have to rub elbows with Rustem Vamberg." He called Mr. Vamberg a "noted Communist" and after telling another lie or two expressed sympathy again with "State Department regulars" who don't "cherish the idea of having to shake hands and sip tea with such riffraff." This is known as lying at home for one's publisher.

✱

SUSPENSION OF THE *PROGRESSIVE* IS ONE more indication that Wisconsin's vaunted liberalism is now hardly more than the shadow of a great past. In its final issue, the *Progressive's* editor, Morris Rubin, writes of having "fought a losing rear-guard action against the soaring costs of production." We know exactly what he means, and he would have our sympathy even if the *Progressive* had not been as valuable a paper as it was. Yet we cannot help thinking that the rear-guard action might have been successful had there been an army left to save. The tragic fact is that the Wisconsin that sends a McCarthy, a Wiley, and an O'Konski to Washington is simply not the Wisconsin of the La Follettes and Victor Berger. With the power of the La Follette family crumbled away and its following dispersed, it is not surprising that the paper founded by "Fighting Bob" in 1909 should at last give up the ghost. His sons bear a partial measure of responsibility for the collapse of a political institution. "Young Bob," for whom we have great respect, made a monumental blunder when he attempted last year to lead his supporters back into the corrupt and stodgy Republican Party of the state. And Brother Phil, who was once a good governor, has followed an erratic course that has brought him at last to an understanding with Colonel McCormick, based on a common reverence for General MacArthur. In spite of the La Follette wanderings, the *Progressive* itself has for thirty-eight years steered a course of political courage and decency. We often found ourselves in strong disagreement with its policies, particularly its unrelenting isolationism in the pre-war years, but we have never questioned its integrity or its allegiance to the tenets of the liberal faith.

Now the Trouble Starts

THE hullabaloo over the Communist-affidavit issue, settled—more or less—by a National Labor Relations Board ruling last week, was important less for itself than for the false hopes it aroused and the dark augury it contained. Too many people looked at its solution as the end of a great log jam. Too few reflected on the possibility that if such racket, consternation, and dissent could be caused by a two-bit, immaterial question, sheer chaos would ensue when the board arrived at the really substantive and much more difficult problems ahead of it in interpreting the turbid law under which it operates.

The dispute was of the how-many-angels genre, applicable to some two or three dozen top officials of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Did every member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council have to swear he was not a Communist before any component union of the A. F. of L. could avail itself of the processes of the new law and of the help, if any, of the NLRB? Or was it sufficient for each union if only that union's officers executed the affidavits? It was clear that the drafters of the law had not given the question any thought; some of them admitted as much. It is probable that if Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the NLRB, had ignored the matter and had promulgated the more limited interpretation, no one would have noticed that there was a possibility of a different point of view. Instead, he chose to read the law the hard way, and said so. This played neatly into the hands of John L. Lewis, never a fellow to miss a chance.

Lewis had announced that he considered signing the oath *infra dig*. This would have been a statement of momentous non-importance, because the United Mine Workers' Union has no need to use the new law. But Denham's interpretation rocketed Lewis into a key position—something that has never made him unhappy—for as long as he remained a hold-out, he blocked all the rest of the A. F. of L. from access to the NLRB.

For reasons that defy common-sense explanation, the board stewed without action for five weeks, while Lewis paddled happily in a pond made to his own specifications. Once again he was the big shot, making political capital in the A. F. of L. while building up his prestige among left-wing elements of the C. I. O.

Finally, in fourteen closely typed pages, with arguments which would have been a credit to any scholastic monk, four members of the board told why their reading of the law differed from Denham's, and the fifth member, J. Copeland Gray, explained why Denham was right. As the newspapers say, Denham thereupon bowed to the will of the majority. He said he would not challenge the ruling, as he might have done, through a court

proceeding. Senator Ball, who had previously said that Denham's interpretation was the correct one, intimated that the board majority was perfectly right.

Lewis has come out victor in a battle he could not have lost. He has proved himself a tough, trade-union hero, courageous in splendid isolation. The first to engage in a fight on a concrete issue with the new villain, he succeeded in having Denham's ears pinned back, even though he himself suffered a slight casualty when the federation dropped all its vice-presidents. This was necessary because even the board's ruling did not solve the problem of the affidavit in the case of federal unions, chartered directly by the top A. F. of L. body.

With the issue settled, there has been much jubilation, particularly in trade-union circles and even among officials of the NLRB, who should know better. It is felt that now the cases can pour in, the unions can have access to the board, and somehow everything will go back to the happy days of the Wagner act. The cases may, indeed, come pouring in. But the result will be only to bring to the surface disputes over innumerable other sections of the act, sections infinitely more complicated and, in distinction with this first unreal controversy, of solid weight and significance. Solution of the Communist-affidavit question does not end the difficulty with the law; it merely permits the trouble to begin.

The New "Comintern"

THE most significant point in the manifesto which accompanied and justified the revival of the Comintern has, it seems to us, been missed by most of the commentators. Primarily, that farrago of bellicose clichés has been interpreted as an open challenge to the United States, and, of course, the manner in which it assailed American "imperialism" gave plenty of color to that idea. But, after all, this merely added superfluous emphasis to a position that Moscow had already made abundantly clear. A much more striking feature of the manifesto was its all-out assault on Western socialism. Not only Bevin—an old enemy—but Attlee, Blum, Saragat, Schumacher, and other moderate or right-wing Socialist leaders were branded as traitors to the working class and to their countries as well. They are men who "are facilitating the task of American capital and are pushing their countries along the road of vassal dependency on the United States."

We are back again, apparently, to the phraseology of the early thirties, when "social fascist" was the orthodox Communist epithet for British Laborites and Continental Social Democrats. But with this difference: then, the emphasis was on class loyalty; now, the Communist parties claim that they are the true patriots, the only safe guardians of "national independence and sovereignty."

This attempt to discredit a large part of Western socialism obviously means the abandonment of the popular-front strategy which Moscow had pursued since the rise of Nazism, except during the Soviet-German-pact interlude. The manifesto reads like a declaration of open warfare against those Socialist parties which are not willing to cooperate wholeheartedly with the Communists. Spearheading the fight will be the powerful French and Italian parties, the only Western ones invited to participate in the initial meeting of the new Information Bureau. They have reasonable hopes of success, for in both countries they have a strong grip on the trade unions and the Italian Socialists are badly split.

The struggle against the Socialists and the anti-Marshall-plan campaign are closely connected. In France, the government, under Socialist leadership, has been forced to base its plans for recovery on the prospect of further American aid. If that aid fails to arrive, or if its effectiveness is reduced by widespread strikes, the government will fall and the Socialists be discredited. That might mean a bid for power by De Gaulle and the creation of a revolutionary situation in which the French would be confronted with a hard choice between communism and reaction. The Italians are already dangerously close to being forced to decide on one or the other of those alternatives.

The Soviet leaders have fully convinced themselves that recovery in Western Europe under American auspices would be dangerous to their security. In so far as they mean by that the physical security of the Soviet Union, we think they are wrong. But they may be right in spotting an ideological danger. If Western Europe is able to struggle to its feet and its Socialist governments are given an opportunity to develop their programs, they may prove a very disturbing influence on the rulers of the Kremlin.

On the other hand, it is a fact that American financial power may be used—through or apart from the Marshall plan—to back the interests of Europe's surviving economic royalists against the steady encroachments of Socialist strength. Our policy in the Ruhr, as well as the attitude of leading American officials toward the nationalization program in Britain, indicate clearly enough the course Congress and the Administration may take, and it is no secret that European Socialists are almost as fearful of the consequences of American financial help as they are eager to have it. To the extent that dollars are used as a dyke to check socialism, the Marshall plan will serve to fortify the Communist attack on Socialists in Britain and on the Continent; a possibility American liberals must foresee and energetically combat.

The chief weakness of the Russians' position is that they really have no alternative to the Marshall plan to offer Western Europe. The Comintern manifesto boils

down to an invitation to the people to live on slogans until such time as Russia itself may be in a position to supply wheat, coal, and oil in abundance. The chief hope of Moscow lies in timidity and muddled counsel in this country. There are powerful voices here, capitalist voices, that want to put aid to Europe on a soup-kitchen basis; there are others who want to use it as a means of defeating Socialist developments and who thus play directly into the hands of the Communist propagandists. The gravest danger to Western European recovery is not, as acting Secretary of State Robert M. Lovett suggested the other day, Communist sabotage; it is ignorance, indifference, and prejudice right here in America.

Palestine

WITH the statements last week by the United States and Russia, the Palestine issue moves into a new and much more hopeful phase. The majority recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee, favoring the division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, now become the basis of further debate in the ad hoc committee; and it seems sure, as we go to press, that many wavering states will follow the Big Two in backing partition. If the two statements mean what they seem to mean, a decent solution can be reached. The chief remaining danger lies in the disagreements which may crop up during discussions of important details—delimitation of boundaries, methods of enforcement, and the issue created by Arab defiance. This last difficulty cannot be put off, for the Arab League, under the personal direction of the Mufti, not only refuses, in advance, to recognize a U. N. decision in support of the majority report, but is organizing armed resistance. However feeble such a demonstration may be, it constitutes a challenge the U. N. must meet—though it has evaded it for days while the Arab leaders shouted defiance and announced that troops had been “massed” along the Palestine frontier.

If the United States is serious in its stand on Palestine, Mr. Johnson should state clearly in the Assembly committee this country's determination to back its decision against Arab blackmail. Unless this is done, and done quickly, smaller powers will find it hard to believe we mean business. Besides demanding an end to armed threats, the United States should take action against the Mufti as the chief instigator and organizer of Arab violence. It was supposedly a member of the Mufti's “striking force” who bombed the American consulate in Jerusalem last Monday. It is the Mufti himself who directs Arab strategy from just across the border in Lebanon. This cruel, crafty agitator is an escaped prisoner of war. By every criterion laid down at Nürnberg, he is a war criminal. His domination of the Arab Higher

Committee in Palestine and of the Arab League is represented by many Arab political leaders who will not oppose him openly, for fear of assassination—a fate less wary ones have already met. No better way could be devised of ending Arab defiance of the U. N., while at the same time appealing to those moderate Arabs whose voices have been silenced, than to demand that the Mufti be handed over for trial as a war criminal. This would prove to all concerned that the United States will not knuckle under to threats or to embryo “holy wars.”

THE hope of a settlement in Palestine, of inestimable importance in itself, was almost overshadowed by the other implications of Russian-American agreement on the majority report. For Palestine is as central a factor in the struggle for power as any problem before the United Nations: strategy and oil, communications and political control, are inextricably tangled with the fate of Jewish hopes and Arab resistance. Palestine is one of the key “strong points” of the post-war world. And if Russia and the United States can not only accept a single formula but cooperate in carrying through a plan, peace will be established in the Middle East and the quaking foundations of the U. N. itself will be steadied. It is the presence of these overshadowing issues, on the other hand, that makes it essential for realistic Americans, while welcoming our government's position on Palestine, to follow closely every detail in the process of working out and applying the agreed program. Too often in the past—in the question of Spain, for example—apparent victories have been emptied of their meaning, and promises have crumbled into ineffective formulas. The test of our intentions in Palestine still lies ahead.

THE dinner of the Nation Associates could hardly have been held at a more opportune moment. Russia's clear-cut indorsement of the majority report had been announced that afternoon, and the speakers keyed their discussion to the developments at Lake Success. Sumner Welles, in particular, emphasized the point that common action on a specific issue might help break the deadlock in which all other major issues are caught; while Richard Crossman, Labor Member of Parliament and member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, who came from London to speak at the dinner, insisted on the need of lifting Palestine out of the power complex in the Middle East and converting it into that “political vacuum” so generally regarded as undesirable. The responsibility of the United States in bringing about a final decent solution was ably argued by Bartley Crum, also a member of the Anglo-American Committee. Next week, *The Nation* will publish Mr. Welles's remarks in full and, in later issues, excerpts from the rest of the discussion.

Two-World Debate

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 14

A MONTH or two ago, some time before the opening of the General Assembly, I had lunch with a friend of mine whose judgment on international affairs I respect. "I've given up looking for hopeful signs in the world situation," he said. "We can count on relations between this country and Russia deteriorating in the next year or two. But I don't think there'll be war. I've come to the conclusion that it's important to spend a lot of time reading history; it saves one from despair."

This matches the remark of one of the better radio commentators last Friday when I interrupted him hammering out his daily script: "I've been looking for one optimist in the house," he said, "and can't find him."

Much of the day-to-day debate here at Lake Success is exasperating and depressing until you realize that the big facts are fixed, and unchanged by debate. From where our diplomats sit the Soviet Union is planning expansion. The nine-nation Communist manifesto was a declaration of intensified political infiltration into Western Europe. Our main job is to contain Russia.

From where Russia's policy-makers sit the big facts are America's undamaged industrial equipment, now accounting for two-thirds of the world's production; America's imperialist intentions as expressed in our aid-to-Greece program and the Marshall plan.

Both sides consider their foreign policy to be guided by rational considerations of security and defense. Each side suspects the other of dark designs which, if allowed to come to fulfilment, will produce the third world war. Neither side wants war.

Our representatives are softer spoken. They can afford to be. They have the majority of the world's nations on their side.

The Russian spokesmen are vehement, bad-tempered, and bad-mannered. It may be that they speak angrily out of frustration, knowing that they are going to be outvoted. It is more likely that they are laying down the propaganda line in rabble-rousing terms which may have some effect in the long nights of Europe's cold and hungry winter.

Certainly their tactics are making few converts at Lake Success. I talked last week to an old League man who had known Litvinov well in the Geneva days. He had just come out of a session in which Vishinsky and Bebler had whipped themselves up into a fine frenzy. "Litvinov," he said, "in the appeasement days put his case with challenging effect. It was an unanswerable case. But so much of what these men say is sheer nonsense."

PERHAPS it would make little difference in the overall big-power picture if the Russian group spoke with more restraint and precision. But it would certainly make a difference in the stand of the small nations. It is clear that a number of these are increasingly unwilling to stand up and be counted alongside of the giants. They don't want to be involved in a showdown. But instead of appealing to the smaller nations the Russian spokesmen have brushed aside with contempt anything which looks like conciliation or compromise. Had Spaak and Delbos not been subjected to the merciless invective of Vishinsky and Bebler, had the Swedish resolution not been lost sight of in the tempest, a more balanced and constructive line of action might have been agreed on in the Balkan crisis. As it was, most delegates were eager to end the brawl by a vote.

The Russian refusal to have anything to do with the Assembly's decision to set up a Balkan commission may well presage their action on the American proposal for a "Little Assembly." Here again, if moderate restraint can be counted on, there are enough delegates with doubts about the Interim Committee as originally outlined to modify the proposal in a useful fashion. There is something to be said for a continuing Assembly committee ready not only to take notice of crises as they occur as a result of Security Council deadlocks but also to be of some assistance in the continuing work of other committees.

Already the term "Security" has been dropped from the title of the American resolution, and the Canadian delegation is known to have a wider conception of the Little Assembly's functions. But if the Russian group meets the proposal with as little finesse as they used in the Greek question, the more reasonable voices just will not be heard.

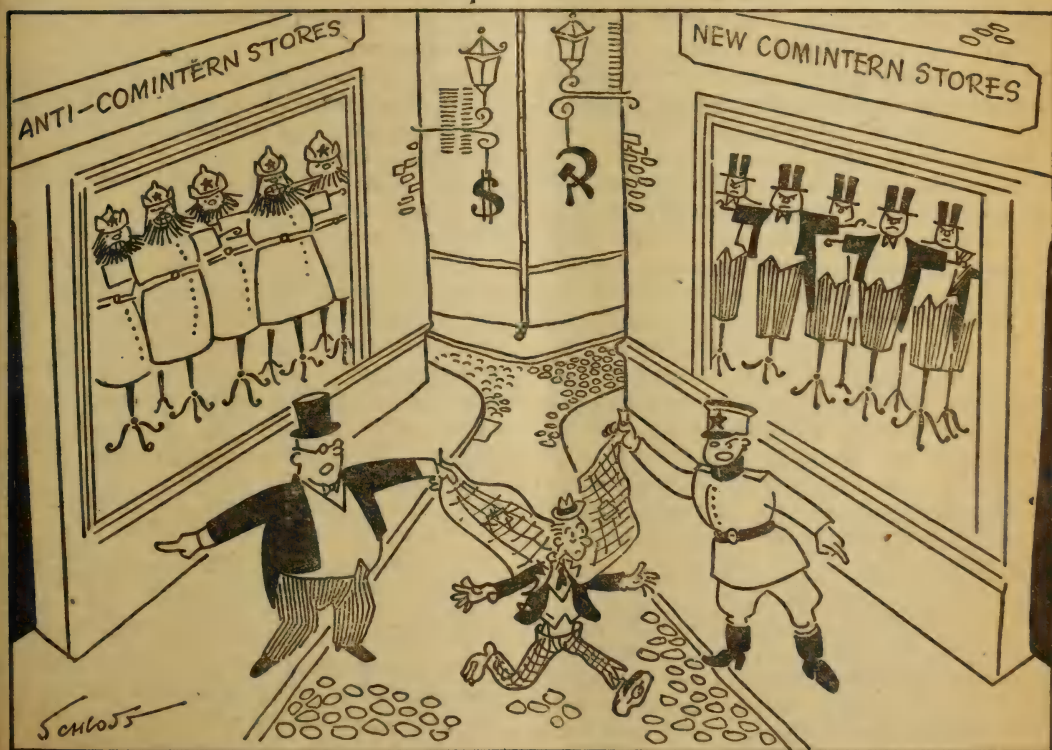
INCIDENTALLY, in the Economic Committee the Russians demonstrated that they could put a case with force and effectiveness. Dr. Aratunian, chief economist of the Russian Foreign Office, spoke on the question of Europe's recovery. He accused the United States of using political tests for post-UNRRA relief. He asserted that it was America's plan to rebuild German industry along capitalist lines and that under American pressure Britain's efforts to socialize German heavy industry in its zone had been abandoned. "The United States," he said, "is converting the Ruhr into a base for executing its plans in Europe to the detriment of the peace-loving peoples and of the German people itself." This criticism,

it will be recalled, had already been made by the French. Dr. Aratunian quoted American spokesmen to prove that the Marshall plan was primarily political in aim and that, from an economic point of view, it was directed more at saving American capitalism than at saving Europe.

Now, even if he neglected to mention that the Eastern nations had had a chance to participate in the Marshall plan and withdrew of their own accord or at Russia's bidding, few will challenge the statement that America's economic policy has political ends. Americans, however, would be slower to suggest that an economic plan which might save Western Europe from communism amounts to establishing a bridgehead for the eventual war against the Soviet Union. In fact, many would argue that if the Marshall plan is adequately implemented—and the "if" will be there until Congress decides what action it will take and when—war may be indefinitely postponed.

It is the economic, and consequent political, instability in Western Europe which is contributing most to the fear and suspicion on both sides. Moreover, stabilizing Western Europe may lead to the resumption of normal economic relations between East and West, and from economic cooperation political understanding may develop.

WHAT is astonishing is how one sign of accord between the big powers rekindles the hope that was in evidence when the United Nations was set up at San Francisco. The long-awaited American statement on Palestine and the remarkably similar Russian statement that followed yesterday have restored some faith in the world organization. The majority report of the United Nations Special Committee has now become the agreed basis of settlement, acceptable to most nations except the Arab states. There will be discussion about details, about frontier revisions, about immigration during the transition period. There will be more serious discussion about government during the transition period—both statements are vague on the means of enforcing the Assembly's recommendations. Britain has said it is withdrawing its troops at an early date and is not willing to enforce a settlement on which both sides do not agree. There is no United Nations force. And the "volunteer constabulary" suggested in the American proposal has been given various interpretations. But among the great powers there appears to be no fundamental disagreement. If this unanimity persists, many delegates are of the opinion that threats of Arab resistance will not materialize into serious armed action. Together, the American and Russian proposals lay the ground for an intelligent and just settlement.



Americans and Their Myths

BY JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

EVERYTHING has been said about the United States. But a person who has once crossed the Atlantic can no longer be satisfied with even the most penetrating books; not that he does not believe what they say, but that his agreement remains abstract.

When a friend tries to explain our character and unravel our motives, when he relates all our acts to principles, prejudices, beliefs, and a conception of the world which he thinks to find in us, we listen uneasily, unable either to deny what he says or entirely accept it. Perhaps the interpretation is true, but what is the truth that is being interpreted? We miss the intimate warmth, the life, the way one is always unpredictable to oneself and also tiresomely familiar, the decision to get along with oneself, the perpetual deliberations and perpetual inventions about what one is, and the vow to be "that" and nothing else—in short, the liberty. Similarly, when a careful arrangement of those melting-pot notions—puritanism, realism, optimism, and so on—which we have been told are the keys to the American character is presented to us in Europe, we experience a certain intellectual satisfaction and think that, in effect, it must be so. But when we walk about New York, on Third Avenue, or Sixth Avenue, or Tenth Avenue, at that evening hour which, for Da Vinci, lends softness to the faces of men, we see the most pathetic visages in the world, uncertain, searching, intent, full of astonished good faith, with appealing eyes, and we know that the most beautiful generalizations are of very little service: they permit us to understand the system but not the people.

The system is a great external apparatus, an implacable machine which one might call the objective spirit of the United States and which over there they call Americanism—a huge complex of myths, values, recipes, slogans, figures, and rites. But one must not think that it has been deposited in the head of each American just as the God of Descartes deposited the first notions in the mind of man; one must not think that it is "refracted" into brains and hearts and at each instant determines affections or thoughts that exactly express it. Actually, it is something outside of the people, something

presented to them; the most adroit propaganda does nothing else but present it to them continuously. It is not in them, they are in it; they struggle against it or they accept it, they stifle in it or go beyond it, they submit to it or reinvent it, they give themselves up to it or make furious efforts to escape from it; in any case it remains outside them, transcendent, because they are men and it is a thing.

There are the great myths, the myths of happiness, of progress, of liberty, of triumphant maternity; there is realism and optimism—and then there are the Americans, who, nothing at first, grow up among these colossal statues and find their way as best they can among them. There is this myth of happiness: black-magic slogans warn you to be happy at once; films that "end well" show a life of rosy ease to the exhausted crowds; the language is charged with optimistic and unrestrained expressions—"have a good time," "life is fun," and the like. But there are also these people, who, though conventionally happy, suffer from an obscure *malaise* to which no name can be given, who are tragic through fear of being so, through that total absence of the tragic in them and around them.

There is this collectivity which prides itself on being the least "historical" in the world, on never complicating its problems with inherited customs and acquired rights, on facing as a virgin a virgin future in which everything is possible—and there are these blind gropings of bewildered people who seek to lean on a tradition, on a folklore. There are the films that write American history for the masses and, unable to offer them a Kentucky Jeanne d'Arc or a Kansas Charlemagne, exalt them with the history of the jazz singer, Al Jolson, or the composer, Gershwin. Along with the Monroe doctrine, isolationism, scorn for Europe, there is the sentimental attachment of each American for his country of origin, the inferiority complex of the intellectuals before the culture of the old Continent, of the critics who say, "How can you admire our novelists, you who have Flaubert?" of the painters who say, "I shall never be able to paint as long as I stay in the United States"; and there is the obscure, slow effort of an entire nation to seize universal history and assimilate it as its patrimony.

There is the myth of equality—and there is the myth of segregation, with those big beach-front hotels that post signs reading "Jews and dogs not allowed," and those lakes in Connecticut where Jews may not bathe, and that racial *schim*, in which the lowest degree is

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assigned to the Slavs, the highest to the Dutch immigrants of 1680. There is the myth of liberty—and the dictatorship of public opinion; the myth of economic liberalism—and the big companies extending over the whole country which, in the final analysis, belong to no one and in which the employees, from top to bottom, are like functionaries in a state industry. There is respect for science and industry, positivism, an insane love of “gadgets”—and there is the somber humor of the *New Yorker*, which pokes bitter fun at the mechanical civilization of America and the hundred million Americans who satisfy their craving for the marvelous by reading every day in the “comics” the incredible adventures of Superman, or Wonderman, or Mandrake the Magician.

There are the thousand taboos which proscribe love outside of marriage—and there is the litter of used contraceptives in the back yards of coeducational colleges; there are all those men and women who drink before making love in order to transgress in drunkenness and not remember. There are the neat, coquettish houses, the pure-white apartments with radio, armchair, pipe,

and stand—little paradises; and there are the tenants of those apartments who, after dinner, leave their chairs, radios, wives, pipes, and children, and go to the bar across the street to get drunk alone.

Perhaps nowhere else will you find such a discrepancy between people and myth, between life and the representation of life. An American said to me at Berne: “The trouble is that we are all eaten by the fear of being less American than our neighbor.” I accept this explanation: it shows that Americanism is not merely a myth that clever propaganda stuffs into people’s heads but something every American continually reinvents in his gropings. It is at one and the same time a great external reality rising up at the entrance to the port of New York across from the Statue of Liberty, and the daily product of anxious liberties. The anguish of the American confronted with Americanism is an ambivalent anguish, as if he were asking, “Am I American enough?” and at the same time, “How can I escape from Americanism?” In America a man’s simultaneous answers to these two questions make him what he is, and each man must find his own answers.

Rice and Riots in India

BY ANDREW ROTH

Cannanore, India, September 25

I DON’T know much about China, but it seems to me that here in South India the conflict between landlords and tenants is so sharp that it may grow into a civil war of Chinese proportions.” An earnest young North Malabar lawyer was speaking to some thirty or forty people crowded around him on the verandah of his house, come to ask his aid against the landlords and the dread Malabar Special Police. I was told that he had a thriving commercial practice which brought him about 3,000 rupees a month, but that he was contributing more and more of his time and labor to defending peasants who had been evicted or arrested. The Malabar Special Police is a semi-military force formed in 1921 to suppress the Moplah peasant uprising. It is kept apart from the people and has as bad a name for brutality as the “Black and Tans” had in Ireland or the S. S. battalions in Europe.

North Malabar, more than any other area in India, has political and economic problems which remind one of China’s. In many villages one sees the armed guards, the

terrorized faces, and the battered huts that the Chinese civil war has left in its train. There is no such communal conflict as has scarred northern India, but violent disputes over agrarian questions have broken out between an extremely conservative local branch of the Congress Party and a militant and strongly entrenched Communist Party. In the last election in the Chirakkal Division Congress got 22,000 votes and the Communists 17,000.

The rightward swing of the Congress Party is marked in North Malabar. The agrarian structure of the province is the most backward in all India, with three or four non-producing landlords and sub-landlords taking as much as 80 per cent of the crop without making any contribution. An official investigation in 1940 recommended reforms, but nothing was done. In the United Provinces and some other areas where Nehru still exerts strong influence in the local Congress organization, the big landlords remain outside of the organization and fight it, but in North Malabar, when they saw that India would achieve self-government and Congress would rule, the landlords moved in on the party and took it over. They have amassed tremendous wealth through the increase in rice prices and have been able not only to buy their way into the leadership of the local organization but to bribe local officials into submission. Within Congress they are supported by equally conservative manufacturers.

ANDREW ROTH has been in India for the past several months reporting for *The Nation* on conditions since independence.

During the war Malabar suffered severely from food shortages, and in consequence of the widespread malnutrition cholera and other epidemics took a heavy toll. The post-war picture has been no better. Last year the rice ration sank to eight ounces a day—800 calories, half the jail ration for convicts—and this year it has already gone down to six ounces. Despite these conditions, the provincial government has done virtually nothing to control the big landlords, who have been holding back 25 per cent of the crop, or about 100,000 tons, to sell in the black market.

The Communists have seized the opportunity to make a number of dramatic attacks on the agrarian structure. The peasant pays from 50 to 80 per cent of the crop to the landlord *in kind*, which means usually that he is not left with enough to feed his family and use for seed. The Communist-led *Kisan Sabha* (Peasant Union) has proposed that rents be reduced and be paid *in cash*. It argues that if the rice remains in the hands of the peasants, not only will their families be better fed but the surplus will be more likely to be sold to the government, since the peasants have less influence with the procurement officers.

In some places, such as the village of Karivellore, the battle over rice has caused casualties. This village, whose land is largely owned by the Rajah of Chirakkal, has to import more than half of its food. The Rajah has been accustomed to taking his rent in kind, shipping the rice out of the village, and selling it where he chooses, presumably in the black market. Last fall the peasants, spurred on by the Peasant Union, demanded that he take his rent in cash and allow them to keep the rice. When he refused, the peasants would not let him move the crop. The Rajah then called in the Malabar Special Police, which sent 200 armed men to seize the grain. When the peasants resisted, the police opened fire and killed two persons, including a fourteen-year-old boy. Others were arrested and beaten mercilessly, and 196 persons were later indicted.

KANDAKKAI, a village which I visited, also had a brush with the Special Police. I did not go to Ellarinchil, one of the main trouble spots, because I learned that most of the men there were either in jail or hiding in the jungle and that the others would be too frightened to be seen talking to a foreign reporter. To reach Kandakkai we rode for hours in a jeep, then sloshed on foot along rain-soaked trails where the bridges were single slippery logs, and finally took to native canoes. The thin-faced, aquiline-nosed, sensitive-looking schoolteacher with whom I talked there was reluctant to discuss the disturbances. "Such horrible atrocities cannot be described," he said gloomily, "you have to experience them." He was one of five brothers who were a little better off than most of the 2,000 vil-

lagers. Two were teachers, one had a shop dealing in rationed goods, one a tea-shop, and the fifth worked as a lumberman. All of them, with their wives and children, lived in one house.

The sensitive village intellectual in a backward, poverty-stricken country like India frequently takes one of two roads. He escapes to the big city, where there are more opportunities for an interesting life; or he goes back to his village after obtaining his education and becomes known as a radical through his efforts to raise his village to his own level. The radicalism of the village schoolteachers is fostered by their miserable pay—most of them get only 30 rupees (\$10) a month. Our Kandakkai schoolteacher was further embittered by the fact that when he tried to supplement his earnings by cultivating a piece of land, his landlord fixed a rent in kind which amounted to 80 per cent of the average crop he could hope to harvest.

Organizers for the Peasant Union found him an eager convert, and he worked for the union in his spare time. When the village built a nice little reading-room with a tiled roof, part of it was given over to the Peasant Union. In the small stock of books the leftist point of view was well represented.

In the fall of 1946 Kandakkai joined with other villages where the Peasant Union was strong in agitating for lower rents. When the landlord ordered the eviction of one tenant, the others fell to and helped him reap his crop. In December fifty men of the Malabar Special Police visited Kandakkai, searched eighteen houses, and beat up two men. In January they raided the village twice, arrested a number of people, beat up others, and destroyed household utensils. In February the police established a camp of 100 men in the village, and our schoolteacher and the other men of his family fled to the jungle.

"In the dead of night thirty M. S. P. men came to our house," he told me. "None of the men folk were at home because we were afraid of arrest. The police forced the women to open the door by threatening to smash it in. Then they ordered the women out of the house and entered and searched it. One of them said, 'Show us where your husbands are or we'll burn the house down.' They broke all the earthen cooking vessels. Afterward they let the women in, but they came back on several other nights in the hope of finding us there. A month later they locked the house and forbade the women to enter it. The women and six children were forced to eat, cook, and sleep on the verandah for six weeks."

Finally the police said they would allow the women to live in the house if the schoolmaster gave himself up. Unwilling to see his family suffer, he surrendered and found himself charged with rioting and with reaping a crop without the knowledge of the village headman.

As this man finished telling about his experiences,

other villagers poured out their stories. The police had dragged one man off to their camp, pounded him with their fists, and jailed him on the same charge of unauthorized reaping. Another had been hit with the butt end of a rifle so that his hearing was affected. "They must have picked on me because I had asked the landlord several times to lower the rent," he said. The reading room had been completely wrecked, its books and periodicals torn, its benches and tables broken. Relatives of wanted men had been molested. Three village women had been gagged and raped.

A deputation of women went to the headman of the village, carrying their broken kitchen utensils, to protest against the acts of the M. S. P. and to demand compensation. An old lady of sixty-five named Kunkakkamma and a number of men were arrested on the charge of threatening the headman's life. After a beating in the police camp, they were sent to the Cannanore central jail, where they were kept for two months before being released on bail.

One result of the activities of the M. S. P. was a disastrous loss of food. The men who fled to the woods to escape police violence had to leave their crops unharvested. When their neighbors tried to bring in the grain they were stopped by the police, who hoped the overripe fields would lure back the men. It was estimated that some 12,000 pounds of rice were eaten by cattle.

"We find it hard to exist," one of the villagers said sorrowfully. Most of them had always been on the verge of destitution, and now their lives had been completely disrupted. Many had lost their pitifully few belongings through the wanton destructiveness of the police. Temporarily they were cowed, but they were convinced that their previous demands were entirely warranted. "As soon as the M. S. P. is withdrawn, we'll have to reorganize and ask for compensation for the damage that has been done to us," the schoolteacher said quietly. "And we'll present our demands for lower rents again no matter how great the repression."

THE tension in North Malabar relaxed somewhat with the advent of independence. To celebrate August 15 the local Congress committee, dismayed by the police brutality, asked that the amnesties widely granted throughout India to political prisoners be extended to the jailed agitators. Almost all the Communist and Peasant Union leaders being held without charges were released, as were those who had been jailed for speechmaking. In Cannanore, Congress, Communist, and Moslem League speakers hailed Independence Day from the same platform.

But the antagonism did not die out completely. None of the political cases—such as that against our schoolteacher—were dismissed, and in the first week of Sep-

tember one of the leading North Malabar Communists was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for an inflammatory speech delivered in 1946. Another leader, who had been underground during the severest of the repression, emerged after August 15 only to be arrested for a similar offense. Some of the conservative Congress leaders in the area feel that continued police repression is necessary to make the Communists cease their "violent agitation." The headman of one village said, "Ninety-five per cent of the people here are Communists. They are quiet now because of the M. S. P. If the police are withdrawn, there will be trouble again."

Other local Congressmen think differently. When Balakrishna Nair, president of the Chirakkal Division Congress Committee, was asked his opinion about the withdrawal of the M. S. P., he answered, "Certainly I want them withdrawn. We have been requesting, complaining, bemoaning—all to no purpose." He was deeply annoyed by the apathy and indifference of the provincial government. "I have seen the Ministers half a dozen times," he declared, "but nothing happens. And if the Ministry is indifferent, the police officials are arrogant. Every authenticated complaint I take to them is dismissed as a false allegation." Mr. Nair felt that the violence of the Communists could not be ended by counter-violence by the police.

There are indications that the provincial Congress leaders are coming around to the view that the best way to prevent further clashes is to ease the terrible conditions under which the peasants live. A bill to buy out the landlords and another to lower the rents have been introduced into the provincial legislature. If they are passed, and enforced in such a manner as really to improve the lot of the peasants, South India may escape the fate of strife-torn China.



Drawing by Wilson

Neutrality Pays Off

BY ARMAND SCHWAB, JR.

Zürich, September

COMING into Switzerland from France, near Geneva, you get to a little cafe even before the Swiss customs office. In that cafe, about ten yards from the French border, you can buy rich, strong Swiss beer instead of the pale malt water that is being brewed in France today. And you know you have reached the little island of abundance that lies unbelievably in the center of starving Europe.

The advantages of staying out of two world wars are apparent. It is good to visit a country without traumatic psychoses, political crises, inflation, or hungry mobs, a country which has plenty of white bread, butter, beer, and meat. It is good to observe the common respect and understanding of the four linguistic and national groups that combined so long ago to form this tight, tenacious republic. Yet even if you happen to be a citizen of the most prosperous nation on earth you are likely to feel some resentment. You cannot help realizing that the source of all this Swiss prosperity was the war the Swiss avoided. And you notice that they have almost no humility about their good fortune.

Of course one must be very careful in criticizing a people for staying out of a war. And it is only fair to remember that Switzerland at least did not join the German side like some of our other friends. But the fact remains that its neutrality was profitable for Switzerland. Throughout the war the country received enough German coal and gasoline to meet essential demands, though not enough to use for luxuries. These fuels and other imported goods were supplied by Germany in return for the privilege of transporting freight—but not troops—across Switzerland to the southern fronts. The Swiss controlled the famous Alpine tunnels, including the St. Gotthard with its heavy traffic, and through their power to blow up the tunnels they could keep Germany in line. At the same time the Swiss made machinery, textiles, and other things for the Germans, and got their profit. The Germans even permitted us to get some goods, in return for which we sent food to Switzerland.

THERE is still some food rationing in Switzerland but nothing like that in neighboring countries. Building activities continued even during the war and are in full swing now. The lack of destruction, coupled with the traditional Swiss neatness, makes the towns and villages

seem as elegant as a lady's boudoir in comparison with the rest of Europe. The shops sell imported luxury items on which no other country would dream of wasting foreign exchange. There are drugs and cosmetics, clothing, and typewriters from America. And there are apparently more automobiles here per capita than in New York.

Prices in general have risen, although not steeply. (An excellent federal regulation forces upward revision of wages in certain categories of employment as the cost of living mounts, and so far there has been no vicious inflation.) For citizens of nations whose currency Switzerland wants, a very favorable exchange rate makes travel here inexpensive, but for citizens of "soft-money" countries, like France and Italy, the rate is almost prohibitive.

With help and encouragement from the government the tourist industry is regaining its old importance. Hotels are again giving the cold shoulder to natives, after heartily welcoming them during the lean war years. This year the British especially have thronged here, hungrily buying nylons and pastry with their government-limited allowances. So far, Americans have not come in large numbers, except for the 200,000 soldiers on furlough during and after the war, with whom the Swiss appear to have been completely enchanted.

A tourist industry inevitably makes a nation seem made up of oily hotel keepers and bowing concierges, but for every plump landlord there are a lot of farmers and skilled mechanics. Factories are turning out the famous Swiss products, as carefully made as ever. Skillful dairying is offsetting the dry weather and the lack of machinery. Credits are piling up in foreign banks.

Stability and plenty tend to beget conservatism, and this is true of Switzerland. The people's thinking is heavy and careful; their habits are reserved, even prudish—the largest city, Zürich, is practically run by a *Frauenverein* similar to our W. C. T. U. The country's long-standing democratic traditions, however, have produced a politically alert citizenry. Old-age and medical security, wage-adjustment laws, and tight fiscal control are among the recent enactments of the federal government, whose jurisdiction is being steadily extended.

In international affairs the Swiss seem strangely detached. Reading a Swiss magazine, or talking to a citizen, you feel as if you were standing outside the world, somewhere in space, watching its gyrations. The Swiss observe and comment, critically, inquisitively, without wholly participating. However, they worry a lot about the next war. Their disposition and traditions make them fiercely anti-Russian. They follow the usual Western European pattern of flattering America as "the real leader of the world today," but they are rather more willing than most Europeans to accept the inevitability of another war. While other people feel sick at the thought of going through it again, the Swiss say frankly that they might be able to stay out of the next war too.

ARMAND SCHWAB, JR., has just returned from a trip to France, Italy, and Switzerland.

Conscientious Objectors on Strike

BY HOWARD SCHOENFELD

[The story told here is six years old; yet it is timely. There are still some nine hundred Selective Service violators in prison, of whom about one hundred are conscientious objectors or Jehovah's Witnesses. A large number of the other eight hundred are considered conscientious objectors by church and welfare groups, although not, apparently, by the President's Amnesty Board. Sixteen thousand released violators of the Selective Service Act are still deprived of civil rights. In their interest, and in the interest of their fellows still in jail—some in Danbury Prison—we print Mr. Schoenfeld's article.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE Warden adjusted his glasses. "Men," he said, "this is my last appeal to you." His position was both delicate and difficult. If word of our impending strike reached the public, there would probably be a terrific reaction to it, and he was almost certain to be made the scapegoat. Meanwhile his authority within the prison seemed sure to be undermined. He was a man with a comparatively advanced outlook. There were adequate recreational facilities in his prison, smoking was permitted in the mess hall, movies were shown once a week, inmates were allowed to put on shows, and the prison generally was run along what are considered liberal lines. Indeed, Danbury is cited as one of this country's model prisons, and the worst we suffered under the Warden's administration was solitary confinement.

The Warden was a good-natured man and a sports enthusiast. No broadcast of a fight or an important game passed without the inmates hearing it. And no inmate was happier than he over the fact that the prison softball team was defeated in a really excellent league.

The Warden was a liberal with a position of authority in an evil system. Despite his efforts, his prison was a hell on earth.

Negroes were segregated; convicts in their teens were thrown into solitary; foul food was frequently served; threat of the lunacy ward was employed to coerce the sane; reading matter was censored unmercifully; stool pigeons plied their rotten trade; men "blew their tops."

A good impulse had prompted the Warden to ask the prison bureau to send us to his prison. His fate was to discover us unmanageable. We were a proud, stiff-necked lot who openly boasted we were the most radical men in the country. Inescapably, the Warden was forced

to oppose us in order to uphold his authority and, with it, the authority of the evil system that gave him his power. For a kind man, it was a tragic situation.

The Warden continued: "If you carry through with this strike, not only will your lives be affected, but liberalism itself may be wiped out in the prison bureau. All of you know how hard some of us in the bureau have struggled to better the lot of the inmate. We've made progress lately, and we expect to make more, but the forces against us are powerful, and the balance is delicate. A strike at this time may upset that balance and throw the prison bureau back twenty years."

"But we aren't striking against the prison bureau," someone said.

"It doesn't make any difference why you're striking. The issue here is whether your group of twenty or thirty men has the authority in this prison, or whether the people of the United States, through the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Warden, have that authority."

We decided to strike and take the consequences.

THE bureau, thoroughly aroused, acted swiftly. Carloads of Department of Justice men armed with machine-guns and tear gas were unloaded at the prison gates, according to the grapevine. Other Department of Justice men, the grapevine added, were released in the prison disguised as inmates. Guards let the regular inmates know they would be safe in starting fights with conscientious objectors. If we fought back, our case as pacifists would look pretty silly, and the bureau could get tougher with us.

Early in the afternoon stool pigeons began circulating among the men in an effort to bring a particularly vicious pressure to bear on us. The prison as a whole would be punished if the strike took place, they explained. Six or seven hundred bootleggers, counterfeiters, embezzlers, smugglers, pimps, white slavers, con men, dope peddlers, robbers, and murderers stood to lose considerably by our strike; yet not one of them put the slightest pressure on us to change our stand. We had cast our lot in with theirs from the beginning, and all of our group of ministers, divinity students, and Socialists had been in solitary or under restrictions at one time or another for protesting against the evil conditions under which they and we lived. Wherever men of our group went in the prison, the other inmates gathered about them. And many an inmate who had never known kindness before, or even decent treatment, discovered such things existed and regained his self-respect.

HOWARD SCHOENFELD is a free-lance writer who was imprisoned for nine months as a conscientious objector.

By late afternoon the prison was in a state of nervous apprehension. When the supper whistle blew that evening, the men poured out of their cell blocks and surged across the prison yard toward the mess hall, carrying us along with them. Midway they came to a sudden halt.

The Warden was standing on a small box in the center of the yard. Guards quickly rounded up the men and herded them into a bunched mass in front of him. I moved toward the rear, and two guards detached themselves and moved in behind me. Other guards stationed themselves through the mob wherever there were conscientious objectors. The men stirred restlessly, anxious to get to their suppers. Night was falling, and a high wind was nipping through the yard.

The Warden began to speak. As everyone knew, he said, a general strike was being called the next morning by a small group of inmates. The nature of the strike, as he saw it, did not concern the rest of the inmates, and he believed that they wouldn't join us. We were not striking against the prison bureau or the administration of the prison, he pointed out, but against the government of the United States.

The patriotism of the group calling the strike, although we were not yet at war, was of a questionable nature. We had deliberately disobeyed the law of the land—the Selective Service Act—and that was why we were in prison. We had been trouble-makers from the beginning, and now we were wilfully calling a strike against the best interests of the nation.

Everybody was against war, including himself, and he had gone along with us as far as he could, offering to allow us the use of the chapel for prayer and meditation on the designated day, but we had rejected the offer. The selfishness of our course was apparent. A strike in the prison at this time might prove disastrous. The prison bureau was more liberal than at any time in its history. He dwelt on the gains that had recently been made. Our strike would be a serious blow at those gains. The regular inmates would see the wisdom of steering clear of our strike. He expressed his confidence in the men and said he knew he could count on them for support. He paused for applause.

Silence met him.

Hastily he continued his speech, but he was interrupted by a clear, respectful voice: "That's not quite true, Warden." The speaker was Arle Brooks, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, known among the men for his meek character and spiritual humility.

"Seize that man," the Warden said, pointing at Arle.

Guards quickly surrounded the minister, locking their arms around him. The inmates, knowing Arle's character, broke into spontaneous laughter at the precaution. The laughter died instantly when the Warden ordered Arle taken away and thrown into solitary. A wave of angry muttering swept through the crowd.

IN THE dead of night a guard shook me awake. "Get your clothes and follow me!"

I picked my way through the mass of sleeping men and followed him into an adjoining room. Presently, I was led down the corridor and through the maze of the prison to a large waiting-room. Inside were the other men of our group, sitting silently. I lit a cigarette. A guard took it from me. The clock on the wall ticked.

A lieutenant of guards entered and checked our names against a list. He disappeared suddenly and as suddenly reappeared. He read a name. "David Dellinger."

David rose and followed him. David was a divinity student whose first act in prison had been to protest against the segregation of Negroes. Walking into the mess hall he had deliberately stepped out of the white men's line and sat at a Negro table. The mess hall is the most heavily guarded spot in a prison, and the simple action took extreme courage. Punishment was swift and ruthless. Outside, David had done settlement work in slums while attending theological seminary. Before that he had held an English exchange scholarship.

We waited. The guards watched. The silence was heavy. David did not return. The lieutenant entered and looked at his list. "Sturge Steinert," he said.

Steinert rose and followed him. We listened as the echo of footsteps receded in the corridor and faded out. Steinert was a Socialist who had been a student at Temple University. The American Legion had awarded him a scholarship for winning an essay contest on Americanism. The scholarship, I believe, was withdrawn when he put his ideals into practice. He also failed to return.

The Lieutenant entered and read another name. "Gordon Goley."

Goley was a religious man who had renounced all things material and devoted his full time to a study of the Bible.

The lieutenant called for us, one by one. The wait for those toward the bottom of the list seemed interminable. Finally the lieutenant entered and called my name. I rose and followed him. At the end of the corridor I was frisked before being led through the steel-barred door that opened into the administrative section of the prison. The lieutenant opened the door to the Warden's office and motioned me to enter.

The Warden was sitting at his desk wearing evening clothes, the coat of which he had discarded in favor of a smoking jacket. In one hand he held a volume of "Leaves of Grass"; with the other he was tuning a station on his desk radio.

He invited me to be seated and asked me if I had read Whitman. His manner was utterly friendly, but throughout the interview he continued to manipulate the radio dial nervously. He expressed his regret that he hadn't had the opportunity to discuss my viewpoint with me, and said he hoped that when I was released we could

meet on more social terms over a glass of beer. I returned the courtesy. He went on to show his interest in my reasons for joining in the strike, and I showed him a copy of a note I had earlier given to the captain of the guards, stating my motives. He read the short note and brought the interview to a close by calling the lieutenant of the guards, who led me away and placed me in solitary confinement.

SOLITARY confinement was referred to as "constructive meditation" by the prison authorities. It differed in no way, so far as I know, from solitary confinement anywhere.

My cell measured five paces long and two wide. The walls and floor were bare concrete. The door was metal with a small glass aperture. Guards spied on me from time to time. Strict silence was maintained, although I soon discovered that by pounding on the wall I could get a response from George Houser in the next cell.

The first day dragged uneventfully, the second monotonously, the third was worse. I paced my cell for hours, threw myself exhausted on the cot, lost myself in day dreams. Insatiable sexual desires overwhelmed me, and I lost count of the days in the interminable silence, which was broken only by the dull voice of the guard during count. I began to look forward eagerly to meal-times, and one evening I found a cigarette and match neatly taped on the underside of the tray. Ecstatically I smoked it to the end, burning my fingers and becoming dizzy and nauseated.

The days passed. I made up songs and listened to the words in my mind. I wrote mental essays, novels, plays, and short notices. I scratched my growing beard and braided my hair. I reviewed my life, picking out the incidents I liked best and dwelling on them. I thought about God and prayed. I pounded the wall and paced the cell. Weeks passed.

One day a guard entered the cell block, walked down the corridor, and opened the door to Benedict's cell. Benedict was a fine athlete; in particular he excelled as a softball pitcher. Only one man in the prison could catch his fast ball. The prison team, built around his pitching, had been tied for first place in its league.

The Warden, as I have said, was a sports lover. Now the guard offered Benedict his freedom if he would pitch in the championship play-off games, which apparently were scheduled for that day. Benedict pointed out that he was in no condition to pitch. The guard explained he would be given time to limber up and mentioned how disappointed the inmates would be if the championship was lost. Benedict thereupon said he would do it on condition that all the men in solitary, including the inmates not in the pacifist group, were released. The guard said he would speak to the Warden and trudged off down the corridor.

He returned. The Warden could not agree to Benedict's terms, he said, but had offered a compromise. He would release all the conscientious objectors for the game, and Benedict permanently. Benedict refused. The guard disappeared, returning shortly with another offer. The Warden would release *everybody* for the game, and Benedict permanently. Benedict refused. The guard disappeared.

A lieutenant of guards appeared and told Benedict the men were warming up for the first game. He said he thought he could prevail on the Warden to release all the conscientious objectors permanently and the other men for the game if Benedict would pitch. Benedict refused.

Fully an hour passed. Then the captain of the guards entered and ordered us released. The prison team had lost the first game and the Warden had agreed to Benedict's terms.

Grimacing widely, we left our cells, and laughing at one another's pasty complexions, bearded faces, and unkempt hair, hurried out into the prison yard. A wave of applause went through the stands as Benedict rushed down the field and began warming up. In true Frank Merriwell fashion he summoned his strength after the long weeks of demoralized living and in a superhuman and prodigious performance pitched our team to a victory. This feat made the sporting pages of many newspapers, but another piece of news did not: after the games Benedict and the rest of us were rounded up and thrown back into solitary. The guard on duty was so disgusted that he did not even bother to lock our cell doors.

THE next day at noon the Warden reversed his stand and released us. The midday whistle had blown and the men were already in the mess hall, eating. We straggled across the empty yard, basking in the sun, enjoying our freedom. A spontaneous wave of applause broke out among the men as the first of our group entered the hall. Surging across the hall, the wave became a crescendo. Guards ran up and down the aisles; they were ignored. The pandemonium increased when Benedict came in, and a volcano of thunderous and deafening sound burst out when Arle Brooks entered. But when the "regular" criminals who had been in solitary entered, the convicts literally went wild, whistling, beating their metal cups on the tables, and stamping their feet.

We stood in the center of the floor, astounded at the demonstration. It became clear to me that although they were applauding Benedict, Brooks, and all of us who had been in solitary, they were doing something more. A mass catharsis of human misery was taking place before our eyes. Some of the men were weeping, others were laughing like madmen. It was like nothing I had ever seen before, and nothing I ever expect to see again.

Del Vayo—No. 18 on the Agenda

THE Spanish question is on the agenda of the General Assembly, but for all kinds of conflicting reasons most delegates are against a full discussion such as took place last December. Open and covert friends of Franco are anxious that nothing disturb the Christian General's happiness as he prepares to initiate the second decade of his rule with ceremonies proclaiming the regency. Others, friendly to the Spanish Republic, fear that in the present mood of tension little or nothing would be gained by pressing the issue; they would prefer to let the December resolution ride until a more favorable moment. But no matter what either group would like, the Spanish question will not evaporate.

For Spain remains a live issue, and Washington and London are terrified lest it explode without warning. I have often cited evidence to show that in 1945, at the war's end, the Franco regime could have been replaced by a democratic government without undue violence. Franco was ready to quit that year; only the unexpected support he received from the United States and Great Britain saved him.

For a while, in order to satisfy the Catholic monarchists in Spain, the Vatican qualified its support of the dictator; but on one of his visits to Rome Cardinal Spellman supposedly convinced the Pope that Franco must be kept in the saddle to strengthen the anti-Russian coalition. Whatever the Department of State and the Foreign Office may say, their aid to Franco is a tangible fact. In 1946, when Spain was close to bankruptcy, Great Britain concluded a monetary agreement with Franco which strengthened the regime considerably. Official trade figures for this year, published in Madrid on October 2, list the United States and Latin America as buying 53 per cent of Spain's total exports. The withdrawal of ambassadors did not reduce this more practical kind of recognition.

Inside Spain everyone, whether Falangist or Republican, knows that the United States and Great Britain are keeping Franco in power. The Anarchist organization has been the latest to acknowledge it; an underground statement issued at the end of September is not without political significance, since the Anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo is the second-largest trade-union organization in Spain. For a number of reasons, the most immediate being their hatred of the Communists, the Anarchists until recently took the position that Spain must join the Western bloc. Now they have undergone a change of heart, out of despair at the position of the great Western powers. America's growing friendliness toward Franco was reported by Francisco Lucientes, Washington correspondent of the Spanish news agency. He cabled late in August: "Such neutral anti-Marxist countries as Spain greatly interest the North Americans as a counterbalance of good sense against the ideological madness that is lashing Europe." An editorial in *Arriba*, the Falangist organ, noted with satisfaction that Franco Spain had become part of "the American line of defense." The Anarchist manifesto lashes out against such an alliance

between the Western democracies and a regime they have so often verbally repudiated. It is by far the most violent of the recent attacks launched by the Spanish underground against this country; it bitterly denounces the British Socialists as well and declares that "the only possible way left to the Spaniards is the way of violence."

The new element in the Spanish situation is the fact that the indirect help Franco has received is no longer sufficient. The economic situation has worsened so rapidly since last spring that indirect foreign aid cannot stave off collapse much longer. The United States faces the alternative of including Franco Spain in the Marshall plan—an unthinkable repudiation of its proclaimed position—or of advancing a big loan to the Caudillo. A few weeks ago I said that the 200-gram bread ration in France created a revolutionary situation. What of Spain, where the second cut this year has reduced the ration to 150 grams—officially; actually 100 grams? A Spanish crew jumped ship the other day in a Venezuelan port, declaring to the authorities: "There's no way to keep alive in Spain." Lack of foreign currency is preventing the regime from meeting the most pressing needs of the population.

Last week I received a letter from Madrid from an anti-Franco but conservative Spanish business man with whom I have kept in contact since I left Spain. When I saw him in France a year ago he told me Franco was solidly entrenched and the Republicans ought to accept a compromise—a monarchy or some ambiguous interim regime that would allow Republicans to return to Spain without being shot. Now he writes: "For the first time I must admit that you are right. There is no halfway remedy for this terrifying process of disintegration. The worst of it is that catastrophe is sweeping toward us at headlong speed. My heart breaks at the thought of what awaits our country." Daily the underground grows stronger and the repression more intense. When members of the resistance are captured, they are immediately sent to the terrible prison of Alcalá de Henares, invariably sentenced to death, and shot the next day. Official government sources acknowledge that 214 Republicans were executed between January and the end of August.

Whether the United Nations believes it or not, the Spanish question is an urgent one; when it explodes, the repercussions will reach farther than in the Greek affair. Nor can any government say it lacked advance warning. For months the Republicans have been saying that should a major revolt against Franco break out, deep lesions would appear all over Europe at the points of political tension. No party would have to lift a finger, but opposing camps would form, and thousands of Europeans would rally to the fight in a new and greater International Brigade. But on the eve of the Assembly meeting, when a high Washington official was approached about the need for a positive U. N. stand on Spain, he said: "Don't bother me with Spain now. I have too many headaches already."



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

European Customs Union—II

LAST week I wrote about the tentative but significant approaches of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation to the question of removing the barriers that have done so much to block intracontinental trade. I tried to show how strong was the economic case for a customs union covering as large an area as possible. At the same time I was forced to admit that the road to this desirable end was an extraordinarily rocky one.

One major difficulty was mentioned by Mr. del Vayo in last week's *Nation*. Pointing out that the sixteen "Western" nations that attended the Paris conference "constitute no economic entity," he declared that "only a United Europe will ever know peace, reconstruction, and prosperity." Certainly, the most effective European union would be one that brought together the industrial regions of the West with the surplus food areas of the East. That would constitute an economic entity nearly as well balanced and as well supplied with natural resources as the United States.

The mutual need for close economic relations between the Western and Eastern European groups was by no means ignored by the Paris delegates. In fact, their report, optimistically perhaps, assumed that by 1951 exchange of goods between the two regions would be approaching its pre-war volume. Moreover, they made it clear that they did not wish the Study Group which is to examine the problems involved in setting up a customs union to be exclusively Western; invitations to participate are to be extended to all European nations. Unfortunately, the political considerations which induced the Soviet Union to boycott the Marshall-plan conference and to order its satellite countries to follow suit will almost certainly bar, in the foreseeable future, even the discussion of economic union covering all Europe. Russia views any European union not under its control as a menace to its security; the United States is not prepared to aid any group dependent on Moscow. Europe is the first victim of the "cold war."

Caught between these rival forces, what are the Western Europeans to do? Must they abandon all hope of closer cooperation and continue to keep their economies in watertight compartments? Surely even an incomplete union is better than nothing. Indeed, the very fact that Western Europe is not self-sufficient, that it will have to rely on industrial exports to finance imports of food and raw materials from other parts of the world, makes the abolition of its internal trade barriers all the more imperative. Without that step the scale of most industries will remain too small for full efficiency, and competition with the United States will be possible only if wages are kept very low.

Assuming, then, an effort to establish a customs union among some or all of the nations represented at Paris, what

are some of the hurdles to be cleared? An obvious one is the existing differences in standards of living, levels of taxation, scope of social services, and so forth between the countries in the group. If all internal barriers to the movement of goods, capital, and labor were removed, differences in living standards would tend to disappear, though, as we know from American experience, large variations inside a free-trade area are possible. The problem in Europe would be to attempt to bring about a leveling up rather than a leveling down and so avoid the kind of social strain, to cite one example, produced by wage competition between New England and Southern textile mills.

Some wishfully thinking American officials and bankers support the customs-union project in the belief that it will provide a springboard from which Europe will dive back into the *laissez faire* river. But Europe has bitter memories of the dangerously erratic currents in those waters. With every government in Western Europe—and, what is more, nearly every party from which an alternative administration might be drawn—committed to economic planning, hopes of a return to a free market are pretty unrealistic.

That being the case, it follows that any free-trade area in Europe must have an over-all plan into which national plans are integrated. A French scheme for doubling steel production, for instance, would have to be coordinated with the steel and coal programs of the other members of the group. A British plan to speed up housing would have to be considered in relation to building activity and supplies of materials throughout the whole area.

Again, before a customs union could become fully effective, it would be necessary to arrange for free convertibility of the currencies of all members or, better still, to provide for a new, common, currency. But that implies some standardization of taxation; otherwise convertibility might lead to a headlong flight of liquid funds from Britain and the Scandinavian countries, where direct taxes are high and rigorously collected, to France and Italy, where they are lower and more easily evaded.

In other words, a customs union among a number of countries with planned economies cannot be an isolated move. To make it succeed, the participating members would have to be willing to surrender some part of their national sovereignties to a body representing the whole group. As the *London Economist* wrote on August 23:

It would be idle to suppose that a customs union could ever be established within a purely economic framework. A political structure would have to be built alongside. . . . It may even be found that it is, after all, a waste of time to tackle the whole complex of questions wrapped up in Western European interdependence as exclusively from the economic angle as the present prominence of the idea of a customs union would suggest. It may be that, in the end, the political arrangements will have to come first.

That is a big order: so big that were the alternatives for Western Europe less grim, one would be tempted to dismiss the idea of economic union as fantasy. As things are, however, it is just possible that the instinct for survival will triumph over the centrifugal forces that have long been Europe's curse.

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE BEGINNING

So summer comes in the end to these few stains
And the rust and rot of the door through which she went.
The house is empty. But here is where she sat
To comb her dewy hair, a touchless light,
Perplexed by its darker iridescences,
This was the glass in which she used to look
At the moment's being, without history,
The self of summer perfectly perceived,
And feel its country gaiety and smile
And be surprised and tremble, hand and lip.
This is the chair from which she gathered up
Her dress, the carefullest, commodious weave
Inwoven by a weaver to twelve bells . . .
The dress is lying, cast-off, on the floor.
Now, the first tutoyers of tragedy
Speak softly, to begin with, in the eaves.

WALLACE STEVENS

"As Much Humanity as Possible . . ."

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRE GIDE.
Volume I: 1889-1913. Translated
from the French, with an Introduction
and Notes, by Justin O'Brien.
Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

THE publication of this first of a projected three-volume American translation of Gide's "Journal: 1889-1939" should mark a fresh start, rather than a continuation, of Gide's reputation in the United States. The "Journals" draw Gide's other works into focus; but do many people now read Gide's former American translations? Scattered and few and out of series, these translations began to appear in 1924 with "Strait Is the Gate," reached a high point of popular interest in 1927 with "The Counterfeiters," and narrowed down thereafter to a few assorted works presented more or less at random. After 1931 no more was heard of Gide in ordinary trade editions (a limited edition of "Si le grain ne meurt . . .," translated by Dorothy Bussy under the title "If It Die," came out in 1935) until after his disillusionment with Soviet Russia: "Return from the U. S. S. R." appeared in 1937 and "Afterthoughts on the U. S. S. R." in

1938. The latest work published in America is Malcolm Cowley's translation of "Interviews Imaginaires," in 1944; and here again, as in the two former books, Gide is presented as an aging but active idealist, nearer the edge of politics and journalism than the center of literature.

The "Journals" correct these views and provide a firm basis for judgments of Gide's character and place in letters. For they are the central pier upon which the imposing edifice of his work is built. Gide, in fact, from the beginning of his career has been a diarist. The regular, often daily record of thought and event has provided him with a form at once exigent and large, wherein his desire for stability as well as for movement and change, his detailed inquisitiveness as well as his wider curiosity, could be satisfied. Bored with the "big machines" of French literary form, incapable of filling in conventional backgrounds or of inventing stock figures, wary of technical tricks not based on actual emotion, happy to change his mind concerning the worth and direction of his material while that material was still in the process of composition, Gide has always preferred the short

form, where effects can be brought off with full spontaneity, before the impelling emotion is exhausted.

Gide's most unfriendly critics have never been able to attack him in respect to his style. The present volume of the "Journals" shows us that style in the making, from the days when the young symbolist had not yet decided to write "without metaphors" to 1913, when the accomplished man of letters had evolved a manner of writing so clear and flexible that it was a matter of pride to himself and of emulation to his disciples. The youthful admirer of Châteaubriand has "sharpened his beak" upon Stendhal. The "Journals" soon come to be based upon sincerity of feeling. In this way they never become a mere record of events. Neither do they fall into the errors and *longueurs* of the *journal intime*, since Gide effectually skirts the endless introspective self-indulgences of the intimate diarist. Experience and interest continually enliven the record: books read, music played (Gide is an "intellectual" who can use his hands with precision and speed), journeys undertaken, gardens planted, friends met, meals eaten, daylight walks and midnight prowls described, methods of work delineated with the same care as the most obscure of passing moods, the weather and the scenery enjoyed. Gide's advance into maturity is by no means in a straight line, without forced detours or periods of circuitous progress. But he early found his pace and his road. He writes, in 1905: "I escaped early from that world in which, to appear proper, I had to watch myself too closely."

Gide's courageous moral stand, which had so much influence on the post-1918 generation, is not indicated very clearly here: he has written his "confessions" elsewhere. The first exposition of his moral theories appeared in "Les Nourritures Terrestres" in 1897, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, at a time when, in French intellectual life, all that was not "determinist" or "finalist" was suspect. A rigid positivism had penetrated French thought to an excessive degree. The only escape for "sensitive souls" was into the refuge of an equally strict and confining religious dogma. In this situation, through bitter

personal suffering, after a stay in North Africa and a friendship with Wilde, Gide dared to reconcile irreconcilables. He brought emotion over into the moral realm, declaring the experiences of the flesh to be of equal value to those of the mind and the spirit; and he affirmed that spiritual values could operate in a life-giving manner outside the rituals of religion. Always claiming a basic Christianity, he began his meditations on the figure of a Savior who stood for man's joy rather than for man's tragic and deforming frustration.

As the world of affairs begins to claim more of his attention, Gide meets people and events head-on; he does not take anyone's opinion as his own; he analyzes character and motive with a penetrating combination of intuition and acumen. His dislike of virtuosity in art parallels his impatience with the deviousness and pretentiousness of human beings. The tension between the oppositions within himself continues; perfect balance between impulse and scruple, asceticism and sensuality is never entirely achieved. There are breakdowns, nervous crises, and capitulations, as well as spiritual and physical convalescences and reanimations. By keeping the poles of the tension clear, however, Gide escapes most of the enticements of self-deception. His life and relationships must be kept, so far as possible, vital and necessitous. All must be natural in the area of the senses while at the same time the will must function with a kind of "supple obstinacy." Gide's dealings with his colleagues and friends never lack an edge of critical sharpness; but shows of ambition, jealousy, rancor, and spite never occur, and small gossip and downright malice are relatively rare. His chief desire is to have friends who "exist behind and beyond what [they] reveal to us." He does not neglect "the insulted and injured."

Take upon oneself as much humanity as possible. That is the correct formula. . . . Absence of sympathy equals lack of imagination. The most gifted natures are perhaps the most trembling. . . . As soon as an emotion decreases, the pen should stop; when it continues to run on just the same—and it runs on all the more easily—writing becomes detestable. . . . The wonderful thing on this earth is that we are forced to feel more than to think.

These are the words of a man and an

artist who has detached himself from killing and "glacial" abstractions and moved into a world where the modern divided spirit is at least partially healed, where there are provable and classic linkages between the timeless and the time-bound.

Nothing has been spared—neither good-quality large paper nor an intelligent and meticulous editor—to make this American edition, to be complete by 1950, impressive. The French *Pléiade*

edition (1939 and 1940) on which it is based still retains a peculiar charm, however. Complete in one volume, printed on thin paper, its 1,352 pages compactly yet flexibly bound, this French edition resembles some object delightful and usable: a convenient missile, let us say, against "the Philistine"; or a concentrated form of nourishment, on which one could maintain life over a long period.

LOUISE BOGAN

The Straight Way Lost

THE MIDDLE OF THE JOURNEY.

By Lionel Trilling. The Viking Press. \$3.

WHEN we meet John Laskell he is thirty-three, crossing the perilous Dantean decade in which the risks, doubts, and challenges of a man's life declare themselves and his personality first begins to contract into the limitations and decisions to which it is fated. He is "a fortunate young man of the middle class" who has disciplined his privileges by an earnest if skeptical liberal faith. He has become, after earlier creative leanings, an authority on housing, so justifying in his own mind the social bearings of his political sympathies. He has loved once, a healthy, intelligent girl called Elizabeth Fuess, and they loved in the intelligent, reasonable way of an emancipated modern passion. She, however, died suddenly, and he has not yet committed himself again to the risk of so inexplicably violated a confidence in life.

His friends are mostly liberals like himself. One is Arthur Croom, assistant professor and Socialist, a man "in whom the drive for power did not destroy intelligence and character," a "man of the near future." Another is Croom's wife Nancy, charming, domestic, college-bred, and soon to reveal "a passion of the mind and will so pure that, as it swept through her, she could not believe that anything that opposed it required consideration." A third is Kermit Simpson, rich publisher of the left-liberal *New Era*, "very handsome, a big rangy man who was good at field sports, court games, and boating," but also "all too bland. There was no roughness in him. He never followed passion

where it led, nor did necessity ever constrain him to resistance. The blandness was fatal to his character." There is finally Gifford Maxim, member and secret agent of "the Party," a "man of the far future, the bloody, moral, apocalyptic future that was sure to come," who has become the standard of dogmatic conviction around which the lesser faiths and good intentions of his friends have come to take their bearings.

Laskell, when the crucial summer of the novel begins, has just recovered from an almost fatal attack of scarlet fever. It has laid open the lesions and doubts of his character. He has learned for the first time the difference between the sick and the well, between the meaning of death and the healthy world that fears to hear death mentioned, between the will to live and the wish to die, between security and fear and what these mean in the struggle for existence. Just as he is about to emerge into the world again to go to Connecticut for the curative summer the Crooms have arranged for him, Maxim drops a bombshell by revealing that he has renounced the Party. Laskell goes to the country. He lives down the road from the Crooms' house with the Folgers. He meets the semi-derelict family of the Caldwells—Duck Caldwell, selfish, honest, alcoholic, imperative, with a mind "not wicked" but "the pure will of nothingness," who works around the Croom house; his wife Emily, who once ran a tea-room and still echoes a feebly Bohemian past; and their child Susan, to whom Laskell becomes unwittingly attached.

Laskell, his wounds still open, thus becomes involved in a drama of faiths that comes to include not only the latent

ON THE PILOTS WHO DESTROYED GERMANY, IN THE SPRING OF 1945

I stood on a roof top and they wove their cage
 Their murmuring throbbing cage, in the air of blue crystal.
 I saw them gleam above the town like diamond bolts
 Conjoining invisible struts of wire,
 Carrying through the sky their geometry
 Woven by senses delicate as a shoal of flashing fish.

They went. They left a silence in our streets below
 Which boys gone to schoolroom leave in their playground.
 A silence of asphalt, of privet hedge, of staring wall.
 Through the glass emptied sky their diamonds had scratched
 Long curving finest whitest lines.
 These the day soon melted into satin ribbons.
 Falling over heaven's terraces near the sun.

Oh that April morning they carried my will
 Exalted expanding singing in their aerial cage.
 They carried my will. They dropped it on a German town.
 My will expanded and tall buildings fell down.

Then, when the ribbons faded and the sky forgot,
 And April was concerned with building nests and being hot
 I began to remember the lost names and faces.

Now I tie the ribbons torn down from those terraces
 Around the most hidden image in my lines,
 And my life, which never paid the price of their wounds,
 Turns thoughts over and over like a propeller
 Assumes their guilt, honors, repents, prays for them.

STEPHEN SPENDER

conflict between himself, the Crooms, and Simpson, but also the deeper conflict between these middle terms of the modern moral and political intelligence and the oppositions that hedge them—the derelict Caldwells on one side; the passionately dogmatic Maxim, driving from Communist to religious absolutism, on the other. The drama grows in tension; its debate proliferates; it arrives at a climax of passion (Laskell and Emily Caldwell) and another of death (Susan's, at the hand of her father). It tests the cluster of friends to their foundations. And the summer ends with their relations profoundly and permanently disturbed. One autumn morning Laskell, now tested in more than his health yet stronger in more than body, takes the train back to the city.

These, too briefly and inadequately, are the characters and outward events of Lionel Trilling's first novel, and readers who know not only his critical endowment but also his earlier stories will know what to expect in the way of a narrative keenly sustained and subtly

articulated. It is, indeed, a novel of remarkable—of almost unflinching—auster-ity. Little or nothing has been conceded to the conventional inducements of current fiction. Effects of action and background are reduced to a minimum. Humor, by-play, color, and incident are pared to the quick. The treatment is on first acquaintance stark in its economy of detail and "atmosphere." But it defines a milieu that has, with the emergence of a new type of novel from the critical thought of the past ten years, become a new area in fiction. (It finds differing versions in "Memoirs of Hecate County" and Eleanor Clark's "The Bitter Box," and recent minor examples like John Kelly's "All Souls' Night" and Wallace Stegner's "Second Growth" aid in defining a new genre among novelists.)

It is the milieu of the contemporary literary and political intelligentsia. One must admit that nothing the realists and naturalists of the nineteenth century tackled in the way of unromantic discouragements when they undertook to

bring the drab lives of servant girls, nuns, shopkeepers, miners, and wage slaves into the novel is missing for the present-day artist who attempts to dramatize a world as generally bleak, unheroic, and denatured as the world of contemporary thinkers, writers, and professors. Those flats in the Village, cottages on the Cape, houses in Connecticut, and campus colonies!—is it possible that the slightest spur to imagination lingers in them? One may, moreover, tend at first to complain that Mr. Trilling has abstracted his characters from their real roots and conditions in modern society; that he has endowed their acts and words with an obtrusive self-consciousness and absence of human spontaneity that reduces their dramatic appeal and pathos to a minimum. We are told little of where or how they originated in American life. All of them—the Crooms, Laskell, Simpson, even the more localized Caldwells, Folgers, and Walkers—are suspended in a kind of social and moral void. Their talk is strung to a painful pitch of personal abstraction. Exceptions do occur: two wonderful nurses and a country clergyman; but often their performances—especially the high-strung, bright-minded speeches of Nancy Croom, the pathetic soul-hungers of Emily Caldwell, or the efforts of her child Susan to recite a Blake poem "with expression"—are calculated to set the teeth on edge.

What Mr. Trilling has written is, quite overtly, a dialectic novel. The term appears in his pages. His language is analytical, his structure polemic, his sequence of scenes and confrontations among characters virtually syllogistic. Yet it is a remarkable testimony to his skill and sincerity, and to the tenacious probity of his thinking, that he has been able to keep his plotting sharply dramatic; that as we read we lose our sense of lacking familiar fictional ingredients; and that we become profoundly absorbed in his story, not only as a brilliantly sustained argument but as the record of an essential experience and milieu of our age, one fully equal in validity to the actualities of proletarian fiction and far more salient than the later attenuations and enfeebled appeals of the novel of sensibility.

By that time also, convinced by the passion with which ideas and convic-

tions can possess the modern mind, we feel the authenticity of his scenes and people. Nancy Croom, with her socialist logic and scarifying affection, becomes a classic portrait of one type of modern woman. The little girl with her Blake poem is a true and pathetic image of cultured childhood (the Progressive-Schoolgirl in Mr. Trilling's story, "The Other Margaret" was a brilliant anticipation of this portrait). Kermit Simpson is the muzzy-minded prototype of a dozen wealthy patrons of the left. The scenes of the drama itself precisely define the orbit of middle-class gentility, academic inhibition, and well-to-do patronage that has nurtured the cautious self-deceptions and guilty fears which have lamed the liberal position in modern thought and made the triumph and tyranny of absolutes so sinister in our age.

For the theme of the novel is the fate of the liberal critical intelligence in our time—and its necessity. John Laskell's is the mind in which that fate is tried, the focus, made vulnerable by illness and a fresh access of clarity, of the conflict between the political and moral passions that contend around him. Mr. Trilling is, I suppose, the finest analyst and historian of the liberal predicament we have among us today. His account of that problem in his earlier books and essays is permanent. We are kept fully aware, in this novel, of his rigorous insight and schooling in the liberal dilemma. It is probably inevitable that one should recall his admirable book on Forster in this connection—particularly if one emphasizes the fact that "The Middle of the Journey" is quite independent of Forster's work in style, method, and content—and likewise his searching book on Arnold. It is also inevitable, knowing his brilliant critical talent, to recall how fully he knows of the existence of modern classics of dialectic art like "The Sacred Fount," "The Ivory Tower," "The Magic Mountain," "Howard's End," and "The Counterfeiters." Such books have provided a schooling for his imagination; he has not denied himself the most formidable models; but they have not deprived him of his own language and invention. What he said in his Forster book about that novelist's dissection of the evils of the "undeveloped heart" in modern life is as relevant here as what

he said about the role which Forster assigns to the "relaxed will" and to "the Primal Curse . . . the knowledge of Good-and-Evil" in modern morality. When I discussed Mr. Trilling's book on Forster in these pages four years ago I compared the Englishman's art with that of André Gide. What those men share in their conception of the novel is shared also by Mr. Trilling. For him also the novel is what Gide called it—"a crossroads—a meeting place of problems"; he knows the importance of believing that "whatever your station or

country, you should believe only what is true, and what you would be disposed to believe if you were of another country, another station, another religion."

When John Laskell, at the end of his momentous summer, faces the rival angers of his friends—the Crooms with their inflamed conviction of the guilt of society which permits no responsibility in the individual; Maxim with his dogmatic moralist belief in individual responsibility which admits the mitigation of mercy—he knows at last why they are angry with him. It is "the anger

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of the masked will at the appearance of an idea in modulation. The open will does not show that anger; only the will masked in virtue shows it." But against their accusations Laskell holds to his position. It is the will in modulation that must survive if absolutes are to be denied their tyranny and the intelligence is to survive for the uses of justice and truth. Mr. Trilling has been, in some quarters, severely—and ineptly—censured for defending "individual morality" against "social morality" in his story "The Other Margaret." This novel, with its subtle, athletic, and unsimplified articulation of the whole truth, "the double truth," of social and individual values, shows how truly he sees the complex actuality of values which the simplistic moralism of dogmatic or abstracting minds, hot for action and accusation, ignores. On that score alone "The Middle of the Journey" becomes a powerful document. But it is more than a document. It is a brilliant example of a new mode of fiction, one whose function in the moral dilemmas of our age his acute critical sense has seen, and whose claims on the imaginative resources of his generation the finely controlled, humanly faithful art of this novel demonstrates. It is a book that brings the best critical intelligence now discernible in America into play with an absolutely honest creative talent. And it shares with only a few recent books of my acquaintance the honor of establishing that cooperation of talents on a sound, perhaps even on a classic, footing.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Something Less Than Abigail

ABIGAIL ADAMS. By Janet Whitney. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.

THIS biography, or rather semi-fictionalized life, of Abigail Adams belongs to a school of writing which I might venture to call—if the word can be used in a non-pejorative sense—feminine. The substance of it is letters, quoted or paraphrased, of the heroine; and happily the wife of John Adams could write with vigor and distinction. Interstices among the sources are filled in with imaginative recreations of settings, conversations, and passions; these unfortunately are composed in a vein

contrasting widely with the hard clarity of Mrs. Adams.

Thus at the birth of John Quincy we find that Abigail, "lying in the big feather bed, exhausted, happy, and sad, had no suspicion that the two men who, each in his own way—one so earnestly masculine, one so nuddling and small—comforted her sorrow, were incipient Presidents of a republic yet unborn." Occasionally the writing achieves still greater miracles of anticipation, as with the announcement that Abigail, having been born in Weymouth, went visiting to Quincy and there breathed "what was to become her native air." Sometimes, striving for the dramatic, it reaches sheer bathos, as when, presented with Abigail pining for letters from John in Philadelphia, we are suddenly asked, "What, then, about the postal system?"

What, then, we are bound to continue, is wrong with this kind of writing? One difficulty, in this case, may be that the source is just too good. To offer anything beyond self-effacing annotation to the text of Abigail Adams's letters is impertinent. The delicate flavor of history is in them, the subtle essence of a provincial Enlightenment, rationalistic yet Puritan, proud yet insecure, but the bouquet evaporates quickly when opened in the heavy atmosphere of "Fate was busy at the loom." It adds little to our comprehension of the love of Abigail for John (she referred to him between 1797 and 1801 even in letters to her own sister as "the President") to be told, "He was very much of a man's man, but women fell for him." And when, in Mrs. Whitney's part of the narrative, we are treated to a dialogue in which the little woman strengthens the resolution of her spouse to scorn the proffered bribe of the royal governor, when she shyly murmurs her admiration and "his strong arms came round her waist," we can only long for the relief of the actual Abigail who said—in words not quoted by Mrs. Whitney—that her husband's opponents were "the most base, profligate, and abandoned Culprits which were ever permitted to scourge the Nations of the Earth."

However, the trouble is not only that such sentimentality fudges the narrative and dulls the characters. Abigail Adams lived in history and distilled it into her letters. They are a joy to read,

just as they stand, but it is a greater pleasure to bring some sense of history to the reading. For an author, even a novelist, to identify himself too closely with his central figure is dangerous if he still hopes to put that figure into meaningful relations with other characters or with time and space. In the biography of a historical character such identification of writer and subject becomes pernicious, for if the biographer has any function beyond editing the words and listing the acts, it is to make an effort, however tentative, toward determining what, in the light of history, his subject means. No actor in history, not even so intelligent an actor as Abigail Adams, can quite say it. Instead of such interpretation Mrs. Whitney offers: "He gathered her to him in the dusk, and held her to his own hard-beating heart." In a narrative so centered Jefferson and Hamilton, whose differences with John Adams were the stuff of history and upon which Mrs. Adams had some good things to say, inevitably become insubstantial figures. We are told that Abigail "browsed through many a volume," but we learn little of what books she read or with what ideas her mind, generally recognized as about the best of contemporaneous American women's, was actually furnished. That she was the wife of one President and the mother of another is less interesting than that she was the fine exemplar of eighteenth-century New England culture; this aspect of the biographical problem is not even recognized in Mrs. Whitney's treatment.

Those who would enjoy the privilege of meeting Abigail Adams face to face will turn to the edition of her letters to her sister recently published in *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Volume 55, under the expert editing of Stewart Mitchell. Mrs. Whitney has touched upon only the high spots of these rich manuscripts; she has, however, been allowed by the custodians access to "relevant portions" of material not generally available to students. We are obliged once more to regret that the decision as to what among the Adams papers may or may not be relevant is denied the community of scholars. This volume is pathetic testimony to the fact that guardians do not always appreciate the best interests of their wards.

PERRY MILLER

Bosses and the Boss

YOU'RE THE BOSS. By Edward J. Flynn. The Viking Press. \$3.

REILLY OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

By Michael F. Reilly as Told to William J. Slocum. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

MR. FLYNN'S "You're the Boss" is clearly destined to become a small political classic. I do not know of any book which combines so effectively a candid analysis of the machine system, an able defense of it, and a realistic account of machine activity in concrete political situations. Few politicians are sufficiently reflective or articulate to describe the techniques which have become for them a matter of instinct or conditioned reflex. No one perhaps since Martin Van Buren has equaled Ed Flynn in uniting professional virtuosity with insight and intellectual detachment.

"We cannot have government without elections," Mr. Flynn writes, "elections without organizations, or organizations without a 'spoils system' to keep them going." Political machines and their flora and fauna are thus indispensable to a democracy and will survive the passing squalls whipped up by "reformers" or "good-government" people—words Mr. Flynn rarely uses without derisive quotation marks. So long as the citizens are unwilling to give as much time to politics as the politicians do, they must expect machine rule; and when they do give the time, they can overthrow any machine which fails to serve their purposes—a fact which an intelligent boss never forgets. Whether machines will be good or bad "depends upon the interest of citizens in their party government, upon whether that interest is just as strong and unflagging as their interest in their local, state, and federal government." Thus though bosses are inevitable in our system, bad bosses are not. "This book is respectfully addressed to you, the reader," Mr. Flynn concludes, "because you're the boss."

Mr. Flynn's general analysis seems irrefutable. His defense of the machine, however, depends on the element which philosophical defenders of bossism, from Van Buren and Thurlow Weed down, have always made paramount

but which practitioners have very often ignored: that for the most practical reasons of survival a machine must produce relatively honest and efficient government. When Flynn became leader of the Bronx, for example, it was proposed that he take advantage of the proffered aid of gangsters in fixing elections. His rejection of this proposal was on good pragmatic grounds.

If they engaged in such an election practice to help me, they would in turn come back and ask me to help them illegally. This price was too high to pay. Furthermore, I did not even want gangsters in the Bronx. So I decided not only to decline their assistance but to kick them out. I have found out that sticking religiously [*sic*] to this decision has paid me dividends many times over.

The trouble with machines, of course, is that so few bosses have Flynn's preference for the long view over the quick profit. In the American political equilibrium a reform movement is the price the boss pays for self-indulgence.

Mr. Flynn's comments on Roosevelt and the New Deal are strictly from his professional frame of reference. The

broad social impulses of the New Deal appear to have had little interest for him—a fact which distinguishes him from someone like Van Buren. He would tolerate the New Dealers so long as they stuck to policy-making, but when Tom Corcoran muscled into the organization field, Ed Flynn struck back like a gamekeeper fighting poachers. A deep affection for Franklin Roosevelt, as for his wife, shines through an uncommonly honest assessment of F. D. R.'s personal virtues and shortcomings. "His two greatest weaknesses, in my opinion," Flynn writes, "were the bitterness which he engendered within himself and the weakness he displayed in his inability to be frank and open in many instances in his dealings with people."

"Reilly of the White House" adds a number of entertaining sidelights on Roosevelt. Michael F. Reilly succeeded Colonel Starling as head of the Secret Service detail at the White House on the day of Pearl Harbor. Through the war his assignment was to protect the President wherever business or relaxa-

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ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Arriere-Garde

ATLANTIC HARVEST. Memoirs of the *Atlantic*. Compiled by Ellery Sedgwick. An *Atlantic Monthly* Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.50.

IT IS perhaps disappointing that this volume of Mr. Sedgwick's does not turn out to be an "objective" and genuinely "representative" anthology of pieces from the *Atlantic Monthly* illustrative of its history from the beginning, in 1857, to the end of Mr. Sedgwick's own editorship in 1938. Certainly it is not that, and no one should buy the book who expects to find in it a single scrap by Emerson or the elder Holmes, by Lowell or Mrs. Stowe, by Howells or Henry James, by Charles Eliot Norton or E. L. Godkin or William Vaughn Moody. Mark Twain is here, as he ought to be, and so too are Sarah Orne Jewett and Edith Wharton, John Jay Chapman and Woodrow Wilson; but they are here for their own sakes, or for editorial reasons of Mr. Sedgwick's, and not primarily because they exemplify what the *Atlantic* once meant in American intellectual life.

The anthology, however, has a real interest, though a different one; it is a frankly personal collection by Mr.

Sedgwick of pieces that continue to interest or please him, and as such it furnishes us with a kind of blueprint for the editing of a highly successful and even distinguished magazine of what might be called the intellectual *arriere-garde*. There is no doubt that Mr. Sedgwick very early hit upon an editorial formula that was to prove brilliantly successful in its appeal to a very considerable segment of the reading public, and this anthology gives us a compact view of how that formula operated.

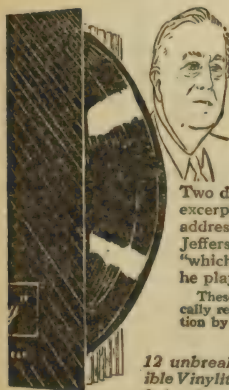
Its most important single ingredient might be described as the True Story Genteel or True Confessions for the Well-Educated. A good third of the pieces in this volume are in this decidedly non-"pulp" vein of personal revelation, autobiographic testimonial, or refined remembrance of things past. The educated girl from the East who married a handsome young moonshiner, the public-utilities executive who underwent conversion, the great actor's son who decided to become an actor himself—characters such as these were long familiar to *Atlantic* readers, and they rightly predominate in this anthology. Fortunately, too, Mr. Sedgwick's passion for the reminiscent sometimes presents us with a recollective essay on a different level; an admirable example here is Henry Villard's really lively "Recollections of Lincoln"—published when Bliss Perry was editor.

A hardly less important ingredient of the formula is the Grade-B or even Grade-C short story, preferably the short story that, while it comes to grips with some painful issue of the moral

life, inculcates, indirectly or explicitly, an essentially wholesome and Anglo-Saxon—if possible American, and best of all New England—resolution of that issue. In consequence, one looks in vain for the writers of short fiction who, during the thirty years of Mr. Sedgwick's editorship, were at work on the frontiers of literary expansion and discovery—Sherwood Anderson, say, or Virginia Woolf, or Katherine Anne Porter, or William Faulkner—and what one does find is Katherine Fullerton Gerould, Mary Webb, Hetty Hemenway, and Walter D. Edmonds. It is true that Hemingway is represented here by "Fifty Grand," and Lawrence not by a story but by a rather inferior sketch; but it is hard not to feel that these are sops held out by Mr. Sedgwick to some placable Cerberus of the literary underworld.

Let me mention one more constituent of a typical *Atlantic* issue, and then have done: it is the more or less informal essay in the tradition of Lamb or Oliver Wendell Holmes, and it is represented here by an intolerably arch and allusive essay on cats by Agnes Repplier, a tweedy sort of piece "On Dogs and Men" by Henry Merwin (a name I must confess to no familiarity with, otherwise), and a really corny essay on national differences by Salvador de Madariaga—"Englishman, Frenchman, Spaniard"—the thesis of which, if this can be credited, is that the Englishman is essentially a man of action, the Frenchman a man of thought, and the Spaniard a man of passion. It must be added that Mr. de Madariaga puts forward this view in a bold and uncompromising manner.

Like all editorial formulas, Mr. Sedgwick's naturally has its negative aspect; he knows what ought to be left out as well as what ought to be put in, and it is striking that this anthology contains no poems whatever (unless perhaps A. P. Herbert's brilliant Shakespearean parody, "Two Gentlemen of Soho," should be excepted) and no literary criticism, unless, again, one should except Woodrow Wilson's often reprinted essay on "Mere Literature" and an effort by Ellen Terry on the letters in Shakespeare's plays—a piece that is not at all inconsistent with Ellen Terry's having been an admirable actress.



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In conclusion, one likes Mr. Sedgwick for having originally printed, and for including here, William G. Thomson's affecting summary of "Vanzetti's Last Statement." NEWTON ARVIN

The Big Muddy and MVA

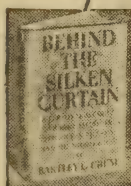
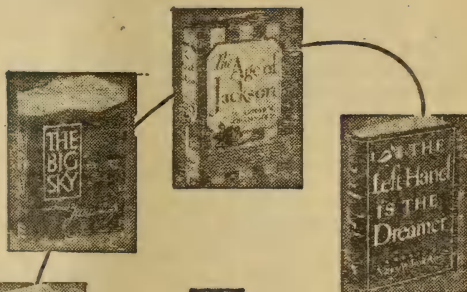
THE MISSOURI VALLEY, LAND OF DROUGHT, FLOOD, AND PROMISE. By Rufus Terral. Yale University Press. \$3.75.

PROBABLY the most important thing that can be said about the Missouri Valley is that the American people—including those who live in the valley—know so little about it. They cannot be blamed too much, since not until 1945 did the government begin to map the area by modern methods. It still does not collect adequate weather data in the region. Its experts do not really know how much water there is in the Missouri River system, and land still is being irrigated without determining whether this will increase its fertility or sterilize it through the release of alkali.

Since the homesteading days, since the railroads flooded the East with enticing circulars to sell the land which had been given to them, people have had false notions about the region. Few realize that a large part of it is almost a desert, dry, treeless, windswept. Having been impressed by a grade-school geography's emphasis on the length of the river, they are amazed to learn that it actually carries less water than, say, the Tennessee—a much shorter stream draining a much smaller watershed. Nor do they know that discriminatory railroad freight rates and the lack of industries help to make the Missouri Valley—like the South—one of the major economic problems of the United States.

This problem is not likely to be solved until it is fully stated. There is not likely to be an MVA until the need for it is widely understood. Ignorance about this region is the greatest barrier to the realization of its potentialities. Private-power lobbyists and other ax-grinders exploit it to the full. Against this ignorance Mr. Terral's book should be of immense help. Unlike the technical "literature" about the valley's problems, it is written for the intelligent layman. And unlike magazine arti-

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cles and newspaper editorials, it does not deal merely with some immediate facet of the story; it tells it whole, and, with a grace that will keep readers interested in the details of a tragedy of neglect, exploitation, and preventable devastation which they might otherwise be tempted to abandon as too "difficult." (A better map in later editions also would help.)

Mr. Terral, whose qualification for this work was heightened by service on the TVA staff in Knoxville before joining that of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, outstanding crusader for MVA, has not oversimplified his book. Instead, he has written a series of chapters on the various sub-problems which flow together like the Big Muddy's tributaries to create the Missouri Valley problem. After a deft introduction to the errant river itself he really begins with the land and the over-exploitation of its top soil. Consideration of drought and flood brings up a discussion of the unbelievable welter of water laws written by the various states in a desperate attempt to conserve their most valuable asset. Then comes a fascinating chapter on grass, much more helpful in conservation than any statute. Incidentally, the development of buffalo-grass seed at the Hays, Kansas, agricultural experiment station, operated jointly by the Kansas State College and the United States Department of Agriculture, is an outstanding example of the perseverance of underpaid government scientists. Congressmen on the verge of a diatribe against "waste and extravagance" should read it.

The same spirit helped to plant shelter belts in the treeless, semi-arid Western valley, and it developed sorghum as "the corn of the plains." This has a shorter growing season than corn and so can be planted farther north; it does not require as much water; it has 90 per cent of corn's food value; it can be fed to cattle, hogs, and other livestock. It has been manna to South Dakota—whose farmers met in 1934 to discuss "whether it was possible any longer to make a living from farming" in the state.

From the research men, too, come suggestions for the industries which the valley needs to stabilize its economy—wool manufacturing; leather working; fiber, plastics, and building materials

from wheat, corn, potatoes, and other field produce; grain alcohol, which, as was demonstrated during the war, could well replace high-octane gasoline as an efficient motor fuel; the phosphates which the soil needs; lignite, manganese, electrochemicals, and electrometallurgicals.

But there is no staying away from the river. It flows through the land and all its problems and possibilities. There is, for example, no chance for industries without power; and the river holds the power—in its narrow mountain reaches rather than where it wanders between wide banks to its mouth. It holds the possibility of cheap transportation, too. This has hardly been realized through the Army Engineers' channel-dredging, but Mr. Terral cites the advantages of the TVA's system of slack-water pools even though he is aware of its costliness. It is much less wasteful of water than the army's constant stream, a point of importance in a valley which needs irrigation and in which water is none too abundant. This must seem paradoxical to outsiders who hear only of the Missouri's floods. The trouble is that 60 per cent of the river's entire flow is discharged in May, June, and July. Certainly, the engineers' levees do nothing to change this.

So one comes back again to ignorance—or at least to an amazing lack of co-operation. Even the men who have worked hardest to meet the valley's needs confess that they are not working as a team. Said one: "We found a lot of good research going on, but in a good many instances work done in Utah and Wyoming was not known by the institutions of Colorado, not to mention the fact that it was not known by the people who live in those states." This alone is a decisive argument in favor of the MVA idea rather than the so-called Pick-Sloan plan, which would do precious little to wipe out frustrating divisions of interest and authority. Despite the propaganda of politically influential interests, coordination under a single authority of the efforts to solve the region's varied problems is essential. Mr. Terral's book makes this clearer than ever, and one hopes that it will be widely read—especially in the valley of the Missouri, where "the need to know" must be met to arouse the will to act.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

October 18, 1947

Jeremiah from Massachusetts
AMERICA'S ECONOMIC SUPREMACY. By Brooks Adams. With a New Evaluation by Marquis W. Childs. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

WHEN first published in 1900, this book attracted some attention in Europe but fell completely flat in America. With eyes turned inward on their own prosperity, the author's fellow-citizens viewed his prophecies of British decline and his warnings of a coming struggle between the United States and Russia for economic control of Asia as just another example of Adamsian eccentricity.

Today, when many Americans are obsessed by the idea of inevitable conflict with Russia, the danger is that the once-neglected words of the Massachusetts prophet will be swallowed without the pinch of salt which subsequent events have provided. Adams often described the shape of things to come with amazing accuracy, but his vision was sometimes blurred, and in particular he failed to see how far history would outmode his prescriptions for action. He was right enough in condemning the absurdities of isolationism, but his alternative—imperialism, nineteenth-century style—is, as Marquis Childs points out in his thoughtful "evaluation," equally unrealistic today.

Brooks Adams, brother of Henry, great-grandson of the second President, was a philosophical historian. In 1895 he published his best-known book, "Law of Civilization and Decay," in which he developed the thesis that the center of trade—the point where the products of the East exchanged for those of the West—had hitherto moved in a westerly direction from Babylonia to Byzantium and thence to Venice and Amsterdam. With the downfall of Napoleon, that center had been firmly established in London, and a new world equilibrium had been achieved based on the concentration of economic power at that point.

Three events at the end of the nineteenth century led Adams to believe that this equilibrium was being destroyed and to write this book projecting the operation of his "law" into the future. They were the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and the Boxer uprising, and in his belief their causes were

closely related. The contest between the United States and Spain was brought on by the collapse in sugar prices that began when Britain, following free-trade principles, opened its markets to subsidized European beet sugar. That destroyed the prosperity of the West Indies just as repeal of the Corn Laws ruined British farming. In the English appetite for cheap food Adams saw signs of decadence; it was the cause of Britain's steadily mounting trade deficit and its forced liquidation of American investments following the Baring panic of 1893. This led, in turn, to the Boer War, which Britain fought to obtain control of a badly needed new source of income—the Rand mines. The dismal showing of the British forces in South Africa seemed to Adams the final proof of the deterioration of British character: too high living had resulted in mental and physical inertia.

England's difficulties with the Boers gave a green light to its Continental rivals. In particular, Russia, facing the alternative of expansion or revolution, intensified its efforts to get control of China and its mineral wealth, provoking the Chinese resistance that culminated in the Boxer outbreak. Here was evidence, said Adams, that the old equilibrium was destroyed: "The center of the economic system of civilization is in motion, and until it once more comes to rest, tranquility cannot return."

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cles and newspaper editorials, it does not deal merely with some immediate facet of the story; it tells it whole, and, with a grace that will keep readers interested in the details of a tragedy of neglect, exploitation, and preventable devastation which they might otherwise be tempted to abandon as too "difficult." (A better map in later editions also would help.)

Mr. Terral, whose qualification for this work was heightened by service on the TVA staff in Knoxville before joining that of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, outstanding crusader for MVA, has not oversimplified his book. Instead, he has written a series of chapters on the various sub-problems which flow together like the Big Muddy's tributaries to create the Missouri Valley problem. After a deft introduction to the errant river itself he really begins with the land and the over-exploitation of its top soil. Consideration of drought and flood brings up a discussion of the unbelievable welter of water laws written by the various states in a desperate attempt to conserve their most valuable asset. Then comes a fascinating chapter on grass, much more helpful in conservation than any statute. Incidentally, the development of buffalo-grass seed at the Hays, Kansas, agricultural experiment station, operated jointly by the Kansas State College and the United States Department of Agriculture, is an outstanding example of the perseverance of underpaid government scientists. Congressmen on the verge of a diatribe against "waste and extravagance" should read it.

The same spirit helped to plant shelter belts in the treeless, semi-arid Western valley, and it developed sorghum as "the corn of the plains." This has a shorter growing season than corn and so can be planted farther north; it does not require as much water; it has 90 per cent of corn's food value; it can be fed to cattle, hogs, and other livestock. It has been manna to South Dakota—whose farmers met in 1934 to discuss "whether it was possible any longer to make a living from farming" in the state.

From the research men, too, come suggestions for the industries which the valley needs to stabilize its economy—wool manufacturing; leather working; fiber, plastics, and building materials

from wheat, corn, potatoes, and other field produce; grain alcohol, which, as was demonstrated during the war, could well replace high-octane gasoline as an efficient motor fuel; the phosphates which the soil needs; lignite, manganese, electrochemicals, and electrometallurgical.

But there is no staying away from the river. It flows through the land and all its problems and possibilities. There is, for example, no chance for industries without power; and the river holds the power—in its narrow mountain reaches rather than where it wanders between wide banks to its mouth. It holds the possibility of cheap transportation, too. This has hardly been realized through the Army Engineers' channel-dredging, but Mr. Terral cites the advantages of the TVA's system of slack-water pools even though he is aware of its costliness. It is much less wasteful of water than the army's constant stream, a point of importance in a valley which needs irrigation and in which water is none too abundant. This must seem paradoxical to outsiders who hear only of the Missouri's floods. The trouble is that 60 per cent of the river's entire flow is discharged in May, June, and July. Certainly, the engineers' levees do nothing to change this.

So one comes back again to ignorance—or at least to an amazing lack of cooperation. Even the men who have worked hardest to meet the valley's needs confess that they are not working as a team. Said one: "We found a lot of good research going on, but in a good many instances work done in Utah and Wyoming was not known by the institutions of Colorado, not to mention the fact that it was not known by the people who live in those states." This alone is a decisive argument in favor of the MVA idea rather than the so-called Pick-Sloan plan, which would do precious little to wipe out frustrating divisions of interest and authority. Despite the propaganda of politically influential interests, coordination under a single authority of the efforts to solve the region's varied problems is essential. Mr. Terral's book makes this clearer than ever, and one hopes that it will be widely read—especially in the valley of the Missouri, where "the need to know" must be met to arouse the will to act.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

Jeremiah from Massachusetts
AMERICA'S ECONOMIC SUPREMACY. By Brooks Adams. With a New Evaluation by Marquis W. Childs. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

WHEN first published in 1900, this book attracted some attention in Europe but fell completely flat in America. With eyes turned inward on their own prosperity, the author's fellow-citizens viewed his prophecies of British decline and his warnings of a coming struggle between the United States and Russia for economic control of Asia as just another example of Adamsian eccentricity.

Today, when many Americans are obsessed by the idea of inevitable conflict with Russia, the danger is that the once-neglected words of the Massachusetts prophet will be swallowed without the pinch of salt which subsequent events have provided. Adams often described the shape of things to come with amazing accuracy, but his vision was sometimes blurred, and in particular he failed to see how far history would outmode his prescriptions for action. He was right enough in condemning the absurdities of isolationism, but his alternative—imperialism, nineteenth-century style—is, as Marquis Childs points out in his thoughtful "evaluation," equally unrealistic today.

Brooks Adams, brother of Henry, great-grandson of the second President, was a philosophical historian. In 1895 he published his best-known book, "Law of Civilization and Decay," in which he developed the thesis that the center of trade—the point where the products of the East exchanged for those of the West—had hitherto moved in a westerly direction from Babylonia to Byzantium and thence to Venice and Amsterdam. With the downfall of Napoleon, that center had been firmly established in London, and a new world equilibrium had been achieved based on the concentration of economic power at that point.

Three events at the end of the nineteenth century led Adams to believe that this equilibrium was being destroyed and to write this book projecting the operation of his "law" into the future. They were the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and the Boxer uprising, and in his belief their causes were

closely related. The contest between the United States and Spain was brought on by the collapse in sugar prices that began when Britain, following free-trade principles, opened its markets to subsidized European beet sugar. That destroyed the prosperity of the West Indies just as repeal of the Corn Laws ruined British farming. In the English appetite for cheap food Adams saw signs of decadence; it was the cause of Britain's steadily mounting trade deficit and its forced liquidation of American investments following the Baring panic of 1893. This led, in turn, to the Boer War, which Britain fought to obtain control of a badly needed new source of income—the Rand mines. The dismal showing of the British forces in South Africa seemed to Adams the final proof of the deterioration of British character: too high living had resulted in mental and physical inertia.

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winism of Herbert Spencer rather than by "Das Kapital." Thus he said in one passage: "Nature is omnipotent, and nations must flow with the tide. Whither the exchanges flow, they must follow." But if a fatalist he was also a moralist. He scolded the British for their over-indulgence and the Americans for wastefulness and unwillingness to modernize their government.

By implication, therefore, he left some scope for free will. The triumph of the East was not foreordained; energy and foresight might win the center of economic power for the Western Hemisphere. Could the prize be secured without war? Adams was not explicit on this point, but clearly he was not one to shrink from armed conflict—the final test of who was fittest to survive. With all his prescience, he did not foresee the deadly developments of modern science. But we who are agonizingly aware of them, while we cannot shut our eyes to the grim realities of the struggle for power between East and West, must strive to restore global equilibrium by means that do not involve suicide.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Asia's Revolution and Its Leaders

THE REVOLT OF ASIA. By Robert Payne. The John Day Company. \$3.50.

ROBERT PAYNE, poet and novelist, turned in "The Revolt of Asia" has turned to political reporting, and his book offers a fresh and challenging approach to the understanding of social change in Asia. His method is to take us into the mental climate of Asia's leaders, which he reconstructs by a brilliant and intuitive use of the details of their careers and especially their own writings. As a biographer of lives rather than a journalist of events, Payne seeks in these revolutionary leaders the springs of their action. The result is tremendously illuminating, though it can also be misleading unless we keep constantly in mind that we are looking at these men on their own terms, as they see themselves.

In brief, Payne finds that Shjarir, Nehru, Mao Tse-tung, and other Asiatic leaders have faced a common problem—how to win independence of Western domination, lead their peoples by means of new democratic institutions, and remake the agrarian economy of Asia's peasant masses. In their various attacks upon this vast problem Payne finds overtones of the American Declaration of Independence far more often than the accents of the Comintern, Washington more of a hero than Lenin, greater concern for social democracy than for communism, more American influence than Russian. Far from being extremists ripe for totalitarianism, these revolutionists, he believes, are primarily reformers seeking a new Asian brand of socialism, inspired by the concept of the Rights of Man and the potentialities of Western technology.

This thesis has not before been so convincingly stated. Mr. Stassen should take note. If these mass movements of India, Indonesia, Viet Nam, and North China aim at national and individual freedom, and use socialist methods because they are too poor to use private enterprise as their path of development, are we well advised to denounce their socialism? Must the super-powers try to polarize every village in the rice paddies of half the world, or can Asia's new mass movements form a neutral

element and remain third parties in world politics?

Payne seeks an answer by studying the individual leaders, their early struggles, their pronouncements, their responses to defeat and victory, their philosophies. He begins with Indonesia—Soekarno, Shjarir, Sjarifoedin—but especially Shjarir, the young Dutch-educated lawyer from Sumatra whose pamphlet, "Indonesia's Fight," written in October, 1945, espouses civil liberties and free elections and "provides the intellectual basis for the whole of the Asiatic revolt." Shjarir, says Payne, is a preeminent technician of revolution—a realist but humane and anti-militarist, a socialist leader relying on sentiments of nationalism, democracy, and cultural revival and, "unlike Mao Tse-tung, not obsessed with Marxist doctrine." Quite as much as Nehru or Mao, Shjarir has formulated Asia's problem of change in the broadest terms:

The West itself . . . knew that the application of knowledge and technique could have fatal results if at the same time moral standards were allowed to be overthrown. The chaotic condition existing among the world powers with all that it implies [annihilation by the atomic bomb] arises from man's self-doubt and from the lack of inner moral resistance.

The essential task of the modern man today, whether he comes from the East or the West, is to rescue himself from this abyss by endeavoring to fix again his known position . . . his destination in the cosmos. In all this he must be led by standards of truth, beauty, and kindness, which form together the components of human dignity. These universal values are today no monopoly of the East, nor of the West.

Turning to India, Payne analyzes the personalities and aspirations of Gandhi and Nehru, of Jinnah—whose "smile resembles the gleam on the handles of a coffin"—of Prakash Narain, the Socialist, and many others, and recounts the rise of Congress and the little-publicized Indian revolt of 1942. He shows a novelist's extraordinary facility in the interpretation of character and of national psychology: the motifs of anarchism, penance, and fatalism in the thought of Gandhi, the sense of mass frustration which has haunted modern India. Much of this is intuitive reconstruction by the author. His details are not always accurate (Ting Hsien is not

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in Hunan), and his transliteration of names is incredibly sloppy. Yet his portrait of Asia is built up out of a wealth of information and an intellectual grasp of the cultural revolution which few journalists have shown. "England," he says, "failed in India not so much by its indifference to the cry for independence, but because it tacitly acknowledged a social system that had lost its usefulness, and contrived nothing to put in its place."

From this standpoint of cultural values Payne discusses China, where he spent the war years, and illumines again the startling contrast between Chiang Kai-shek's "China's Destiny" and Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy." He notes the absurdities and distortions of the Generalissimo's amazing book—"uneasy, theoretical, jejeune . . . terrifying to people who are actively concerned with the social and industrial reconstruction of China. . . . This is Confucius himself attempting vainly to speak about a world of machines, . . . the spiritual bankruptcy of the Confucians faced with the nascent industrialism of China." Under Chiang and Chen Li-fu the Kuomintang has become increasingly a party, "not of the people, but of the secret police"; this echoes the protests of China's student class.

On the other hand, says Payne, the Chinese Communist program, for all its Marxist trappings, has been a genuine continuation of the program of Sun Yat-sen. Mao's "New Democracy" has been Asia's first "blueprint of agrarian reform and democratic government" in which "communism is thrown overboard . . . in favor of a restricted capitalist-socialist state." Rather than the subservient eastern wing of Russia's bid for Eurasian hegemony, the Chinese Communists, Payne suggests, are the northeastern tip of a great belt of agrarian social revolution stretching from the Middle East around through India, Burma, Indonesia, and Annam to North China. Payne's conclusion is worth pondering:

Of one thing we can be reasonably certain: the Chinese Communists represent the Chinese peasants and have a passionate belief in the peasants' potentialities. Ignorant of industry and diplomacy, incapable of understanding the complexities of Western civilization, so secluded within their own valleys that

they suffer from a kind of mental inbreeding, and so accustomed to fighting continual battles on all fronts that they are suspicious of strangers, they represent to a degree unknown elsewhere in the East the birth of a new social system in Asia. Chinese communism is, not an end product; it is a seed that has still to flower, and no one knows what shape the flower will assume.

However much it may over-interpret Asia's leaders or by-pass phenomena like the Chinese Communists' party-line propaganda, "The Revolt of Asia" does an enormous service in illustrating two essential points: first, that the tradition of the American War of Independence and the Rights of Man is indeed a dynamic factor in the minds and hearts of many Asiatics; second, that Asia's revolutionists must work for their own peoples within their own traditions, which are not those of the U. S. A. or the U. S. S. R. They face urgent local problems and must take whatever foreign ideas and technology are suited to their needs. They cannot afford to be doctrinaire or polarized.

I am not sure whether, as Robert Payne contends, Indonesia really has the economic and social resources for a degree of Asiatic leadership, or whether Southeast Asia can actually avoid nationalist Balkanization and move toward federation, or whether cooperatives and land reform have a chance to beat out the concentration of economic power in the hands of landlords, industrialists, and bureaucrats, or whether it is really meaningful to say that the Asiatic century has begun. But in this time when the world seeks to evaluate man's place in a new social order, it is immensely heartening to have so penetrating a glimpse into the minds of Asiatic leaders who think in terms we can understand. More than any other book, "The Revolt of Asia" conveys the spirit of Asia's social revolution.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

The following reviews, announced for this issue, will appear next week:

JUSTUS BUCHLER: Jean-Paul Sartre's "Existentialism" and William Barrett's "What Is Existentialism?"

DIANA TRILLING: Fiction in Review.

GEORGE S. COUNTS: Louis Fischer's "Gandhi and Stalin."

Old Dramas, New Versions

GREEK PLAYS IN MODERN TRANSLATION. Edited with an Introduction by Dudley Fitts. The Dial Press. \$5.

FOR one little thing, to begin with, it is a pleasure to pick up a book in which quotations from the Greek have been proofread with some care, including the matter of accents.

Here are eleven plays by the three great tragic dramatists: Aeschylus is represented by the "Agamemnon," the "Eumenides," and "Prometheus Bound"; Sophocles by the "Electra," the "Antigone," the "Oedipus Rex," and "Oedipus at Colonus"; Euripides by "The Trojan Women," the "Medea," the "Hippolytus," and the "Alcestis."

The editor, seeking for variety of translator as well as of author, has brought into this collection the work of nine translators. Judged as literature, whether prose or verse, rather than for a literal accuracy in following the original, the translations are of varying excellence, thus carrying the editor's principle perhaps farther than he intended. Mr. Latimore's translations of two plays of Aeschylus, "Agamemnon" and "Prometheus Bound," are the finest in the collection, and this is said with all due respect to the excellent version of "King Oedipus" by William Butler Yeats. Mr. Fergusson does handsomely if not nobly by Sophocles's "Electra"; and Mr. Fitz-

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gerald, himself a poet, does very well by "Oedipus at Colonus," though some of the choral passages seem a little more Euripidean than Sophoclean. Collaborating with the editor, Mr. Fitzgerald also presents translations of Sophocles's "Antigone" and Euripides's "Alcestis"; particularly in the first of these, while there is a good deal of dramatic variety in the metrics, there is a bit of theatricalism in the stage directions and general mise-en-scène. Miss Hamilton's rendering of the "Prometheus Bound" seems not quite up to the superlatives claimed for it by the editor; the blank verse is a little inflexible, sometimes on the dull side; not nearly so much so as the Grene and Thomson treatments of the "Eumenides" and "Hippolytus." As for Mr. Prokosch, poor Mr. Prokosch! He has been so roundly and so often scolded for the lushness and softness of his own verse that here he seems to have attempted to write the barest, the starkest prose imaginable. The results are really quite funny. He does not, exactly, have Medea remark: "Good Heavens! I wish I did not have to go into the house and murder my two children," but he comes mighty close.

Mr. Fitts's introduction makes some sound points, tells some home truths, and has the virtue of enthusiasm with the defect of diffuseness. He really does enjoy the classics, as distinguished from regarding them as a solemn duty; and if he sometimes coos or twitters a bit, those sounds, at least, are pleasanter than braying. Some of the translators discuss their methods, or explain difficult points

in the original dramas, in commentaries which are to be found in an appendix. There is, in addition, a useful and thorough Index of Names.

Fifty years from now most of the plays, not all, in this collection will have to be retranslated to satisfy the taste of an editor who feels that every age should have its own translations, and that these will no longer suit the public ear. The present collection should do very nicely pro tem; as Mr. Fitts says, the work is offered "for the time being." ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Verse Chronicle

THE AGE OF ANXIETY" (Random House, \$2.50) is the worst thing Auden has written since "The Dance of Death"; it is the equivalent of Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Sonnets." The man who, during the thirties, was one of the five or six best poets in the world, has gradually turned into a rhetoric-mill grinding away at the bottom of Limbo, into an automaton that keeps making little jokes, little plays on words, little rhetorical engines, as compulsively and unendingly and uneasily as a neurotic washes his hands. A poet has turned into a sack of reflexes: Auden no longer has to struggle against standard tricks, set idiosyncracies, behavior adjustments aged into obsessive behavior—it is these that write his poems.

Most of "The Age of Anxiety" is supposed to be thought or said by four different characters, but they are only four chairs in which Auden takes turns sitting: always the same old voice saying the same old thing. "The Age of Anxiety" is "about" the Seven Ages of Man, landscapes, war, God, everything, anything; after all, if you treat everything alike, any subject is as good as any other, and you might as well give yourself room for completely free association. If a boat is torpedoed and the men die, it's just one more chance for rhetoric; all you need do is make your regular plays on words, write

They swallowed and sank, ceased thereafter
To appear in public; exposed to snap
Judgments of sharks, to vague inquiries
Of amoeboid monsters, mobbed by slight
Unfriendly fry . . .

Page after page the poem keeps say-

ing: *Remember, the real subject of poetry is words.* One understands what Auden meant when he said, in a recent review, that all art is so essentially frivolous that he prefers it to embody beliefs he thinks false, since its frivolity would degrade those he thinks true. What sounds like an indictment is a confession, and "The Age of Anxiety" is the evidence that substantiates the confession. Underneath the jokes and fantasies and sermons there is a chaotic, despairing, exhausted confusion about the poem; all its moral sentiments are solemn, hollow whistles in the dark, all its frivolity is the frivolity of a world in which everything is dying away into a senseless dream, "self in self steeped and pashed—quite./ Disremembering, disremembering all now."

Some of the rhetoric in "The Age of Anxiety" is an extravagantly accomplished and professional job, and there are even gleams of Auden, the real Auden, here and there among its manufactured, irrelevant pages; but most of it is mediocre and much of it is abominable—dreary facetiousness that would embarrass a comedian on the radio:

. . . Listen courteously to us
Four reformers who have founded—why
not?—
The Gung-Ho Group, the Ganymede Club
For homesick young angels, the Arctic
League
Of Tropical Fish, the Tomboy Fund
For Blushing Brides and the Bide-a-wees
Of Sans-Souci, assembled again
For a Think-Fest . . .

The critic who says what I have said about "The Age of Anxiety" is more or less in the position of the little boy who watched the emperor's new clothes go shivering by; but believe me, reader, that morning coat, that rich and modest necktie, that simple but assertive pin, are nothing but delusions of the reviewers, occupational phantasmagoria of people who are reviewing not one bad poem by Auden, but Auden. Auden was, and is potentially, one of the best poets on earth; if it weren't for this "The Age of Anxiety" would be worth neither indignation nor dismay, but only a line or two of indifferent dismissal.

It is wonderful to have some translations of Corbière published ("Poems," by Tristan Corbière, translated by Walter McElroy, Banyan Press, \$3); I am so fond of him that I would willingly persuade Margaret Truman to sing

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"Cris d'aveugles" on a Sunday Evening Fireside Chat if it would get him a few more readers. No poet of half his greatness is so underrated and unread. Mr. McElroy's translations are fond but, sometimes, foolish; there are horrible mistakes and additions, and the translator is not poet enough to keep within miles of Corbière in all the extraordinary passages that raise one's eyebrows or make one's hair stand on end. Mr. McElroy mistakenly decided to rhyme his translations, and he has a complaisance toward rhymes that beats anything that I, a liberal enough rhymmer, have ever imagined: he will turn that line of lines, *Tu sais: j'avais laché la Vie avec des gants, in order to Letting go of life, you know, I wore gloves: those I kept*—in order to have kept rhyme with *best! Calme plat means dead calm*, is translated *calm expanse; de travers becomes with stately tread; Oui, j'ai beau me palper becomes I do well to pinch myself; Tu voulais voir à mon front becomes You saw reflected in my face*; and so on and so on. And the translator has a distressing habit of missing or disregarding Corbière's jokes: after smiling at *Un barbet qui dormait sous le nom de Fidèle*, one finds that the fairies have left in its cradle *this sad bump on a log: A water-spaniel fond of sleeping, named Trusty*. Later, *Nous nous mettrons au vert du paradis perdu* becomes, *We'll find our way to the green of the lost paradise*—but Corbière has said something far better, since *mettre des chevaux au vert* is an idiom meaning to put horses out to graze.

Pound called Corbière the most touching of poets, and Laforgue said, with wistful love, that his poems are *strident and unwearying as the cry of the sea-gulls*: "We others are all poetic. . . . He is of a different mettle: an unseizable smoke-dried corsair, bold in his raids." Corbière's range is incredible: it is as if you learned that the same man had written "Moby Dick" and "Prufrock," and had then retired to make public appearances under the name of Groucho Marx. Many of Corbière's lines, in their short finality, might have been extracted from the "Sayings of Spartans"—their objects have a stubborn and thingy violence that beats even Robert Lowell—but there are plenty of other lines that put S. J. Perelman to shame, consummately reckless rhetorical

passages in which the poet's mocking consciousness of what he is doing is half their effect on the reader:

Nature awakening—in her awakening burst loose—
Dropping her white sheet . . . puts out my chimney.

Look, my nightingales! . . . nightingales of the tornado—

Gay as larks—wailing like screech-owls!

My weathercock, way up there, rubs the rust off his yodel,

And you can hear my Aeolian door lamenting
As did Saint Anthony in his temptation . . .

"Cris d'aveugles" is full of an agony you have to go to the "terrible sonnets" to match; it would be hard to match anywhere the disgust and contempt and identifying acceptance of a poem like "Femme"; the neurotic self-dramatizing self-analysis of some of the dramatic monologues is quite as good as anything of the sort in Eliot—whom Corbière influenced, mostly through Laforgue; and there is everything in the world, one almost fancies, in "Le Poète contumace" and "La Rapsode foraine."

All bad popular poems have this in common: they are lies—and hopeful lies at that. Corbière is far too serious a poet ever to be solemn: what he says he means; but he says it in a series of wonderfully colloquial and idiomatic exclamations—his speech is a sort of living contradiction. Puns, mocking half-dead metaphors, parodied clichés, antitheses and paradoxes, idioms exploited on every level, are the seven-league crutches on which the poems bound wildly forward. If nature, once, made no jumps, it was different from Corbière, who progresses by nothing else; one of his poems passes through its aggregation of exclamations, interjections, vocatives, imperatives as an electron passes through its orbits—now here, now there, and in between nowhere.

There is nobody else so close to Villon, Corbière does equal justice both to what we want and what we get; his wonderful strength and toughness and irony come through a conclusive realization of emotion and spirit, not through any escape from either. (How sentimental, what a hothouse milkweed, a good tough writer like Hemingway seems in comparison!) Corbière's own epitaph ends:

Il mourut en s'attendant vivre
Et vécut s'attendant mourir.

He lived and died catercornered, *de travers*—obsessed not just by the hard way but by the hardest way; he is a rock set against all the currents of the world.

RANDALL JARRELL

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE HEIRESS" (Biltmore Theater) is described on the program as suggested by Henry James's novel "Washington Square." That phrase claims for the authors, Ruth and Augustus Goetz, all the latitude anyone could wish, and the result is certainly a good deal more satisfactory than dramatizations usually are. To some it may seem that the play is a bit old-fashioned in manner as well as setting, but it does manage both to capture something of the mood created by a Jamesian situation and at the same time to provide for those sudden crises without which the subtlest atmospheric effects leave a theater audience unsatisfied.

Basil Rathbone plays the role of one of those splendidly cold and arrogant Victorian fathers whom one might find it difficult to believe in if Jane Austen had not anticipated them and if Victorian literature did not take them almost as a matter of course. He hates—though naturally he does not admit the fact even to himself—the daughter whose birth killed her mother, and it is this hatred which is responsible for the daughter's awkwardness and timidity. From his point of view he is angelically patient with her defects; from hers he is a perpetual reminder of the fact that no one will ever love or want her. He is terribly right when he undertakes to

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protect her from the advances of an obvious fortune hunter, but he does not even attempt to find a way of exposing the latter's character without at the same time suggesting the obvious implication: "No one could possibly want you except for your money." Hence, though the fortune hunter finally exposes himself, his intended victim never hates him in the same way that she hates her father, for the false lover at least pretended that she could be imagined to be desirable.

The last scene of the play, the one in which the heroine calmly bars the door against her lover after she has led him to suppose that she is about to elope with him, is perhaps theatrical in the bad sense of the term. A novelist would find it easier to suggest without the use of so obvious an incident the fact that the girl is not only renouncing this particular suitor but also all hope of anything but a lonely life. Even a more skilful playwright might have found a less melodramatic single scene to convey the same thing. But this is the only occasion on which the theatrical invention is disturbingly forced, and as a whole the play achieves what it intends. That it does so is certainly in no small part due to the extremely resourceful performance of Wendy Hiller, who is called upon to make clear, convincing, and moving at least three things: the shy awkwardness of the unloved daughter; her intense, desperate, and reckless passion when she allows

herself briefly to believe that she is loved; and, finally, the proud, stoical acceptance of a life which will be physically comfortable, even dignified and almost splendid, but also completely empty. Patricia Collinge as a silly, romantic poor relation also gives a very telling performance.

Despite the recently renewed vogue of Henry James, the sorrow of the rich is not at the moment a very popular subject. Perhaps what I meant when I said that "The Heiress" might seem to some old-fashioned is simply that it is concerned with nothing except the character and the emotions of private individuals, and that today many persons, even among those who do not profess any rigid dogma, tend to believe that no work of literature which does not imply pretty directly some social or political conclusions can "mean anything." For all I know the future may be theirs. A hundred years hence a personally unhappy heiress may seem to most people as profitless a subject as, let us say, that special sort of conflict between love and honor which the seventeenth century found so unaccountably fascinating. But for me at least the time has not yet come, and I find occasional plays like this not only restful but a bit of a relief.

For those who do not agree with me perhaps "Our Lan" (Royale Theater) should be recommended, even though I had waited all through the first act for the appearance of the hero I thought

promised by the title before it burst upon me that "Lan" is poetical Negro dialect for "Land." If the work in question had been treated as ballet, as opera, or as pageant, the highly idealized story of a group of recently freed slaves who established a primitively communistic community on an island off the Georgia coast just after the Civil War might have come off. In the present form, which seems to hesitate between realism and fancy, it fails—in my opinion at least, though not in that of all the reviewers—to be credible in any way. A few of the tableaux are pictorially effective, and a good many familiar spirituals are well sung, which may be enough for those who can never get enough of the latter. Even so, however, one might expect as experienced a director as Eddie Dowling to devise some less awkward way of bringing them in and to avoid such obvious false notes as that struck in the tableau where a Union officer reverently bows his uncovered head when, as usual, the colonists react to a bit of news by bursting into well-coordinated song. Worst of all, "Our Lan" is cursed with some of the most improbable dialogue since "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I do not profess to know what sort of idiom freed slaves actually employed, but presumably they talked in some manner recognizably human, not like the members of a Rogers Group that had been wired for sound.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Records

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MOZART'S Piano Concerto K.450, one of the finest of the series, which has been unavailable on records since RCA Victor discontinued the recording of Elly Ney's performance, has now been recorded for English Decca by Kathleen Long with the National Symphony under Boyd Neel (Set ED-25; \$7). I wish I could report that the performance is what the work deserves; but I'm afraid I can recommend it only as the half a loaf that is better than none at all. There were details in Ney's performance—distentions of tempo—that I came to dislike; but they were occasional excesses in a sharply contoured performance in which one heard the operation of a strong musical mind and personality. Miss Long's playing, on the other hand, is colorless, contourless, and characterless, and she doesn't even achieve smooth, clear execution of the passagework. On a wide-range machine the sound of the performance is fairly good—the orchestra a little sharp, the piano occasionally distorted; on a machine of limited range the piano is very dull.

I am aware of, and impressed by, the pianistic and musical gifts exhibited by William Kapell in the recorded performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 2 issued by Victor (Set 1132; \$5); but I am aware also of the nervous excitement that he injects into the work and that doesn't belong there. And I am all the more aware of it after hearing, over WQXR, the performance that Schnabel recently recorded in England, and that Victor will not issue here—a performance made enchanting by its lightness of touch, relaxed ease, and matured mastery. The orchestral part in the Kapell performance is well done by the N. B. C. Symphony under Golschmann, and is well balanced with the piano by the excellent recording.

Victor also has issued what Henri Casadesus has called his arrangement of a viola concerto that he has attributed to Handel (Set 1131; \$4). It is an agreeable work, which is played with unsubtle straightforwardness—and, in the first movement, with a little too much vigor—by Primrose and an orchestra under Weissmann; and the performance is excellently reproduced.

From Columbia have come two of Debussy's last instrumental works—the Sonata No. 2 for flute, viola, and harp,

played by John Wummer, Milton Katims, and Laura Newell (Set X-282; \$3.35—i.e., \$1.25 for each record and \$.85 for the album, these prices including the tax), and the Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano, played by Francescatti and Casadesus (Set X-280; \$3.35). Listening to No. 3 again after a long interval I am more sharply aware of the elaborateness of the manipulation of subtle sonorities and figurations, the assured expertness and refinement of workmanship with which it is achieved; but I still find it an elaborate manipulation of mere stylistic mannerisms and formulas that leaves me indifferent. And in No. 2 not even the manipulation is impressive. The performances and their reproduction are very good—the sound of the violin and the piano being the best I have heard from American Columbia records.

Among several Columbia volumes of vocal recordings is one (Set 691; \$4.60) of arias from Rossini's "La Cenerentola," "L'Italiana in Algieri," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," and "Semiramide," sung by Jennie Tourel, mezzo-soprano, with dazzling beauty of vocal tone (marred only by occasional tremolo), brilliant agility, and delightful musical style. No such style is heard in the orchestral accompaniments conducted by Cimara, the sound of which on a wide-range machine is a little sharp.

Another (Set X-283; \$3.35) offers four arias of Bach—the *Qui sedes* and *Agnus Dei* from the B minor Mass, the *Et exultavit* and *Esurientes* from the Magnificat—beautifully sung by Carol Brice, contralto. The orchestral accompaniments conducted by Sidenberg are adequate—except that in *Esurientes* the combination of the two flutes over the single bass-notes sounds very bare without the chords that Bach intended to be filled in by a keyboard instrument. Again the recorded sound of the orchestra is a little sharp on a wide-range machine. And perhaps I should add that I find these arias rather dull.

Another (Set 696; \$4.60) offers the fine tenor voice of Raoul Jobin in the impressive Invocation to Nature from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust" and the lovely *O, Paradis* from Meyerbeer's "L'Africaine," together with arias from Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" and Massenet's "Werther," "Manon," and "Hérodiade." Orchestral accompaniments conducted by Pelletier are good and well reproduced.

Still another (Set 689; \$4.60) offers a group of French songs—Fauré's "Les Roses d'Ispahan" and "Après un rêve,"

Duparc's "L'Invitation au voyage," Bachelet's "Chère nuit," and four by Milhaud to texts by Ronsard—sung by Lily Pons with orchestral accompaniments conducted by Abravanel and Kostelanetz. Neither the songs nor the Pons crystalline tones are anything I care for. The performances are well reproduced.

And still another (Set 634; \$5.85), finally, offers the Rome Narrative from Wagner's "Tannhäuser," the Grail Narrative and Farewell from "Lohengrin," *Fanget an, Am stillen Herd*, and the Prize Song from "Die Meistersinger," and *Nur eine Waffe taugt* from "Parsifal," sung by the tenor Torsten Ralf sonorously but also with occasional strain, especially in high notes. The orchestral accompaniments conducted by Fritz Busch are excellent; and the performances are well reproduced.

Concord Recordings has sent me a replacement for the defective record in the set of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier that I reviewed recently. The performance of Prelude and Fugue No. 2 is good; the price of the set is \$6.85.

CONTRIBUTORS

WALLACE STEVENS is the author of several books of verse. His latest volume, "Transport to Summer," was published in the spring.

LOUISE BOGAN, poetry critic of the *New Yorker*, is the author of "Poems and New Poems" and other books of verse.

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Letters to the Editors

Communists Can Be Right

Dear Sirs: Continuing the argument with Alfred Baker Lewis in the September 6 issue I should like to add a few words for Mr. Lewis's benefit and that of other liberals.

For thirty-five years I have been a follower of the socialist and liberal philosophy, part of the time as a member of the Socialist Party and part of the time as just a plain liberal. For twenty years I read a great deal of Trotskyist literature, and as a result my sympathies were with him in his fight with Stalin. So you see I have no Stalinist taint, but I certainly am disgusted with most of the Socialists and liberals.

Why must the Communists always be wrong? It looks as if they might accidentally be right now and then, but not according to the liberals. No government in the world at present suits me, but let us look at the record of the Socialists in Europe. Before the war they were everywhere overthrown by the right after compromising with it. In France, much as I admire Léon Blum, they are conducting an imperialistic war in Indo-China, trying to hold on to their empire, and again compromising with the right domestically, preparing the way for De Gaulle.

The British Labor Party, perhaps the most intelligent socialist party in Europe, is doing fairly well at home, but its foreign policy is a mass of contradictions. In Greece it is rotten, bad in Germany and South Africa, and intolerable when it caters to Franco in Spain and to Portugal. I have great hopes for the Labor Party in England, but I am not sure the threat of fascism is over there yet.

Of course, all is not black or white on either the Communist or the Socialist side; both have made many mistakes, but I certainly go down the line with Del Vayo in trying to get the workers to cooperate to prevent a resurrection of fascism in Europe. From my reading I judge that the Communists in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and France are the nearest right of all groups in those countries. The Communists, like other groups, vary in different countries.

Here the reactionaries have the liberals and labor leaders so scared that they lean over backward to try to keep from being called Communist. Perhaps

because Communists are such rare birds in Texas I am just a little skeptical when I read about the Communists getting control of this or that liberal organization or union. In my union if anyone opposes the group in the saddle, he is called a "Commie." Besides, as I said before, the Communists might be right sometimes. I am not so sure as I used to be. J. HAYDEN MOORE, SR.

Midlothian, Tex., October 5

"Dear Mr. Hoover . . ."

Dear Sirs: Following is the text of a letter sent last year to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. Since my position must parallel that of thousands of other Americans, perhaps it would do us all good to expose it now to public examination:

Since the FBI has recently been making its periodic check-up on me—the fifth of which I happen to know—it might save your time if I gave you my record once and for all.

I was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, February 6, 1887, and have lived in Greater Boston ever since I was two and a half years old. I received my S. B. in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1909, and practiced my profession until 1918, when, like practically every architect in the country, I was put out of business by the First World War. The following have been my major activities since then:

I campaigned for woman suffrage—then considered "radical" and "red," but now universally acknowledged right.

I worked against American isolationism and for international understanding, organization, and peace. Now we are a leading member of the U. N.

I was secretary of the Boston Chapter of the American League Against War and Fascism, which advocated a purchasers' boycott against Germany and international official action to stop Hitler and Mussolini while they were still weak enough to be stopped without war. The FBI considered it "red." Over 300,000 dead Americans prove it was right.

I helped raise relief for the legal, democratically elected Spanish Republican government during the civil war, in the agonized conviction that unless we took that opportunity to stop Hitler's and Mussolini's plan for world conquest in its earliest aggression, a world war

was inevitable. History has demonstrated how terribly right I was. Even the State Department now proclaims that Franco was a collaborator with the Axis.

I advocated a boycott of oil and scrap iron to Japan, to stop Japanese aggression in China. Pearl Harbor and every American dead in the Pacific prove I was right.

I am on the board of the Boston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to fight against second-class citizenship for one-tenth of my fellow-Americans. The Declaration of Independence declares, "All men are created equal." Does the FBI consider this subversive?

I have for years been vice-chairman of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts. Is defending the Bill of Rights subversive? Since my forefathers fought to establish the nation as a free country, my grandfather served as a member of Congress during the Civil War to maintain it free, and one of my great uncles as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts strove to maintain its legal freedom, I feel that I should also do my share to defend the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

In this conviction I have tried to fight every attack on the liberties of every American. I have therefore been active in the Angelo Herndon case, the Scottsboro frame-up, and similar cases too numerous to mention.

Since denial of any voice in their own government is the supreme denial of freedom and democracy, I have fought the disfranchisement of ten million American citizens by a poll tax barring them from the ballot box.

While I am not, and never have been a Communist, I have publicly defended the constitutional right of any American to hold any political and economic views his conscience dictates. Freedom of conscience, thought, speech, and political action are fundamental American constitutional rights. To deny them is subversive; to defend them, the duty of an American.

I myself believe that the capitalist system, based on the motive of private greed, has run its historical course and that our present economic oligarchy must give way to economic democracy to match our political democracy. (Article V is as valid a part of the Constitution as any other article.) If I had believed

that the Communist Party was the best instrument to bring about that forward step I should have joined it publicly, as was my American right.

I am an officer of Local 3, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C.I.O. As at least 100,000,000 Americans are workers or members of workers' families, the labor organizations which fight for the welfare of the working people are fighting for the welfare of the bulk of the American people, organized or unorganized. Moreover, as industry cannot operate unless its products can be sold, organized labor, in fighting today to sustain the purchasing power of the American people, is the greatest force now operating to save us from a depression worse than that of 1929. Surely not a subversive end!

In the endeavor to broaden my knowledge and understanding and to learn truth and wisdom about the world I live in, rather than form my judgments by

[Continued on page 430]

Puzzle Note

WITH this issue we announce the winner of the crossword-puzzle contest which has been running for the last twelve weeks in *The Nation*. The winner—voted for by our readers in the proportion of roughly three to two—is "Mr. Y.," whose real name is Frank W. Lewis.

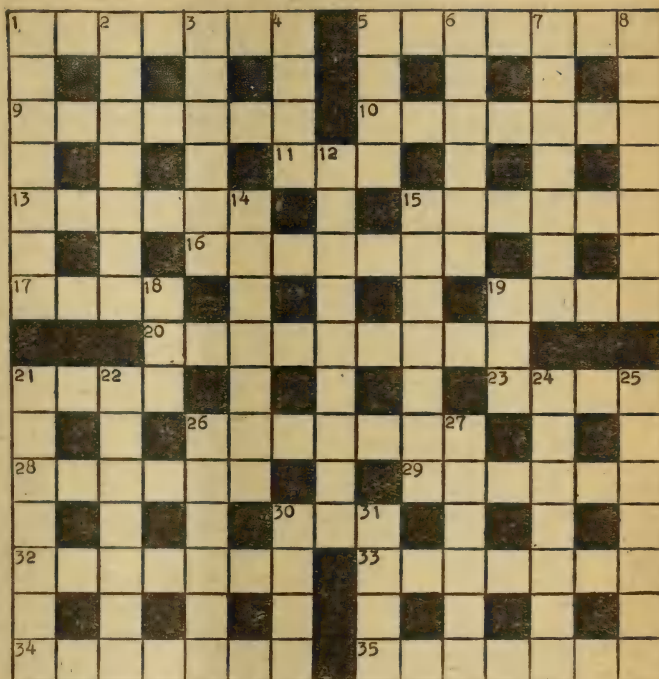
Mr. Lewis, a research analyst for the War Department, writes that he "became a puzzle addict while on a tour of duty in England, where the so-called British Crossword appears in most papers." He then "turned to Jack Barrett [*The Nation's* former puzzle-maker] as the only American whose puzzles held sustained interest." Trying his hand at the same sort of thing, Mr. Lewis has, in the opinion of three-fifths of our readers, attained a technique and flavor approximate to the master's.

For the edification of readers who feel that they ought to be let in on the rules of his distinctive style Mr. Lewis has prepared a "Short Guide to Puzzle-Solving." *The Nation* will be happy to send a mimeographed copy of this "Short Guide" to any reader who requests one.

The many crossword addicts who voted for "Mr. X" may be interested to learn that he is Jack Luzzatto, of the Bronx, a contributor to many newspapers and to several anthologies of puzzles.

Crossword Puzzle No. 233

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 34, for example. (7)
- 5 It isn't geese who are disturbed by such perils. (7)
- 9 Do clothes have that hurried look when so tailored? (7)
- 10 To leave a cigar with this should give it a rakish look. (7)
- 11 Decline to do so. (3)
- 13 Get back in gear. (6)
- 15 Come naturally to sound like a kind of haircut. (6)
- 16 Put us in prison when we are possessive. (7)
- 17 Fizzes, as do all such drinks. (4)
- 19 It's sometimes fine to find a seaman without 21 down. (4)
- 20 There's a measure of badinage to this bird. (9)
- 21 Split peas. (4)
- 23 It's out of date you are, as a hill-billy might put it. (4)
- 26 Not hard to get a lick in when getting fed. (7)
- 28 See 26 down.
- 29 Sort of dose with a kind of shot in it. (6)
- 30 Detractors never do. (3)
- 32 Profession of hotel pages? (7)
- 33 Riots to get a meal in Italy. (7)
- 34 Disturbed, but still angered. (7)
- 35 Mickey Rooney's diary? (4, 3)
- 7 Blimey, is 'e the last nag? (7)
- 8 A sort of bun found in 19 across. (7)
- 12 Was the Goldilocks villain so featured? (9)
- 14 Why you can't do it? (Eat, perhaps!) (7)
- 15 Let them be gone, as I suffer them. (7)
- 18 Even the king sometimes yields to this. (3)
- 19 Is such a young maiden short? (3)
- 21 1 across is double-headed by such. (7)
- 22 No one holds this sacred. (7)
- 24 A piece is spoken about, in a round-about way! (7)
- 25 One criticism of drawn-out conclusions? (7)
- 26 and 28 across. Gear in the air? (6, 6)
- 27 The fat comes up about a broken bone in back. (6)
- 30 Not a new conclusion for 34 to come to. (4)
- 31 Back yard. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 232

ACROSS:—1 SPRAT; 4 EVE; 6 AVAST; 8 REGIMEN; 10 ORDERLY; 11 GALLOP; 14 AROUSE; 15 MYRIADS; 16 TRAP; 17 EDIT; 19 CARRIER; 20 NICE; 22 ZERO; 24 RUBBISH; 26 STONES; 27 PYRAMUS; 31 EMBRACE; 32 LEDGERS; 33 TIRED; 34 NAP; 35 DATES.

DOWN:—1 SPRIG; 3 REGALIA; 3 TOM-TOM; 4 ETNA; 5 ETON; 6 ADDERS; 7 AGROUND; 8 THYME; 12 PYRAMUS; 13 MICROBE; 14 ADVERSE; 16 TIN; 18 TWO; 21 CROWBAR; 23 EVIDENT; 24 REWARD; 25 HANDED; 26 SPENT; 28 ROSES; 30 NEON; 30 SLAP.

DOWN

- 1 Am above father's French, but powerful. (7)
- 4 Gad! Even this is when you get it! (7)
- 8 Citrus mixture. (6)
- 4 Finished the cheese up. (4)
- 5 Dull poet, in a way. (4)
- 6 There's a slight difference here. (6)

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ignorance and prejudice, I have traveled in Canada, Eire, England, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Russia, and Poland.

I hate fascism and fascist tendencies, both abroad and in the United States. I love democracy, which means the rights and advancement of the common people. I consider it the patriotic duty of every American to fight for the things he believes in.

FLORENCE LUSCOMB

Cambridge, Mass., October 6

Aux Armes!

Dear Sirs: New York University proposes to build its new law center on Washington Square. This will necessitate the demolition of a square block of charming, century-old studios which are literary and artistic landmarks. It will mean the eviction of more than 300 persons in the midst of a critical housing shortage. Many of the tenants are serious artists who require the north light for their work. These buildings have lovely skylights and big casements, especially built for artists by "Papa" Strunsky, who renovated the buildings for artists about twenty years ago.

A year ago the Washington Square Association raised money by public subscription to finance a neighborhood survey conducted by Arthur C. Holden, architect and city planner. New York University contributed to its expense. That survey strongly advised the university to expand to the south and east of the square. The proposed site for the center violates the whole spirit of the Holden survey.

We fully appreciate the needs of N. Y. U. and its worthy objectives in building a bigger and better law school. The Washington Square-Greenwich Village community wishes to have pleasant relations with the university. However, we strenuously object to having the park appropriated as a private college campus. We oppose the destruction of one of the finest groups of studio buildings in New York while a sub-standard area exists adjacent to N. Y. U.—a blight on it and the community. People come from every part of the world to see the famous arch and look at the distinctive studio buildings, which have been the homes and workshops of John LaFarge, John Barrymore, Theodore Dreiser, and other celebrities too many to mention.

We appeal to those who love Washington Square to write to Chancellor Harry Woodburn Chase, New York

University, Washington Square, New York, and ask that the university reconsider its plan before the wrecker's ax falls on this beautiful old quarter.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IN SO FAR AS THE FRENCH ELECTION WAS A choice between Soviet Russia and the United States, rather than a mere choice of city officials, the United States won, hands down. Whatever else they voted for, the people who piled up De Gaulle's big total voted for American aid this winter. Few of them may have read Senator Bridges's report of his personal warning to Premier Ramadier that "we would not tolerate communism" in France, but they know, just the same, that a Communist victory at the polls would have endangered the chance of large-scale help from America, both now and when the Marshall Plan comes up for discussion in Congress. By comparison with this stake, Russia's offer of wheat to France looked too little, too late, and too expensive. The final returns are not available as we go to press, but three things are already evident: First, the De Gaulle movement has grown, in a matter of months, from an amorphous *rassemblement* to the first party of France. Second, by throwing its support to the Gaullists, the M. R. P. has practically voted itself out of existence. And, finally, the combined vote of the working-class parties—Socialist and Communist—exceeds De Gaulle's by nearly 500,000. The latter factor will have no concrete meaning if the Communists and Socialists continue to fight among themselves. On the other hand, if the two parties abandon their present hostility and adopt a program of common action, it may have a decisive influence on the future course of French politics. Otherwise, political logic indicates that, in the coming months, De Gaulle will solidify his gains, with strong backing from Washington, and perhaps return to power.

★

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES OF THE MARSHALL Plan will both find ammunition in the report of the committee of government experts headed by Secretary of Interior Krug. Assigned the task of exploring the state of our resources and reporting on their adequacy to contribute to foreign reconstruction, the committee has gathered a lot of interesting facts together but failed to reach any clear conclusions. Current high production and consumption in the United States, it tells us, are causing a strain on our productive facilities and resources. However, supply difficulties are not "generally attributable to exports," which account for only a fraction of

our gross product. On the other hand, the report declares, a foreign-aid program would have a two-fold impact on our economy: it would intensify certain current shortages and it would enlarge the drain on natural resources, which are already subject to a dangerously rapid rate of depletion. The committee seems to believe that a program of foreign aid involving four to five billion dollars annually for four years would not merely continue existing strains on our economy but add to them. Yet even with loans on this scale, it is almost certain that our exports to foreign countries in the next four years will decline in comparison with the past nine months. That record volume was only sustained by loans and grants at least equal to the amounts likely to be made available in the future, plus prodigious drafts on foreign reserves. Consequently, new loans will not mean an increase in the dollar spending power that has been available to Europe this year; they will mean, at most, its partial replenishment.

★

WHAT IS TRUE—AND THE KRUG REPORT discusses this point at length—is that foreign demand will tend to be concentrated on a few commodities of which there is a world shortage. The result will be a succession of supply problems which will be complicated by the jamming of one bottleneck into another. Thus, Europe could increase its own food production if it could get nitrogenous fertilizers, and it could expand its nitrogen output if it could get more coal. We have huge coal resources, but production is being checked by lack of freight cars, the output of which is in turn held back by insufficient steel supplies. In more ways than one, steel, it seems, is the key bottleneck, but the experts approach the subject of breaking it in a very gingerly manner. An increase in steel capacity, they point out, would itself absorb large quantities of steel, and, in any case, it is doubtful whether raw material would be available to feed new furnaces. They express the hope that output from existing capacity will be increased by technological improvements, and they call for industry-government cooperation in expanding raw-material supplies, particularly scrap, and in channeling finished steel to meet the most urgent demands. In his foreword, Mr. Krug does something to offset the rather negative

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tone of the report. It proves, he says, that the American economy is physically able to undertake "a considerable program of foreign aid" without jeopardizing national security or living standards. While some strain might be experienced, the war had shown that the American economy had great flexibility and strength. In short, the Secretary concluded, "what we as a nation can do depends in great measure on what we set out to do." That is the real answer to the question whether we can afford to meet Europe's most urgent need as set forth in the sixteen-nation report: if the will is there, the means can be found.

✱

JUSTICE JACKSON'S PROPOSAL THAT THE Supreme Court hand down a clear-cut decision on the validity of divorces granted in the various states—a decision that "simple people can understand and live by"—served at least to dramatize an absurd and very troublesome situation in which an American's marital status may change if he crosses a state line. At the time, the court was hearing two cases in which Massachusetts courts had invalidated divorces granted in Nevada and Florida. The Justice urged the court to do something definite, since previous rulings were conflicting and confusing. Justice Frankfurter took up the cudgels for precedent. "The people who wrote these opinions may be in their graves," he said, "but the wisdom of their opinions lives on." This argument seems misplaced, if the opinions contradict each other. We are not sure that the Supreme Court should or could bring order out of this chaos, but certainly order should be made. Theoretically, the best solution would be the passage of uniform divorce laws which really coincided with the mores of a country where, for better or worse, divorce has become an accepted device for the pursuit of happiness. The trouble is that the end-products might be laws which would make divorce uniformly difficult and so encourage devices, legal and illegal, for getting around them. Perhaps a more sensible idea would be to press for a convention by which each state agreed to recognize the divorces granted in every other state.

✱

BESIDES THE MOMENTOUS SQUELCHING OF John L. Lewis—and even that should not be taken as definitive—the conventions of the two great labor organizations reflected sentiment but made no history. The A. F. of L., it is true, for the first time in its long life set up a political agency to replace its traditional hit-or-miss technique of rewarding a friend here and punishing an enemy there. But the odds are against its "educational and political league" achieving much in the way of a coherent campaign, inasmuch as the federation's top men are as divided as they ever were between Republican and Democratic allegiances. The C. I. O. Poli-

cal Action Committee, which has had the advantage of being nearly solidly Democratic, is to be overhauled for a more comprehensive job of campaigning than it has ever undertaken. But it, too, is now assured of political headaches, as the thinly veiled struggle over the convention's foreign-policy resolution revealed. Philip Murray achieved the phenomenal by getting surface agreement on an indorsement of a "sound program for post-war rehabilitation" in which the Marshall Plan was not so much as mentioned. Communists like Irving Potash, of the Fur Workers' Union, professed to see in the statement "not a Marshall Plan, or anybody else's plan, but a C. I. O. plan." And George Baldanzi, who has no use whatever for the Communists, supported the statement with the explanation that "we are for the ideas enunciated by Secretary Marshall, no matter how the hell we write them in this resolution." But no one was deceived into believing that either side found the resolutions to its liking or that the left-right division is not deep and serious. Murray made his own attitude clear by the simple device of inviting Secretary Marshall to address the convention, thus affording him a C. I. O. platform from which to reply to Russian charges that he speaks for Wall Street.

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ON AT LEAST TWO OTHER COUNTS, THE representatives of the left must have found the convention a sore trial. First, Jack Kroll, speaking for P. A. C., told the delegates that "a third party is definitely out," that "there's nothing worth while for us in a third party in the immediate future." And, second, R. J. Thomas, bitter opponent of Walter Reuther in the United Automobile Workers, lost the support of Murray, which he enjoyed last year, and as a result lost his seat as one of the nine vice-presidents. A factor in Murray's switch, aside from his own apparent drift to the right, was the charge that Thomas was flirting with John L. Lewis, who has long been attempting to wean the automobile workers away from the C. I. O. or split their union. In this sense, Lewis was defeated at Boston as well as at San Francisco, where the A. F. of L. met. In his own organization, Lewis's fortunes are at a low ebb. He was soundly beaten in his effort to keep the federation from having any truck with the National Labor Relations Board; branding his colleagues as "ravens" and "fat and stately asses," he as good as dared them to carry on without him, and they dropped him from the council; and, finally, he heard his catch-all District 50 denounced on the floor for raiding other federation units. He did succeed in averting a resolution to this effect, but only by having it referred to the council. Should the council find against him, he threatens once more to walk out on the federation—only this time he will go out as an embittered lone wolf rather than the leader of the most advanced forces in the labor movement. It is understood that a place on

the council will still be his for the asking, and, after a proper period of sulking, he may decide to take it.

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IN ADDITION TO ITS OTHER ADVERSE SCORES, the Eightieth Congress may claim the record of being the Congress which was kindest to the groups seeking to loot what is left of the American public domain. A House Public Lands Committee, headed by a chum of the big ranchers, Frank Barrett of Wyoming, has just recommended that the United States Forest Service lose, for three years, its right to reduce grazing permits in the National Forests. This will mean that, until 1950, rangers cannot prevent sheep and cattle from chewing off the bunch grass which anchors the topsoil. Floods, drought, erosion, and ugly hillsides will be the inevitable results of such a policy. The public will lose; the sole beneficiaries will be the handful of ranchers who graze their herds on land belonging to the government. This is of a piece with Mr. Barrett's bill to abolish the Jackson Hole National Monument. The monument protects for all the people a great scenic area which has belonged to them since the days of Lewis and Clark. Abolition of the National Monument would revoke their rights, for the land then would be available to Mr. Barrett's ranching friends. Sheep and cattle would graze on mountain pastures now reserved for campgrounds and for such big game as deer and elk. It is adding insult to injury to graze the beef now selling at epic prices on land belonging to the men and women who are victimized every time they visit the butcher shop.

A New Loan to China?

SECRETARY MARSHALL is expected to make his long-delayed announcement of a new policy toward China within a few days, possibly before these lines are read. Details of the policy, like the report of General Wedemeyer on which it is to be based, have been a closely guarded secret. But Washington rumors and well-authenticated reports from high Chinese officials in Nanking indicate that Wedemeyer has recommended a billion-dollar loan to bolster up Chiang Kai-shek's sagging forces, with a proviso that the civilian and military uses of the loan be strictly supervised by Americans. Part of these funds are to be used, it is said, for expansion of the American military mission in order to train and equip ten Kuomintang divisions to be used in "sealing off" the Communists in North China. While there is no certainty that Secretary Marshall will accept General Wedemeyer's recommendations, it is difficult to see why such a strong supporter of Chiang Kai-shek should have been chosen for the "fact-finding" mission except to find justification for aiding the Kuomintang.

The long delay in acting on General Wedemeyer's report suggests, however, that the State Department, and possibly General Wedemeyer himself, are far from happy about the probable results of stepped-up American assistance to the Kuomintang regime. They are aware that no constructive results have been achieved by the more than three billion dollars' worth of equipment and other goods that has been poured into China since the closing days of the war. They have seen international relief supplies diverted to political ends and sold in the open market for the enrichment of Kuomintang officials despite the best efforts of the UNRRA authorities. They know that slackness, incompetence, and corruption in Kuomintang ranks have increased rather than diminished as the economic and military situation has grown worse. And they have seen Chiang's glowing promises of increased civil liberties and democratic rights wither before a succession of political arrests and drastic new censorship regulations. Nor has this fresh wave of terrorism been directed primarily against the Communists. The Democratic League, the most important of China's middle parties, has been suppressed in some areas, and most of the hundreds recently arrested in Peiping for alleged opposition to the government were members of the liberal wing of the Kuomintang.

In view of these facts, it is idle to pretend that American assistance will be given out of pity for the Chinese people or to aid in reconstruction. If the loan is given, it will be a political loan of the crudest sort. As Wedemeyer himself phrased it recently, it will be designed to keep China from moving into the orbit of Soviet Russia. No one knows this better than the Chinese themselves. Numerous prominent Chinese individuals and groups have issued statements urging the United States not to send further military or financial help to the Nanking government. Just this past week, Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, China's "Christian General," who has held high government posts and is second in military rank only to the Generalissimo, declared in New York that further American aid could only intensify the civil war and delay reconstruction. He characterized the Chiang Kai-shek regime as "a bottomless pit" which cannot possibly be filled, and expressed the hope that Americans would see this and make their views known before it is too late. He stated that the Nanking government had deliberately spread the story in zones devastated by recent fighting that the anti-Communist expeditions had been ordered by the United States. This had fostered anti-American feeling among the innocent victims of the civil strife.

Granted that the United States is determined to use its financial resources in a gigantic campaign to check the advance of communism, we can think of no place where it is likely to get less for its money than in China. Many more billions of dollars than Americans are will-

ing to spend would be required to insure Chiang's position against attack. A billion or even two billions would, like the billions already spent, fail to fill the hole. Meanwhile, the popularity of communism in China is bound to be strengthened rather than weakened by the perpetuation of the corrupt dictatorial regime that holds power. Nor are superficial reforms imposed by American advisers likely to win the affection or confidence of the intensely nationalistic Chinese. Hard-hearted though the advice may seem, the most effective aid that can be given to China at the moment is no aid at all and the maintenance of a policy of strict neutrality in its revolutionary war.

Line-up on Palestine

WITH Britain firmly insisting on its new role as "neutral" in the Palestine debate, the play passes definitely to the United States and Russia. The speech by Colonial Secretary Creech-Jones has been attacked as obstructive and hostile to the solution his government invited when it handed the Palestine issue to the United Nations. And so it was. But it was wholly consistent with the position he took at the start of the present session, and so merits no new abuse. It leaves England on the sidelines, hands in pockets, while the Big Two uneasily carry the ball. And it has one positive virtue: it may force the other powers to act promptly, before the British walk off the field altogether, for by this time no one doubts that Mr. Creech-Jones meant business when he announced that his government would shortly pull its troops and civil servants out of Palestine.

What comes next? Will Russia and the United States actively support the policy announced in their respective statements? The issue hangs on this question. As Sumner Welles says on a later page, "Whether we shall now see a Palestine settlement of the nature recommended to the Assembly by the majority of the Special Committee on Palestine depends primarily on whether the Soviet Union and the United States will permit the settlement to be carried out." Already, doubts as to their final intentions are being heard in the corridors and committee rooms at Lake Success. Suspicion is chiefly directed toward the United States, which is said by many persons on the spot to be preparing for a defeat instead of working for a victory. Latin American delegates report an attitude of ostentatious indifference regarding their position on Palestine; seldom has the United States insisted so warmly on their complete freedom to vote as they please. China, too, has consistently backed the United States on major issues, but its statement on Palestine, while avoiding open repudiation of the majority report, was unexpectedly hostile.

The United States delegation is also urging the

prompt appointment of a subcommittee to make a detailed plan for submission to the Assembly. The composition of this subcommittee, already decided upon by the Americans, would insure a half-hearted attitude on partition. It would also reverse the usual Assembly procedure, which is to appoint a subcommittee *after* amendments have been moved in order to reconcile differences and come back with a report representing the majority views rather than those of a hand-picked group acting in advance of the debate. By the time this issue appears, the facts may be known; but if a subcommittee is voted before the plan has been discussed, we shall have reason to suspect the purposes of the delegates who execute this maneuver. If it does not happen, the prospect of honest American support will look better.

As for Russia, its views were put plainly and well. What make us wonder, in spite of this, how strong its interest may be in seeing them carried out is Yugoslavia's support of the minority plan, recommending a bi-national federal state in Palestine. It is true that the Yugoslav member of the United Nations committee favored this solution from the start. But experience suggests that the Yugoslavs would probably accede to any serious wish on the part of the U. S. S. R. on this point—as the Latin Americans would in the case of similar pressure by the United States. Perhaps Russia merely does not care how its protégés vote on Palestine; but if this is so, it leaves the outcome more than ever uncertain.

The picture is further blurred by French silence. France has plenty of reasons for tiptoeing as lightly as possible over the thin ice of Moslem susceptibilities; but its influence as a member of the Big Five is inevitably diminished by such extreme caution.

At this moment of suspense, what seems likely to be laid before the Assembly is a modified partition plan, scaling down the area allotted to the Jews and restricting their control over immigration at least temporarily—this to satisfy the British as well as the Arabs—coupled with a renewed plea to the Arabs to exercise moderation and restraint and to the British to stay on the job during the interim period—assisted, probably, by some sort of U. N. token police force. This is a guess. It may be proved wrong before these words are in print. But it jibes with a good many facts and also, alas, with our knowledge of the mixed state of mind in official Washington. Such a plan, of course, would be no plan at all. It would mean fighting in Palestine and bitterness in the U. N. But it might easily look to the engineers of the Truman Doctrine like a handy way out of a dilemma—a way to give a little to the Jews and a little more to the Arabs and keep British soldiers on guard a little longer in an area we have so recently discovered to be a segment of the American frontier that we are scarcely prepared to defend it ourselves.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Taft, Rumor, and Eisenhower

IT IS something of a tribute to the liberalism of the American voter, if not to his skepticism, that Senator Taft should try at this late date to take on a pinkish coloration. Perhaps his public-relations staff has had nothing to do with the spate of stories linking him with individuals whom he would formerly have damned with enthusiasm, but it has been discreet enough to keep quiet and promote the illusion. First there was the rumor that Harold Ickes was about to come out in support of Taft's candidacy, though the two men seemed to have no more in common politically than a dim view of David Lilienthal, his life and works. The story, I should add, was not scotched by Mr. Ickes in anything like the choleric prose he draws upon when properly aroused. Indeed, the column in which he protested that he had not yet made up his mind in the matter included a passing tribute to "Mr. Taft's ability, his comprehensive knowledge of public affairs, his qualities as a floor leader, and above all else his fearlessness."

Now, from Drew Pearson, comes the far more outlandish suggestion that Taft's "possible running mate" if he wins the nomination would be none other than Walter Reuther. This fantasy seems a bit too elfin to have been conjured up in the Taft office. It is easier to take Reuther's view that it was launched by his factional foes in the Auto Workers' Union, for whom, judging from some of their messages to the union membership that I have seen, no yarn is too far-fetched. Reuther, understandably moved, disposed of the story by announcing that he "would see him [Taft] in hell before [he] would see him in the White House." But the episode is perhaps more complicated than he imagines. As this column goes to press, the notion of a Taft-Reuther ticket can be traced as far as a Chicago publicity firm, P. H. Morris and Associates, which will say only that "a group of responsible civic-minded citizens . . . all Chicago business and professional men" has made the proposal and retained the firm to promote the idea.

However this minor mystery is resolved, there can be no doubt that Taft himself is trying hard to shake off a reputation for diehard torism. Spurred on perhaps by an extremely sour press, he has reversed himself completely on the statesman-like proposal to kill all social legislation until the Republicans capture the White House. He has now evolved a billion-dollar welfare program for 1948 composed of highly diluted measures for old-age insurance, increased unemployment benefits, medical care, housing, and education—all extremely

limited in scope and defended on the theory that if a "subsidy extends only to those of the lowest-income groups, it is not socialism."

More pointedly, at Des Moines last week he fairly fawned on Harold Stassen, the party's prudently daring semi-maverick. "Governor Stassen and I have differed on many issues," Taft told their common audience, "but we have not disagreed on fundamental principles." Stassen was careful to point out that his views were "more on the liberal side" than Taft's, but added that he had "a deep respect" for the Ohioan's "integrity, his sincerity, and his ability." So thick was the air with cordiality, in violent contrast to the open hostility between Stassen and Dewey, that it was freely assumed the two speakers had come to an understanding. In fact, the Iowa Republican State Chairman was so carried away by the prevailing spirit of good-will that he publicly announced: "There's the Republican ticket for 1948—Taft for President and Stassen for Vice-President."

Stassen has unequivocally repudiated this arrangement, which is precisely what he was expected to do at this stage of the campaign. But the mere suggestion of a Taft-Stassen alliance should be of distinct help to the Senator. If the deepening shadow that General Eisenhower is casting over all the Republican hopefuls is to be dispelled, the job will take more than the lone efforts of a Taft, a Dewey, or a Vandenberg. A dash of liberalism and a spot of imagination will be required, and the candidate who can count on Stassen as his running-mate will enjoy a distinct advantage over the field.

IT BECOMES plainer every day that the head-off Eisenhower movement is becoming a major political pastime, and the game is being played enthusiastically on all sides. Governor Dewey's staff is reported to be spreading the implausible but none the less effective theory that Ike in the White House is the secret hope of the leaders of Soviet Russia. The Patterson-McCormick papers are really getting warmed up, with John O'Donnell damning the General as "a Franklin D. Roosevelt in uniform"—obviously the harshest thing O'Donnell can say about anyone—and the Chicago *Tribune* calling him "the new Willkie in the Republican woodpile . . . everybody's man but America's."

The Democrats, too, are taking the Eisenhower threat very seriously, and their publicity apparatus is hard at work on the problem. James Roosevelt and Judge Samuel Rosenman, both reported by Eisenhower men to have been inclining toward the General's candidacy, were asked by Democratic headquarters to declare themselves publicly. Both came out for Truman. And from Democratic staff members comes the story that Eisenhower's publicity men are worried about repeated and embarrassing questions as to why Ike does not resort to Sherman's classic formula for heading off a nomination.

Their lame answer, as the Democrats gleefully tell it, is that Sherman took his unequivocal and unexplained stand only because he could not make public the real reason, namely, that his wife and children were Catholics and he feared that his candidacy might stir up prejudice. This strained rationalizing can hardly go on for any length of time, but it will have to do until Eisenhower is relieved of military duty and free to forget about General Sherman. Unfortunately President Truman has so far been unable to find a replacement for his Chief of Staff, a fact that Eisenhower's aides are, perhaps a bit nervously, calling to the attention of the country.

What may do Eisenhower more damage among Republicans than any rumor yet floated is Roscoe Drummond's detailed broadcast of a visit to the General by Henry Wallace, Michael Straight, and Bruce Bliven. The *New Republic* trio were said to have urged him to forget the G. O. P. convention and, with their support, to contest the Democratic nomination instead. An Eisenhower spokesman branded the *Christian Science Monitor* reporter's story as "absolutely wrong," and the *New Republic* editors flatly deny that they even called on the General. If this is as complete a fabrication as it appears, it is probably the most devious attempt yet made to deflate the Eisenhower boom.

Mr. Truman's Police State

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 19

FOR sheer political idiocy it would be hard to match Mr. Truman's airy dismissal of rationing and of rent and price controls as the methods of a police state. This remark was no chance slip of the tongue, though that would have been revealing enough of Mr. Truman's thinking processes. Nor was it an off-hand answer to a tricky question. At a time when most of the press is either advocating, or reconciled to, resumption of controls Colonel McCormick himself would hardly have asked the President whether they would make America a police state. It was Mr. Truman who launched the horrid phrase at a startled press conference after James L. Wright of the Buffalo *Evening News*, an able and veteran Washington correspondent, asked the President to help him "reason out this food-conservation program." Mr. Truman said it was an attempt to do voluntarily in a free-enterprise country what other nations have to do with police-state methods.

Behind the President his one-man brain trust, Clark Clifford, winced. Several reporters, to make sure they had heard right, proceeded to ask in different ways whether he really meant this to apply to (1) rationing and price control, (2) OPA during the war, and (3) rent control. The President insisted that police state was

what he meant. He said that anything which had to be enforced on the people smacked of police-state methods. By this naive and sweeping definition all laws and government regulations smack of the police state; it would seem that any state which must employ police is, by Mr. Truman's lexicon, a police state. In fact, the President emerges, though of course unconsciously—and this is above all an unconscious Administration—as a pure-bred anarchist. Down with the police!

This would be good clean fun if Mr. Truman did not thereby throw away the best single domestic issue of the coming Presidential campaign, trip up the plans being made by some of his closest advisers for the reimposition of controls, play into the hands of Senator Taft, and destroy the expectations of those who still hoped the President was basically a liberal though a prisoner of the right. Let me take up these developments one by one. The rise in prices in the wake of OPA's demise can be blamed chiefly on the Republicans, though the responsibility rests on the right-wing Democrats as well. At one point in his press conference the President, while terming price control a police-state device, seemed to be attacking those who had battled to get rid of it. He asked reporters if they did not remember all the talk about prices being held down voluntarily when OPA controls were removed. He said they would find all that very interesting if they went back and read about it. These remarks added to the confusion, since they sounded as if the President regretted abandonment of police-state methods. They were all the more confusing because Mr. Truman has consistently championed voluntary methods of price and profit control. Like Humpty Dumpty, it is impossible to put the President together again.

Some ten days earlier the President's Council of Economic Advisers in its quarterly report had indicated the necessity for the reimposition of controls and had received the impression that Mr. Truman agreed. It was thought that the voluntary food-savings campaign was merely a shrewd build-up for controls. The Democratic National Committee has been attacking the Republicans for the inflationary spiral and trying to rebut Senator Taft's factually irrefutable statement that Mr. Truman shares responsibility with the Republicans for the runaway rise in prices and the collapse of the housing program. The two did in truth run a race in the early fall of 1946 to see which could get rid of controls sooner; it was Mr. Truman who scrapped meat rationing and jettisoned the Wyatt housing program. For all this might have been glossed over if Mr. Truman had now taken the offensive, said "I told you so," and begun a campaign for renewed controls, now growing popular again. Nor was such strategy dictated only by political expediency. The whole so-called Marshall Plan and the hopes of world reconstruction rest on the maintenance of the American economy on an even keel. For this pur-



pose some controls are essential, and Mr. Truman's ill-conceived phrase will increase his own difficulties in imposing them. At his first move to slow down the inflationary spiral he will be accused of importing the principles of the "police state."

I don't think this will have much effect on the next election. Mr. Truman is still Roosevelt's heir, and the latest Gallup polls show a steady trend back toward the Democrats as prices rise; the masses of farmers and workers still feel that the Democrats are New Dealers at heart. This feeling, barring some sharp change of policy or, perhaps, the nomination by the Republicans of Eisenhower, may reelect Truman. But it will not insure effective leadership in meeting the severe problems ahead. A man who calls price control a police-state method, who dotes on Mr. Hoover and has loaded down his official family with bankers, brass hats, and nonentities, cannot be expected to handle the next depression with the kind of economic planning which will be required.

The easy way for this man and the men around him is drift—drift toward a bust, and drift toward war. Washington under Truman is a capital of confusion, incompetence, and reaction. Those who live here can be under no illusions as they see the government departments purged of the mildest liberals by the growing red scare abetted by the Truman Administration. The police state is not a state which uses policemen but a state where men's lives and reputations are at the mercy of arbitrary action without fair trial. If Mr. Truman wants to understand the police state, let him look about him in the District of Columbia, where one can see its beginnings applied to the employees of his own government. They know the terror of the anonymous accusation, and some have already heard the secret police knock on their door in the dark hours before dawn.

The Littler Assembly

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 20

IT IS a mistake to reduce this Assembly to its most obvious definition: a struggle between the great powers of the East and the West. For even within this definition there are subordinate meanings that change the over-all picture. In the usually accepted polarization you have simply a power struggle or, ideologically, the clash of two political and economic systems, one rooted in a revolutionary faith in a workers' state, the other holding hard to the principles of free enterprise and personal liberty. But many modern societies standing between these two have built into their economic systems large measures of social control which still admit of free political expression for the individual. England and France may be generally on the side of the United States in any showdown with Russia, but they distrust American capitalism about as strongly as Soviet communism.

Alongside this complex East-West conflict there is another—the drive of the colonial peoples for full independence against the reluctance of the old empires to yield what they have always considered their possessions. This struggle is evident in the tense debates in the Trusteeship Committee, with India leading the fight to force South Africa to obey the last Assembly's bidding and bring its mandate over South West Africa under the Trusteeship Council. It is to be seen in the Security Council when the Indonesian question is up for discussion. It is to be seen in the colonial powers' resistance to the nomination of the Philippines and Norway to the Trusteeship Council. That Russia sides with the colonial peoples is giving it added prestige, particularly in Asia.

These struggles are being carried on not in separate compartments but interpenetrating one another, so that the outcome is at no time certain on any particular issue. Nor will decisions at Lake Success or Flushing do more than put a check on the mighty human forces expressed in national hopes and aspirations, fears and frustrations. An attempt is being made in the United Nations to bring an angry and confused world under the control of reason and law. It can be done if the organization can hold together—but not in a week or a month or a year.

One other trend evident in earlier debates but most obvious in the discussions of the past week is the increasing dissent of the small powers from the decisions of the great. At times this dissent has merely been expressed in a grumbling protest. Delegates have told me that in the big-power conflict they don't want to stand up and be counted. But this week we have seen the influence of the small powers essentially changing the policy laid down by a great power.

From the beginning it was clear that the majority of the members shared an exasperation that the effectiveness of the United Nations was being frustrated by the Russian veto in the Security Council. No amount of Soviet pleading will persuade the nations outside the Russian group that the principle of unanimity is to be equated with a wholesale use of the veto. As Pearson of Canada put it last Saturday, "We are all vitally concerned that unanimity should prevail amongst the great powers, especially on measures necessary for the maintenance of peace. The fact is, however, that such unanimity does not exist. . . . We are in a situation where the unanimity rule has become, in effect, both the rule of dissent and a guaranty of inaction."

The American proposal for an Interim Committee has therefore been generally accepted in principle as a means by which the prestige of the Assembly can be increased in order to compensate to some degree for the impotence of the Security Council. But there has been wide criticism of its details. Sweden, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, and other nations have pointed out that the original terms of reference in the American resolution would bestow on the Little Assembly much greater authority than was desirable. The most serious amendments were proposed by Britain's Shawcross. These would remove from the surveillance of the Little Assembly all matters having to do with atomic-energy controls and disarmament and any question actually before the Security Council, and would prohibit it from conducting any study or investigation on the soil of a member state without the consent of that state.

Canada's resolution agrees in part with the United Kingdom's, but suggests that the scope of the Interim Committee should be broadened to permit it to do preparatory work on matters which had been placed on the next General Assembly's agenda—not merely matters having to do with peace and security. Other nations have brought forth similar amendments.

The American proposal, therefore, by the time it emerges from subcommittee study will be substantially whittled down. The Soviet delegate will have more difficulty in suggesting that the Interim Committee will in fact have more power than the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Little Assembly will, as one American remarked, be a littler assembly by the time the subcommittee is through with it.

This does not mean, of course, that it will be any more palatable to the Russians, who may boycott it as they boycotted the Greek commission. But if they study this new role of the middle and smaller powers they should be convinced that a mild revolt is brewing against Uncle Sam as quarterback. It is not a form of Soviet appeasement. It is, perhaps, a positive move away from power politics in the direction of those principles of cooperation expressed in the United Nations Charter.

Palestine and World Peace

BY SUMNER WELLES

[At the dinner of the Nation Associates held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on October 13, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, made the address which appears below. The subject of the evening's discussion was *The Palestine Solution and Its Relationship to World Peace*. The other chief speakers were Bartley Crum and Richard H. S. Crossman, M.P., American and British members, respectively, of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.]

TO ALL those millions of Americans who believe that their nation, because of the influence and power it possesses, should utilize that influence and that power so as to facilitate the solution of international controversies which block the establishment of a free, peaceful, and lasting world order, the past few years have been a profoundly discouraging period. For in the case of Palestine the great opportunity for leadership offered to our government had not been seized. Last Friday this situation radically changed. The United States has at length assumed its responsibility and undertaken a most constructive initiative.

I am not here to speak to you of any of the specific aspects of the Palestine problem, aspects which necessarily arise in an objective appraisal of the recommendations for settlement that have been advanced. Nor would I venture to dwell upon the continuing tragedy of those hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews whose spirits and bodies are rotting in the concentration camps of Central Europe and to whom no hope has as yet been given that they are to have any chance of safety or any opportunity for a new and better life in the days to come. There are many among you who have seen with their own eyes this horror and who have been struggling valiantly to put an end to a tragedy which need never have existed and for which there can be no justification.

But I do wish to speak to you on the issue which seems to me chiefly to concern us here tonight. That is the relationship of the Palestine settlement to world peace.

It would take long to enumerate the reports of the individuals and of the organizations, official as well as unofficial, which have now for many years been investigating the problem of Palestine. Many of these investigations, unfortunately, were undertaken for the sole purpose of procrastination. Many were ordered merely in an effort to avert a crisis which might otherwise be imminent. There is perhaps no other question of international import upon which so much authoritative information is available, and upon which the time and thought of so many able men and women have been expended. What

so far has been lacking is the courage and the decision and the authority by which action might be taken on the basis of those facts.

I had hoped last spring that the period of evasion and buck-passing was at length concluded; that the repeated efforts of the British government to prevent any solution and the unsavory attempts of the government of the United States to saddle Great Britain with full responsibility, while at the same time refusing to lift a finger to make a settlement possible, had at last reached their end. For a new and great development had taken place. The nations of the world, at a special meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, had declared their intention of seeking a settlement of the Palestine question and had appointed a Special Committee on Palestine to undertake a final investigation and to recommend to the full Assembly at its session this autumn whatever solution might in their judgment be most equitable and practicable in the light of all the legitimate interests concerned.

The overshadowing significance of that step could not be exaggerated. It meant that the free peoples of the earth had decided that a just and lasting settlement must be promptly found, and that the moral opinion of the world would support whatever decision the Assembly might finally reach upon such a basis.

AS WE all know, a few weeks ago the Special Committee submitted its findings. The recommendation of the majority of the committee—and it is pertinent to emphasize the fact that the nations represented in that majority could not conceivably be considered as having any partiality or any prejudice—proposed the partition of Palestine and the establishment within the Holy Land of a Jewish and an Arab state.

Many questions can legitimately be raised as to this, that, or the other detail contained in these proposals. But no unbiased man or woman can fail to recognize that, granted the lateness of the hour, granted the urgency of the need, granted the developments that have taken place since the report of the Peel commission was rendered ten years ago, and granted the crisis with which humanity today is convulsed, these proposals are the best that could at present be carried out and are inherently wise and just.

The majority report has, of course, been assailed by the Jewish extremists. It has, of course, been made the target of the Arab nationalists, who assert they will reject any settlement through which the Jewish people would at last attain the National Home long since prom-

ised to them. But I think there can be no question that a vast majority of the outstanding leaders of the Jewish people support the form of settlement now under consideration by the United Nations, however far short it may fall of the ideal for which they had hoped, and that a vast majority of the Arab peoples would accept, even though reluctantly, a settlement which puts an end to a controversy whose continuation can be of no benefit to them, were they to learn that the United Nations was determined to impose such a settlement.

If we view the world as it is today realistically, we cannot fail to see that force—economic force as well as armed force—still continues to be the dominating factor. Every delegate to the United Nations knows that unless the three great powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—jointly support whatever decision the Assembly may reach, and jointly undertake to facilitate the carrying out of the Palestine settlement, no settlement is going to be carried out. However strongly the other member states may feel that the settlement proposed is altogether just, however sincerely they may believe that such a settlement is imperative if a major conflagration is to be averted, they possess by themselves neither the armed might nor the economic resources required to bring about its consummation.

The United States has now spoken. It recognizes the urgent need for a final solution at this session of the Assembly. It supports the majority plan which provides for partition and immigration. While I question the wisdom of some of the modifications it advances, I regard other suggestions offered as altogether desirable.

From the standpoint of the realistic approach to the crux of the problem there is no more encouraging feature of our government's long-awaited statement of policy than the declaration that "the United States is willing to participate in a United Nations program to assist the parties involved in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine" . . . and "in meeting economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transition period." For here are more than words or expressions of sympathy. Here is the promise of material help and cooperation.

The position of Great Britain was made known by the statement of Mr. Creech-Jones to the Assembly. We can at least hope that the position then announced may yet be modified. It would be inconceivable, if the Assembly now approves a final settlement based upon the provisions of the majority report, that the British government would evacuate its administrative and law-enforcement agencies from Palestine before the Assembly's plan could be implemented, and thereby open the Holy Land to probable bloodshed and anarchy at the very moment that the United Nations was preparing to assume responsibility. The present difficulties of the British people must not be overlooked. But the United

States was fully justified in urging that the mandatory power should not withdraw until a smooth transmission of authority can be assured.

There remains the problem of the attitude of the Soviet Union. Once before, at the Assembly's special session last spring, the Soviet government categorically stated it would support partition as an alternative form of settlement. The Soviet Union has now reaffirmed this position. We have reason for deep gratification that in this outstanding instance the Soviet government has shown a clear intention of helping to make the United Nations function and of working for world peace rather than for world disruption.

LET us strip away all unnecessary verbiage and assess the basic issues upon whose solution a Palestine settlement now depends. They are few in number.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are every day becoming more critical. If the Palestine settlement is thrown into the whirlpool of power politics that now threatens to engulf the entire family of nations, no solution will be attained. If Moscow and Washington permit the question of Palestine to be used as an instrument in this looming conflict between expansion and containment, whatever final decision the Assembly may now reach will be void. Yet there is no reason that can be found to justify so needless a frustration. The establishment in Palestine of the Jewish and Arab states now proposed could never in itself be regarded as a threat to the safety of the Soviet system or of the Western powers. Only if these two new states came under the exclusive domination of either the East or the West could any fear be legitimately aroused on the part of one of the major powers. Great Britain has announced its wish to begin immediately the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Palestine, save in the remote contingency that the Assembly's decisions need not be imposed. Moscow can, consequently, no longer charge that Britain intends to use Palestine as a strategic base against Russia.

But since in all human probability the Assembly's recommendations for a Palestine settlement must be imposed and since an adequate police force must, therefore, be found, is it not unquestionable that if either the United States or the Soviet Union attempts to bring about the employment of its own troops for such a purpose, the Palestine question will inevitably become a cause for further suspicion, for further controversy, and for increased hostility between these two powers?

If the police force is American, the Soviet Union will construe such a decision as an aggressive step on our part. If the police force is Russian, such a measure will at once be interpreted throughout the West as a new indication of the Soviet government's intention to seize the Dardanelles and to dominate the Mediterranean.

And we know only too well from what has taken place in Korea what a joint Soviet-American administration of foreign territory implies.

It is for these reasons, which seem to me so altogether clear, that I publicly suggested some days ago that the major powers announce that no one of them would send military contingents to Palestine for policing duties, and that they agree that the Security Council should establish, after calling upon intermediate and lesser powers that had no conceivable interest in the Palestine settlement for their cooperation, a Palestine police force composed of military contingents from those powers, under the authority of the Council's Military Staff Committee. It has been said that such a suggestion is not realistic, that too many practical difficulties stand in the way, and that the problems of over-all authority and of expense constitute insuperable obstacles. The truth is, of course, that such a solution of the problem of security is wholly practicable provided the major powers wish to make it so.

If the Soviet Union and the United States are willing to cooperate in this regard, the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council is competent to adjust the question of over-all authority, and if the member states of the United Nations recognize in practice the obligation they have already unanimously incurred, the expenses of the administration of Palestine during the transition period and of an adequate police force are obviously expenses which should be shared proportionally by all the United Nations.

Frankly, such a solution of the need for maintaining law and order during the transition period seems to me far more effective and expedient than the suggestion of the United States that the United Nations establish a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis. A volunteer force would necessarily take a long time to recruit and assemble and a long time to train. What criterion, moreover, should prevail as to the national origin of the recruits? What percentage of recruits should any given country be allowed to send? What authority would be responsible for screening the recruits? Would there not be constant suspicion that agents of the major powers were being incorporated into such a volunteer force?

If the lesser powers, as I have suggested, sent some of their own military contingents to undertake the required policing work in Palestine during the transition period, these governments would be each responsible for the membership of the forces so employed, and none of the controversial questions I have mentioned could arise.

WHETHER we shall now see a Palestine settlement of the nature recommended to the Assembly by the majority of the Special Committee on Palestine depends primarily on whether the Soviet Union and the United States will permit the settlement to be carried out.

We are told that the troops of the Arab states are now encircling Palestine. Propaganda is being directed toward the delegates to the United Nations Assembly, and toward public opinion in the West, to make it appear that hostilities will be inevitable if the Assembly adopts the proposals of its Special Committee. If the Assembly permits such blackmail tactics—such an open violation of the solemn commitments into which every Arab country has entered—to remain unpunished, and to sway its final decisions, the authority of the United Nations will be irreparably impaired. But can anyone in this room believe that the threats of violence now being made could ever be carried out unless the Arab governments received the secret support of one of the great powers? Can anyone doubt that if Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States unanimously declared that the decision of the Assembly was also their decision and that they would unitedly support the execution of the steps required to impose it, the attempted blackmail which we are witnessing would not rapidly be shown up for what it is?

Unless the means of securing effective collaboration among the three major nations can now be found, not only will the final settlement of the Palestine problem continue to be remote, but the immediate consequences may be of appalling gravity. Is it already too late for us to have ground for the belief that some field for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States can yet be found? Must we assume that the one world for which we had hoped and for which we have striven is already irreparably divided into two worlds, with all of the consequences that such a division inevitably portends? Need we disregard the lesson which the history of recent centuries should teach us—that if two antagonistic and rival nations find some field for cooperation, this experiment in cooperation can bring about an alleviation of tension and encourage the gradual solution of controversies which had earlier seemed altogether insoluble?

I, for one, cannot reconcile myself to the belief that it is already too late. I believe that the Palestine settlement affords both the Soviet Union and the United States precisely such a field, within which cooperation between them is altogether feasible, and that if they will but employ it they will find the path toward the solution of the differences between them much easier to follow.

There has been no greater tragedy in recorded history than that which the Jewish people have suffered during these past few years. Yet it is possible that through the settlement of the Palestine problem—the one fitting compensation which humanity can offer the survivors of that tragedy—the peoples of the world may find the way to avert a new holocaust, toward which we seem to be so rapidly drifting and in which all that remains of our civilization would inevitably be destroyed.

Mr. Attlee Changes Horses

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, October 17

NEW men, new policy? That question has been on many lips since it became known last month that the Prime Minister proposed to meet the new parliamentary session with a reconstructed administration. From the Cabinet appointments announced this week no clear evidence is to be deduced pointing to any radically different program. Mr. Attlee has changed horses in mid-stream, but the main observable effect is merely that the "pulls" within the team have altered slightly; the government coach seems likely to continue in much the same direction.

The inner history of this Cabinet reconstruction has provided observers of the political scene with not a little amusement. There is some evidence that the Prime Minister, keeping his deliberations very much to himself, had completed to his own satisfaction a full list of Cabinet changes a fortnight ago, and that this list was much more extensive than the one eventually published. In particular, it seems to have been intended to replace A. V. Alexander by John Strachey at the Ministry of Defense, and to intrust the portfolios of Transport and Labor to younger and stronger hands than those of Mr. Barnes and Mr. Isaacs. However, for reasons unknown to this correspondent, Mr. Attlee decided to announce the appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps as Minister for Economic Affairs in advance of the general Cabinet reshuffle. This put the ministerial fat in the fire. It was at once apparent to the Foreign Secretary that Sir Stafford, elevated to the position of coordinator of the departments of Trade, Labor, Fuel, Supply, and Public Works, would be in a position to voice in the Cabinet, and to give added weight to, the contentions of the "Bread Before Guns" school. Mr. Bevin wanted to know whether the coming Cabinet changes would have the effect of further diminishing the influence of his own group in the Cabinet. His curiosity was infectious, and for ten days most of the ministers were absorbed in the task of trying to "get at" the Prime Minister.

The result has been a rather peculiar compromise. Up to a point Mr. Bevin has had his way: the retention of their portfolios by Messrs. Alexander, Barnes, and Isaacs means that the Loyal Regiment of "Bevin's Own" has not suffered the casualties which he feared. With Mr. Dalton and Mr. Morrison somewhat eclipsed (Mr. Attlee suspected them last June of an intrigue to make Ernest Bevin Prime Minister), there is a nice balance of power within the Cabinet between Crippsites and Bevinites, leaving the Prime Minister in a strong position as chair-

man with the casting vote. For the rest, a good deal of dilapidated wood has been excised, and the new Cabinet, taken together with the list of junior appointments, promises a perhaps more competent administration.

It certainly contains no signs of a shift to the left. Emanuel Shinwell has been relegated to the routine obscurity of the War Office under the double thumb of Messrs. Bevin and Alexander, and his place at the Ministry of Fuel, which now loses a seat in the Cabinet, has been taken by Hugh Gaitskell, ex-lecturer in economics and ex-director of a company dealing in fine prints. Mr. Attlee—or even, it may be, Mrs. Attlee—had come to regard Mr. Shinwell as a political liability ever since his public speeches began to show an anti-middle-class bias. Whether this, or his known opposition to Mr. Clayton's demand that exports have a first priority on future coal output regardless of the requirements of domestic industry, was responsible for Mr. Shinwell's downgrading is a matter of speculation. Certainly the middle class should be reassured by the changes in Mr. Attlee's team. There is no ground for saying that they represent a definite swing to the right—leftism in England is not a working-class monopoly—but few of the men promoted or brought in have soiled their hands with manual labor; most of them are public-school boys turned public servants. If they remembered Ruskin's famous crack about Whistler, Mr. Attlee's rank-and-file trade-union supporters might have accused him of flinging a pot of Eton-blue paint in the face of organized labor.

AS FOR policy, the King's speech seems likely to be interesting mainly for its omissions: the expectation is pretty general that there will be no bill this session to nationalize either gas or steel; and the main dish for the autumn will probably be an unsweetened supplementary budget. Of the broad lines of policy for coping with the economic crisis we have already had a fairly full preview. In Mr. Bevin's sector there are no signs of dramatic developments. Some acceleration of the planned release of men from the forces? Perhaps, but certainly no radical break in the masterly continuity of foreign policy. Lightened, it is hoped, by placing the whole burden of the financial cost of Germany on the shoulders of the American taxpayer, British "commitments" abroad will be maintained—at any rate for the present. On the politico-economic chessboard it is for Cripps, not Bevin, to move; and though we have yet to learn how far Chancellor Dalton proposes to go in using the fiscal

mechanism to aid the switch from consumption to exports, the main lines of the Cripps plan are known. The gap of \$2,400,000,000 in Britain's foreign balance of payments is to be closed by import cuts amounting to \$850,000,000 and an increase of \$1,500,000,000 in British exports. Presto! The solution is found; all that remains is to complete the still very partial adjustment of supplies in the food shops to this winter's reduced import program and wait for British manufacturers and exporters to do their stuff.

That at least was the impression the public derived from the confidence with which Sir Stafford appeared to approach his task. But at his first press conference this week the Minister for Economic Affairs seemed to have begun to share the increasingly grave doubts of observers here about the practicability of his plan unless one of two conditions is fulfilled: either the famous "commitments" must be jettisoned wholesale, or Uncle Sam must, directly or indirectly, foot the bill.

The Cripps plan, in fact, is vulnerable to criticism on a number of grounds. With Britain's customers here, there, and everywhere imposing import restrictions enforced by their own difficulties, the export targets are manifestly optimistic. At any rate, their attainment by the end of 1948 cannot be relied on. Indeed, apart from the question whether markets can be found, the postulated increase of output of exportable goods presupposes a redistribution of labor and a detailed control of raw-material allocation far beyond the somewhat hesitant steps so far taken. Furthermore, no one has yet explained how the proposed expansion in the exports of British finished goods is to be achieved if we make good our undertakings in the Report of the Paris European Conference to supply the Western bloc with such a high proportion of the coal, steel, machinery, and other capital goods which British industry itself requires. And, even if the essential re-equipment of British mines and factories can be postponed for, say, a couple of years, what will happen to the painfully achieved balance between imports and exports when the output of capital goods is switched back, as it finally must be, to home consumption.

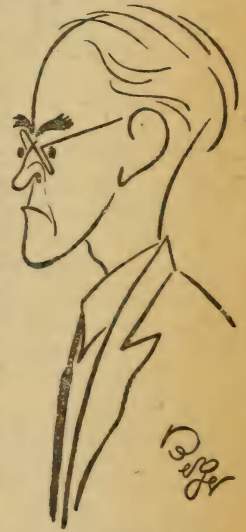
Sir Stafford has now admitted what was only too obvious from the outset—that the "balance" at which he is aiming is in one sense unreal. Even if British production and exports can both be increased as planned, we shall continue to have an immense deficit with the dollar area, against which we shall only nominally be able to set credits with Western Europe. Unless those trading credits can be converted into free dollars—which would mean that Mr. Marshall would have to supply the whole Western bloc with good American money to pay for British goods—Britain will not be able to buy what it needs in the way of food and raw materials from the dollar area. As a result Sir Stafford now concedes the grave danger

of a "descent into a spiral of depression." The implication is clear that the Cabinet is coming round to the view that only Mr. Marshall and the American Congress can save the situation.

THE question is: Can the dollars be had on terms which the British public and above all organized labor would find tolerable? At the moment a campaign against "dollars with strings on them" is being waged in the press only by the Communist *Daily Worker* and by Lord Beaverbrook's (four-million net sale) *Daily Express*, which is becoming the mouth-piece for sentiment paralleling that of the Italian Qualunquists. Beneath the surface, however, there is a great and growing feeling among trade unionists and the middle-class left alike that the whole basis of the Marshall plan as now outlined makes nonsense from the standpoint of Europe and means Britain's acceptance of the status of a colonial dependency of the United States. The fundamental weakness of the Paris report, as seen here, is that it presupposes a European revival which can only be achieved by planning so totalitarian that it would be completely unacceptable to the nation which is expected to finance it. Mr. Clayton, in short, asked the Western bloc to produce an international plan without national planning—a contradiction in terms.

As for Britain's own contribution, honesty compels me to record that various leakages, revealing clear warnings from Mr. Clayton and other distinguished visitors that the price for dollar aid must be longer working hours and reduced real wages, have produced a strong current of resistance in the trade-union movement. Already the T. U. C. has compelled the Prime Minister to retract his suggestion that wages should be frozen, irrespective of the rising cost of living; and if, as expected, the autumn budget imposes new taxes on consumption and—as is rumored—on domestically consumed electricity, working-class suspicions of the whole "crisis policy" will be deepened.

There will be an increasingly strong tendency in the Labor movement to ask: Cannot we throw overboard more of our costly foreign commitments and reinforce our industrial man-power with at least 500,000 of the men now in uniform? And cannot we get along without dollar aid by concentrating on expanding our trade with



Sir Stafford Cripps

the dominions and colonies and developing planned bilateral exchanges of goods with the U. S. S. R. and the Eastern European bloc?

This is not to say that Britain shows any sign of a complete polarization of opinion, as in Italy and France, between capitalist pro-American and Communist pro-Soviet groups. Not perhaps fully appreciating how grim the economic outlook is, and how precarious the situation

of this densely populated island, the British public—or at any rate that large slab of it which can be called, broadly, social democratic—still wants Britain and the British government to pursue a quiet middle-of-the-road course. The trouble is that in the middle of the road there are as many shellholes as on the East versus West sidewalks from which Mr. Lippmann's "cold war" is being waged.

Panama on the Seven Seas

BY MICHAEL BARKER

THE New York water front today is the scene of amazing happenings that recall the stories of the shanghaiing of sailors on the Frisco and London water fronts in the 1860's. Seamen are being plied with drink and lured on to foreign vessels by South Street shipping crimps; aliens are forced to pay for the privilege of working; men on a ship reaching its home port are transferred against their will to another ship of the same company, where they must accept less pay and worse conditions.

All this derives from the discovery by American ship-owners that they can save money by flying the flag of another nation. They can operate their vessels "dirt cheap," they have found, simply by transferring them to Panamanian or Honduran registry. They do this either directly, while retaining ownership, or by forming a dummy Panamanian or Honduran corporation which they control. The procedure has proved so attractive that already the merchant marine of the Republic of Panama (population 635,836) is the third biggest in the world, with 1,500 ships and 2,000,000 registered net tonnage, the major part being in reality owned by Americans, by aliens who are legal residents of this country, or by shipping companies in which Americans have invested most of the capital. Since ships under the Panamanian flag are troubled by no regulation regarding the payment of a fixed wage, are relieved of any necessity to pass the strict American marine inspection regarding upkeep of the vessels, seaworthiness, safety precautions, and fire-fighting appliances, and enjoy extremely low registration fees and immunity from corporation taxes, it is small wonder that many of our less scrupulous operators have seized such an excellent opportunity to make a profit.

In addition to the ships already in commission, of which 192 were transferred to Honduran and Panamanian registry between the end of the war and last June, the sale of 110 others has been approved by the Maritime Commission. Another 143 ships have been filed for sale and transfer with the Maritime Commission. The approximate net registered tonnage of these 253 additional ships, most of them built during the war, is 1,500,000 tons.

The majority of established, reputable American steamship companies frown on the transfer practice. With a few notable exceptions the dummy corporations have been formed by a host of small-time, "fly-by-night" operators who buy a few ships and hope to undercut their competitors through cheap and shoddy operating methods. While most of these Panamanian and Honduran corporations are controlled by Americans, some are operated by Greeks, British, Norwegians, or Portuguese. To avoid a brush with the maritime unions, several American shipowners have formed dummy Greek corporations as a blind, which have in turn formed Panamanian or Honduran corporations.

Wages paid on these ships may be as low as \$50 a month for an ordinary seaman as compared with \$155 on American ships (N. M. U. scale), \$87.50 a month for an able-bodied seaman as compared with \$180, \$90 a month for an oiler as compared with \$180 and \$197.75 (Diesel), and \$400 for a master as compared with \$668. However, it is impossible to quote a minimum wage for these hybrid ships, since on two Greek-Honduran vessels a number of Greeks, many of them not seamen, paid as much as \$50 apiece for the privilege of taking the vessels from Piraeus to New York, because they were so anxious to return to the United States.

MICHAEL BARKER has been seven years at sea, sailing on American, Panamanian, Honduran, British, and Finnish ships. He has recently been investigating water-front conditions for the National Maritime Union.

WITH this huge fleet to man at substandard wages and under substandard working conditions, the ship operators are hard pressed to obtain crews. Numerous "crimping joints," dignified by the title of shipping agencies, have been set up around South Street, New

York, to hire alien and American seamen, stranded on the beach, for Panamanian ships. These agencies receive \$12 for every unlicensed man they ship out and \$20 for every officer. One character thus employed, known locally as "Shanghai Mike," unable to meet the demand, sends out runners to pick up drunks in the bars and on the park benches of the neighborhood. The runners give their victims more to drink and when they have made them sufficiently befuddled, lure them to a ship or train, where a company official takes over. A parting gift of a bottle of "hooch" keeps them satisfied and comatose until their ship is out at sea.

"Paddy," a stocky young Irish fireman, was told by a British union official in London that if he jumped his British ship in New York he would easily be able to find an American ship which would take him to South Africa to rejoin his wife and child. Paddy quickly learned, however, that he could not get American seaman's papers and found himself stranded in New York. Rather than sign with a Panamanian ship that might dump him in China, he became a runner for Shanghai Mike, enticing drunks on to short-handed ships due to sail. "I would buy them a bottle or a new pair of dungarees, 'spring' their laundry, do anything to get Mike his twelve bucks and expenses," said Paddy. He added, "Now if I can get him run off the water front, I'll be happy."

Because several European governments, including the British and Norwegian, officially oppose the policy of providing crews for foreign-flag vessels, international shipping crimps operate in a number of countries. Hundreds of men have been sent to New York and other ports to sail on American ships under the Panama flag. Before they leave their own country they are told that they are to sail on a ship under their own flag, but once on board they find she is Panamanian or Honduran. They are of course unprotected by their own maritime laws while on a foreign vessel and could not claim one penny's compensation for disablement.

On a number of Panamanian ships crews sign not legal articles but a slip of paper stating they are a member of the crew. This permits the master to leave any of his seamen stranded wherever he wishes. Thus a Panamanian vessel obtained her crew in England, sailed to Greece, and took on a supernumerary crew of Greeks willing to work for 40 cents an hour. From Greece she sailed to an American port, where the British crew was dumped. These men then had to choose between taking out another newly transferred American vessel or starving on the beach.

One American-owned Panamanian corporation makes it a practice to sign on a crew in Portugal at a stated wage and after the ship is at sea to reduce the monthly pay of many of the men on the ground that they are incapable of performing their duties. These men, being

Europeans, cannot leave the ship, paid off, in her home port of Philadelphia but can be transferred to another ship at the company's will and against their own wishes.

Since Panamanian ships are often forced to employ officers who have obtained licenses from the Panamanian consul after an entirely inadequate course of study in engineering and navigation, with no properly supervised examinations, accidents are common and vessels deteriorate rapidly. One ship, while in the port of New York, was reported to be creating a fire hazard by the leakage of hot oil from the filter pipes to the deck plates; it caught fire ten days later. On a thirty-two-year old Panamanian vessel held together by rust, holes were chipped in the hatch-combing of a hold containing 10,000 drums of high-test gasoline. The chipping caused sparks, and as if that were not danger enough all hands smoked on deck, despite strong fumes from the ventilators of the hatches.

AMERICAN taxpayers paid \$20,000,000,000 to build their war-time merchant fleet. Millions of dollars are lost annually to the government, and indirectly to the taxpayers, through the non-payment of American-port registry fees and the evasion of corporation taxes by American-owned vessels operating under a foreign flag. The cost of registering a ship in Panama City is only \$1 per net registered ton, plus \$75 in consular fees. The only further charge is an annual tax of 10 cents per net registered ton. If a corporation earns 95 per cent of its profits outside the Republic of Panama, it pays no corporation taxes there.

Both the United States government and the heads of the army and navy insist that the existence of a large merchant fleet is essential for our national defense. At the outbreak of war the shortage of trained officers and seamen caused serious immobilization and delays. Unskilled men, improperly trained, were hustled on to the ships. Unnecessary accidents, shipwrecks, and collisions in convoy resulted. In the first year of the war the fatal casualties on American ships sunk were 50 per cent of the personnel, as against 7 per cent on Norwegian ships.

Already the American merchant marine is down to 11,000,000 tons of commissioned shipping, below its 1941 strength. The transfer of our war-built ships to foreign registry, with their consequent deterioration under incompetent and indifferent management, will deplete it to the point where it will not only be unable to supply the skilled personnel needed in a time of crisis, but will be too small, even, to train recruits for the industry in sufficient numbers. On the other hand, if American-owned ships are returned to American registry, the seamen now sailing them can still be employed, and in addition thousands of newcomers will be enabled to adopt a fine and attractive career.

Del Vayo—"Democracy" East and West

THE meeting of the European Socialist parties—the fourth in the past two years—is scheduled for the last week of November in Belgium. None of the previous reunions could reach agreement on the question of reconstituting the Socialist International; the creation of the Communist Information Bureau in Belgrade and the storm it has aroused on the left are certain to enlarge the area of disagreement at the coming congress.

The obstacles in the way of uniting Socialists of different tendencies on a common platform are both tactical and doctrinal in nature. One that is likely to provoke impassioned debate at Antwerp is the division of views on the new concepts of democracy in Europe. Here in the United States the problem has never been seriously examined: first, because only a few Socialists in this country have been brought up in the classic Marxist tradition; second, because they do not constitute a party capable of influencing American politics; and, finally, because discussions in the *New Leader* and comparable publications have been heavily weighted with invective against any European Socialist who does not accept—unconditionally—the anti-Russian line.

It is to the credit of the French party that despite the growing anti-Communist tendency reflected at its Lyon congress in August and more recently in the campaign speeches of Léon Blum, those Socialists who argue the necessity of common action with the Communists have been allowed to express their views without being accused of disloyalty.

This tolerance of theoretical differences which, before the First World War, made possible the presence in the same party of a right-winger like Bernstein and a brilliant leftist like Rosa Luxemburg, is reflected in many of the official publications of the French party. *La Revue Socialiste*, for example, recently opened its pages to an absorbing discussion between Lotar Radaceanu, Socialist Minister of Labor in the Rumanian Cabinet and an ardent supporter of working-class unity, and Titel Petrescu, leader of the Socialist faction which opposes any form of cooperation with the Communists.

In Radaceanu's view one can no longer talk of "democracy" in abstract or general terms. Democracy, he insists, is one thing when practiced in London, another when practiced in Bucharest. "From the point of view of the working class . . .," he says, "to recommend, after the overthrow of the dictatorial power that enslaved our country with the help of a section of the population, that our people accept and allow to be transplanted to Rumanian soil a formal democracy such as has been developed in the advanced capitalist countries of the West—in England, Switzerland, Sweden—is to propose our elimination as a potential democracy of the future." Radaceanu does not limit himself to a defense of left strategy in Rumania but discusses in broad terms the whole concept of democracy, classical and modern.

In recent months I have devoted several columns to this continuing debate among European intellectuals on liberal democracy versus *démocratie massive*. The right Socialist and

his sympathizers base their position chiefly on the rights of the individual: the left Socialist interprets democracy above all in terms of a regime that can defend itself effectively against fascist revival and make possible a transformation of the economic and social structure without which the word democracy is meaningless. To the genuine Marxist a political idea has no value, indeed no existence, except in and through the mass. Nationalization of the British steel industry is for him a more convincing demonstration of democracy than an abstraction like "freedom of the press," which in practice may permit a few vested interests to control the newspapers.

Though nationalization was successfully perverted to the uses of fascism, under any popular regime it represents a tremendous step toward democracy. In the Balkan and Central European states a nationalization policy would have had little chance except under the existing coalition regimes which wrested power from the pre-war feudal oligarchies. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive the nationalization of major industries in the West or the East without transfer of power to the workers. This may take place in different ways, depending on the situation which obtains in each country. In an interview with Harold Laski, Stalin himself conceded that the process might occur without revolution or dictatorship in England and the United States; on the other hand many Socialists agree that force is inevitable in politically backward countries ruled by an entrenched upper class.

However intense this controversy may be, however, it should not be allowed to degenerate into a fratricidal fight among the Socialists themselves or into one between Socialists and Communists. During the war both parties frankly admitted that the split in the working class had contributed to the rise of fascism and the outbreak of war. The first official statement of the German Communists after the war acknowledged their tragic error in having fought the Socialists while the real enemy climbed to power. One would think that the two groups might have learned once and for all the lesson taught them, without distinction, in the torture chambers of the Gestapo. Now it becomes apparent that the Communists and the right Socialists in most countries have learned nothing. Today Europe has but two alternatives: either governments patterned after the De Gasperi regime which in the long run will serve, like the Brüning government in Germany, as vehicles for the return of the fascists to power; or governments based on Socialists, Communists, and progressive elements—the popular front. The denunciation of moderate Socialists and liberals voiced in the manifesto of the new Communist Information Bureau and the angry rebuttal of the Socialists suggest that the advocates of working-class unity will have rough going at Antwerp. But they will be strengthened in their fight by the conviction that their program is the only one which can save Europe from an imminent swing to the right and the eventual rise of a new fascism more skilled in its techniques of repression and far more difficult to smash than the earlier model.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Art of Planning

IN CURRENT discussions of economic affairs few words are used more frequently, and more carelessly, than "planning." Employed by people to whom any kind of positive government intervention in the economy is anathema, the word is endowed with overtones of unmitigated evil; anything planned by government is *ipso facto* damned. At the opposite extreme are some liberals to whom the word has become a talisman, who think "planning" is the solution for almost any social or economic problem. Both these attitudes seem to me to be dangerous to clear thinking. For in itself the idea of government economic planning is neutral; whether it is good or evil depends on the ends it serves and the means by which it is applied.

All those interested in planning, whether they are opponents or advocates, will find a stimulating discussion of the fundamentals of the subject in a slim pamphlet recently published by the Harvard University Press ("Central Planning and Control in War and Peace," 50 cents). It contains the text of three lectures delivered last spring at the London School of Economics and Political Science by Sir Oliver Franks, who, though he approaches the subject in terms of British problems, has much to say that is pertinent to planning in any democratic society.

An unusual feature of these lectures is that their author, as he is careful to point out, is neither a professional economist nor a student of politics. He is a philosopher who at one time occupied the chair of moral philosophy at Glasgow University and is now provost of Queen's College, Oxford. During the war, however, he was drafted from academic life to serve in the Ministry of Supply, where he became one of the top officials. Recently he was again summoned by the government to head the British team of experts at the Paris conference on the Marshall plan. Thus he combines practical knowledge of planning with a certain detachment.

I have no idea what political party, if any, Sir Oliver Franks adheres to, but it would be my guess that temperamentally he is a moderate conservative. Certainly he approaches the subject of planning with no bias in its favor. On the contrary, his war-time experiences seem to have impressed him with the difficulties, and even the risks, of government direction of the economy in peace time. Nevertheless, he has reached the conclusion that government planning and control of industry and trade are as essential to Britain in peace as they were in war. Only so, he believes, will it be possible to deal with the paramount problem of foreign trade, to insure the export of goods in sufficient volume to pay for the huge total of imports that Britain needs to support even a reduced standard of living. To accomplish this task the government must be in a position to estimate national productivity and decide how to divide

the expected product between home and foreign markets.

Convinced as he is that planning is inevitable, Sir Oliver Franks is very concerned about the dangers of over-planning. The government, he thinks, should endeavor to reach its objectives without the aid of those large and complicated mechanisms, some of which he describes in his first lecture, that war-time exigencies demanded. While the determination of over-all economic policy must be centralized, its successful implementation, he suggests, depends on the "diffusion of initiative." Attempts to control every detail of the program are all too likely to lead to a breakdown of the overworked administrative machine. Industry and commerce, therefore, must be treated as partners in a national enterprise rather than as instruments of government policy.

This leads to another point. The successful organization of economic planning must be based on a unity of purpose which is accepted and understood by all concerned—workers and business men as well as Cabinet ministers and civil servants. In war time that was much simpler: unity was generated by the "march of events." But in peace time national purposes are apt to be "multiple, vague, and fluctuating"; so that the unity demanded by planning must be created by a deliberate act of will on the part of the government. When the ministers have formulated what they believe should be the national purpose and have decided on a general plan for the economy which is calculated to achieve it, they must nail their colors "to the mast and not to the fence." And they must use leadership to secure the public's acceptance of the purpose and understanding of the plan.

Planning, therefore, calls for a high degree of courage and leadership at the top. It also calls for close coordination among the various departments, including some whose functions are not, strictly speaking, economic. As Sir Oliver says, central planning precludes a government from having a number of more or less unrelated policies. "Housing, social security, exports, education, and defense are all factors in the general plan; the extent to which resources can be devoted to each is determined when the general balance is struck. The idea, then, which is expressed in import and export programs must be an outline scheme of management for the total economy, offering certain results in the standard of living to the people."

Sir Oliver makes no attempt to examine the actual plans of the Labor government in the light of the principles he outlines. But it is no secret that Mr. Attlee and his colleagues owe some of their difficulties to the fact that they set out with too many insufficiently coordinated plans and no over-all plan geared to the basic necessity of expanded exports. Consequently, to quote just one example, the housing target has been missed because houses cannot be built without foreign timber. The appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps as chief economic planner and coordinator is a step which should help to remedy this mistake. Certainly no man has a better intellectual grasp of the problems involved. But as this discussion is intended to suggest, planning, although it uses many scientific techniques, is an art rather than a science. In addition to a cool brain it calls for those intuitive qualities that go with the mystery of leadership. Warm admirer of Cripps as I am, I am inclined to doubt whether those qualities are among his many gifts.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Byrnes Tells Almost All

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THE best advice former Secretary of State Byrnes offers in his revealing new book is to be patient in the contemplation of international affairs. Americans who, forgetting this admonition, let the bitter words of Vishinsky and other Russians arouse them to angry demands for Soviet blood only hasten the world toward explosion into a new war or at best drag down American diplomacy until it becomes futile gesturing. The great value of Byrnes's book lies in its recapitulation of the victories that the United States has achieved diplomatically, by patient plodding under stress, since the conclusion of World War II.

Byrnes reminds us that America persuaded Russia to remove its troops from Iran, and that the United Nations sent a mission to Greece to investigate the border battles in spite of initial Russian disapproval. He recalls that Russia and the United States created the mechanism for the control of occupied Japan which at its birth seemed to give Russia a voice in Japanese affairs but which actually has kept General MacArthur master of the situation. These successes, and also the five satellite treaties which went into effect a month ago, emerged from disagreements as profound as those over Korea, Austria, and Germany which today blacken the outlook for peace.

Byrnes's counsel of patience, however, has become so difficult to accept in this period of strain that he himself rejects it. "I have not lost hope [for world political stability]," he wrote. "I would say that our policy should be one of firmness and patience." Yet in speaking over the radio on his book's publication day, October 15, Byrnes abandoned himself to a prediction that war might come unless Russia improved its behavior. Even in the book itself, discussing the need for "firmness," he said impatiently, "We must use our best efforts to develop better bombs and more of them." That might provide a pragmatically sound—but terrifying—

basis for a foreign policy if the existence of the A-bomb scared the Russians back inside their ancient boundaries. So far it has not.

The book is a major political document. It focuses on American relations with Russia from January, 1945, when Byrnes was ordered by President Roosevelt to come along to the Yalta conference, to January, 1947, when he resigned as Secretary of State. The man has always been a mercurial person, subject to quick shifts of opinion and emotion. Molotov, to whom "any exhibition of impatience or bad temper by others gives amusement," goaded him into losing his temper during the Paris peace conference in 1946. But his two-year period of responsibility for United States foreign affairs sternly educated and hardened him. He had become a firm man when he left office, and he had learned how to negotiate with Molotov. Is it possible that our present dilemma is partly due to the sudden replacement of Byrnes with a man who had only a vague notion how to proceed in dealing with the high officials of the Soviet government?

Almost the entire course of Byrnes's brief career in diplomacy was a test of patience. Russia dismayed him immediately after the Yalta conference by rejecting American interpretations of agreements made there. Vishinsky reconstituted the Rumanian government without consulting the Western Allies. The Kremlin insisted that "broadening" the Polish government meant adding men pleasing to the Moscow-manufactured Lublin regime. Stalin accused America and Britain of seeking a separate peace with Germany when they arranged at Berne in March for General Kesselring to meet General Alexander at Caserta to discuss the surrender of the Italian army.

The important disclosure that Byrnes makes in connection with those three happenings is that President Roosevelt himself was coming close to disillusionment. Roosevelt told Churchill on March 27, 1945, that "he was acutely aware of the dangers inherent in the present course of events." He added,

"We must be firm." Roosevelt and Churchill on April 1 sent a joint note to Stalin protesting against Russian interpretations of Yalta, and the State Department and the British Foreign Office were preparing another note when Roosevelt died on April 12.

It was in this atmosphere that Truman asked Byrnes, while both were returning from the funeral at Hyde Park, to become his Secretary of State—not at once, but at the conclusion of the forthcoming San Francisco Conference on the United Nations. The supposition that Truman and Byrnes destroyed a perfect understanding cementing Roosevelt and Stalin is interred by this book. But in the present time of crisis it is necessary to recall the message Roosevelt sent to Churchill one hour before his death: "I would minimize the general Soviet problem as much as possible because these problems, in one form or another, seem to arise every day and *most of them straighten out*, as in the case of the Berne meeting." Most of them may continue to "straighten out" if we do not let panic seize us.

Considering the public temper, Byrnes was an able Secretary of State. Why he left the post he does not explain. Perhaps he angered Truman during the Wallace crisis. Byrnes reveals that he resigned by teletype from Paris when Wallace attacked the foreign policy Byrnes was developing. To keep his Secretary of State, Truman sacked the Secretary of Commerce. But Byrnes soon followed.

His key problem in office was to determine the aims of Soviet policy. He thought he had the answer in the territorial discussions Molotov had with Hitler and Ribbentrop during the period of the Russo-German pact—control of the Dardanelles and all the region south of the U. S. S. R. toward the Indian Ocean, North Sakhalin, and various European areas—something short of world domination but a large region. Byrnes accepted Karl Marx as his guide for diplomatic action to frustrate Soviet realization of those ambitions—Marx who wrote of czarist Russia, "If the other

powers hold firm, Russia is sure to retire in a very decent manner."

It is the patience and the firmness advocated by Byrnes betray a kind of chauvinism; he seems to assume that right and principle are almost always on our side. We need another book questioning whether the Russians, from their point of view, have had reasonable cause to suspect us of ill-will toward them. Within a year we may get some light on this point from the memoirs of Harry Hopkins.

BLAIR BOLLES

Concerning Existentialism

EXISTENTIALISM. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Bernard Frechtman. Philosophical Library. \$2.75.

WHAT IS EXISTENTIALISM? By William Barrett. Partisan Review Series. 0 cents.

WHETHER its future may be, existentialism has come a long way. Everybody is talking about it, a delightful lack of clarity pervades it, and an American publisher is selling a little lecture of Sartre's for a ridiculously high price. The lecture happens to be a bad one, deficient philosophically as it is full of energy and pleasantry. "There is no human nature," Sartre announces, "once there is no God to conceive it." And we go on to learn the "first principle of existentialism," that "man is nothing else but what he makes of himself." Fortunately, in the present instance, we are served better by the philosophichistorian. Dr. Barrett's essay is really worth reading. It is sensitively written, discerning—and only rarely extravagant—in its historical judgments, habitable, and yet soberly critical.

Barrett dotes a good deal of attention to the work of Martin Heidegger, otherwise inaccessible to American readers and to philosophers guided by the ordinary canons of intelligibility. Wisely refraining from the attempt to assemble a set of doctrines, he offers his own version of the traits that define existentialism. For, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche, he suggests, are "purer" existentialists than the official systematizers, Heidegger and Jaspers; they have "a superior sense of fact." I don't think it a part of Barrett's meaning to imply a distinction between sense of fact and

knowledge of fact. But in any case it would not be to the existentialists, official or unofficial, that one would ascribe mastery of fact, especially in matters human: it would be to Plato and Aristotle, Hobbes and Hume. The merit of the existentialists has been rather to distinguish the unusual, the arresting, the evanescent, the surprisingly pertinent in human experience: they have swelled rather than modified the fund of perception. Barrett is on surer ground when he says that the original "existential task" was to address the individual, the unique man longing for salvation, and that Heidegger himself departed from this task in his remote metaphysics.

Barrett sees existentialism as part of a larger, century-old enterprise which he calls "the search for the concrete." Unhappy term, "concrete"—as unsatisfactory in Barrett as in Whitehead and William James. But it is clear that what the existentialists look for in the appeal to "concreteness" is the emotional content that can be discovered in things. Barrett's way of putting this is to mark existentialism as a phase of romanticism, and Heidegger's philosophy in particular as "the scholasticism of the romantic individual." The movement reflects the quest for humanity in living, an intensity which the super-technological century appears to be destroying relentlessly. Existentialism has resulted in "an extraordinary widening and enrichment of data," but Barrett deplores the growing gulf that separates it from so-called analytic philosophy. Moreover, Sartre's existentialism, he feels, dwells too much on the phenomenological surface and could profit—in its examination of anti-Semitism, for instance—from psychoanalysis, which "dares to go below the surface." And, finally, he believes that when existentialism lapses into idealism it "loses its pungency, its sense of fact." Barrett might have asked, more plainly and explicitly, just what senses of "existence" are involved in all the clamor. No doubt existentialists would be found to differ with respect to whether the "existence" that interests them is the immediate foreground of experience or the great environment of nature. But pungency is not what would be at stake in their answer; in fact, nothing would be but the extent of existentialist mythology.

It is not easy at present to evaluate

or place existentialism. To call it a mere reflection of modern confusion or "an assault on reason," as some responsible persons have done, seems at best an oversimplification. Existentialist writers have caught forcefully the great fact of tragedy in modern society. Since the rediscovery of Kierkegaard—a true progenitor, if ever there was one—they have been inventing and exploiting a new set of moral categories: despair, the will to be guilty, the choice of oneself, the absurd, the absolute decision. High-sounding terms! I wish Barrett had pointed out that the spectacular and the novel are not sufficient conditions for depth in ethical thinking. He, incidentally, is of the opinion that despite Kierkegaard's case, romanticism is basically incompatible with the Christian tradition. But this does not account for the peculiar fervency of existentialism, the religious romanticism of men like Unamuno, and the fact that there are Christian existentialists. Sartre, in the present lecture, emphasizes his atheism and its importance as giving meaning to the idea of human forlornness. Yet this is an evangelical atheism. The emotion with which the existentialist categories are filled has a curiously ancient theological flavor. The whole movement is zealously therapeutic, even in its concern for secular salvation.

Existentialism as a moral philosophy is thrust forth rather than developed and argued. And in a way the literary brilliance of its exponents obviates dialectical justifications. Certainly if one had to choose between the literary species of existentialism and the dense verbosity of its formal metaphysics, the decision would not be difficult. Thus far, at least, the greater success has been in narrative, semi-biographical, and dramatic contexts, where standards of explication and rigor are irrelevant. As logical positivism once came to liberate men from the duty of understanding historical speculation, so official existentialism threatens to liberate them from precision and intellectual discipline. It has not fully grasped the fact that paradox and terminological wit are instruments, not ends. The distinctiveness it can claim still lies in the quality of its imaginings. In vain does Sartre pontificate that "subjectivity must be the starting-point," that "existence precedes essence," that "before there

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The important disclosure that Byrnes makes in connection with those three happenings is that President Roosevelt himself was coming close to disillusionment. Roosevelt told Churchill on March 27, 1945, that "he was acutely aware of the dangers inherent in the present course of events." He added,

"We must be firm." Roosevelt and Churchill on April 1 sent a joint note to Stalin protesting against Russian interpretations of Yalta, and the State Department and the British Foreign Office were preparing another note when Roosevelt died on April 12.

It was in this atmosphere that Truman asked Byrnes, while both were returning from the funeral at Hyde Park, to become his Secretary of State—not at once, but at the conclusion of the forthcoming San Francisco Conference on the United Nations. The supposition that Truman and Byrnes destroyed a perfect understanding cementing Roosevelt and Stalin is interred by this book. But in the present time of crisis it is necessary to recall the message Roosevelt sent to Churchill one hour before his death: "I would minimize the general Soviet problem as much as possible because these problems, in one form or another, seem to arise every day and *most of them straighten out*, as in the case of the Berne meeting." Most of them may continue to "straighten out" if we do not let panic seize us.

Considering the public temper, Byrnes was an able Secretary of State. Why he left the post he does not explain. Perhaps he angered Truman during the Wallace crisis. Byrnes reveals that he resigned by teletype from Paris when Wallace attacked the foreign policy Byrnes was developing. To keep his Secretary of State, Truman sacked the Secretary of Commerce. But Byrnes soon followed.

His key problem in office was to determine the aims of Soviet policy. He thought he had the answer in the territorial discussions Molotov had with Hitler and Ribbentrop during the period of the Russo-German pact—control of the Dardanelles and all the region south of the U. S. S. R. toward the Indian Ocean, North Sakhalin, and various European areas—something short of world domination but a large region. Byrnes accepted Karl Marx as his guide for diplomatic action to frustrate Soviet realization of those ambitions—Marx who wrote of czarist Russia, "If the other

powers hold firm, Russia is sure to retire in a very decent manner."

Both the patience and the firmness advocated by Byrnes betray a kind of chauvinism; he seems to assume that right and principle are almost always on our side. We need another book questioning whether the Russians, from their point of view, have had reasonable cause to suspect us of ill-will toward them. Within a year we may get some light on this point from the memoirs of Harry Hopkins.

BLAIR BOLLES

Concerning Existentialism

EXISTENTIALISM. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Bernard Frechtman. Philosophical Library. \$2.75.

WHAT IS EXISTENTIALISM? By William Barrett. Partisan Review Series. 50 cents.

WHATEVER its future may be, existentialism has come a long way. Everybody is talking about it, a delightful lack of clarity pervades it, and an American publisher is selling a little lecture of Sartre's for a ridiculously high price. The lecture happens to be a bad one, as deficient philosophically as it is full of energy and pleasantry. "There is no human nature," Sartre announces, "since there is no God to conceive it." And we go on to learn the "first principle of existentialism," that "man is nothing else but what he makes of himself." Fortunately, in the present instance, we are served better by the philosophic historian. Dr. Barrett's essay is really worth reading. It is sensitively written, discerning—and only rarely extravagant—in its historical judgments, charitable, and yet soberly critical.

Barrett devotes a good deal of attention to the work of Martin Heidegger, otherwise inaccessible to American readers and to philosophers guided by the ordinary canons of intelligibility. Wisely refraining from the attempt to assemble a set of doctrines, he offers his own version of the traits that define existentialism. Pascal, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche, he suggests, are "purer" existentialists than the official systematizers, Heidegger and Jaspers; they have "a superior sense of fact." I don't think it is part of Barrett's meaning to imply a distinction between sense of fact and

knowledge of fact. But in any case it would not be to the existentialists, official or unofficial, that one would ascribe mastery of fact, especially in matters human: it would be to Plato and Aristotle, Hobbes and Hume. The merit of the existentialists has been rather to distinguish the unusual, the arresting, the evanescent, the surprisingly pertinent in human experience: they have swelled rather than modified the fund of perception. Barrett is on surer ground when he says that the original "existential task" was to address the individual, the unique man longing for salvation, and that Heidegger himself departed from this task in his remote metaphysics.

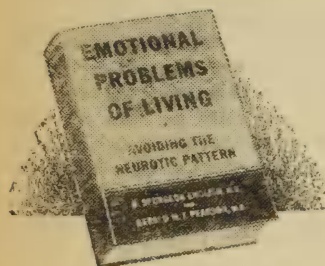
Barrett sees existentialism as part of a larger, century-old enterprise which he calls "the search for the concrete." Unhappy term, "concrete"—as unsatisfactory in Barrett as in Whitehead and William James. But it is clear that what the existentialists look for in the appeal to "concreteness" is the emotional content that can be discovered in things. Barrett's way of putting this is to mark existentialism as a phase of romanticism, and Heidegger's philosophy in particular as "the scholasticism of the romantic individual." The movement reflects the quest for intensity in living, an intensity which this super-technological century appears to be destroying relentlessly. Existentialism has resulted in "an extraordinary widening and enrichment of data," but Barrett deplors the growing gulf that separates it from so-called analytic philosophy. Moreover, Sartre's existentialism, he feels, dwells too much on the phenomenological surface and could profit—in its examination of anti-Semitism, for instance—from psychoanalysis, which "dares to go below the surface." And, finally, he believes that when existentialism lapses into idealism it "loses its pungency, its sense of fact." Barrett might have asked, more plainly and explicitly, just what senses of "existence" are involved in all the clamor. No doubt existentialists would be found to differ with respect to whether the "existence" that interests them is the immediate foreground of experience or the great environment of nature. But pungency is not what would be at stake in their answer; in fact, nothing would be but the extent of existentialist mythology.

It is not easy at present to evaluate

or place existentialism. To call it a mere reflection of modern confusion or "an assault on reason," as some responsible persons have done, seems at best an oversimplification. Existentialist writers have caught forcefully the great fact of tragedy in modern society. Since the rediscovery of Kierkegaard—a true progenitor, if ever there was one—they have been inventing and exploiting a new set of moral categories: despair, the will to be guilty, the choice of oneself, the absurd, the absolute decision. High-sounding terms! I wish Barrett had pointed out that the spectacular and the novel are not sufficient conditions for depth in ethical thinking. He, incidentally, is of the opinion that despite Kierkegaard's case, romanticism is basically incompatible with the Christian tradition. But this does not account for the peculiar fervency of existentialism, the religious romanticism of men like Unamuno, and the fact that there are Christian existentialists. Sartre, in the present lecture, emphasizes his atheism and its importance as giving meaning to the idea of human forlornness. Yet this is an evangelical atheism. The emotion with which the existentialist categories are filled has a curiously ancient theological flavor. The whole movement is zealously therapeutic, even in its concern for secular salvation.

Existentialism as a moral philosophy is thrust forth rather than developed and argued. And in a way the literary brilliance of its exponents obviates dialectical justifications. Certainly if one had to choose between the literary species of existentialism and the dense verbosity of its formal metaphysics, the decision would not be difficult. Thus far, at least, the greater success has been in narrative, semi-biographical, and dramatic contexts, where standards of explication and rigor are irrelevant. As logical positivism once came to liberate men from the duty of understanding historical speculation, so official existentialism threatens to liberate them from precision and intellectual discipline. It has not fully grasped the fact that paradox and terminological wit are instruments, not ends. The distinctiveness it can claim still lies in the quality of its imaginings. In vain does Sartre pontificate that "subjectivity must be the starting-point," that "existence precedes essence," that "before there

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can be any truth whatsoever there must be an absolute truth." For Sartre's talents the spontaneous theology of Kierkegaard, innocent of philosophic responsibility, would seem to be the more promising model. Maybe the public, as Aristotle suggested, can be relied upon to make the ultimate literary choice. It will continue to favor Kierkegaard, Dostoevsky, and Sartre's own fiction.

JUSTUS BUCHLER

Twelve Days on Iwo Jima

THE ASSAULT. By Allen R. Matthews.
Simon and Schuster, \$2.50.

IT IS not dulness of spirit that makes the average man decide that it is enough to have read three or four "combat books," but a wise economy of his powers to resist anxiety. I should not, therefore, urge *Nation* subscribers to read "The Assault" if it were merely another excellent book of the sort. It is a good book, uncommonly good, and its material is twelve days' experience of Iwo Jima, surely the most terrible of the Pacific encounters.

Long ago Stendhal, who knew something of war, wrote the classic description of battle in "La Chartreuse de Parme." His hero canters about the landscape looking for the battle and when it is over believes he has not found it. That description has often been criticized as a *blague* or as something which progress in the art of mass extermination has outmoded. Mr. Matthews's book confirms Stendhal, though his experience was unlike that of Fabrice del Dongo in that there was hardly a moment of those twelve days when danger was not within an inch of his cheekbones. Nature, to keep men up to scratch, or out of mere pique, even provided an earthquake, and fox-holes were apt to fill up with hot sulphurous steam. But other writers about battle, the author says, appear to have seen too much. Battles to those engaged in them do not have geometrical shapes. There is nothing consecutive or logical about the movements the soldier glimpses around him. Men run fitfully or crouch in odd postures; they shout and gesticulate, fall down or writhe and lie still, but all this is seen only at moments, when someone staggers through the fog of fear and frantic obsession.

There are many good objective descriptions in this book, but in its distinctive quality it reminds one of Camus's "The Stranger." Camus's man, in his unconscious effort to reject all engagement with life, wanders like a somnambulist through a brilliantly described world. Upon Iwo Jima the desperate effort to blanket out fear, to bludgeon the instincts into turning against themselves, produced a kind of somnambulism in which reason behaved like an obsessed manikin, yet somehow an effective one. "The Assault," in which the other ingredients of a combat book are present in good measure and quality, is remarkable in this respect. It is, as it were, a superb textbook for the study of the conflict between two mechanisms; on the one side duty and remembered training, on the other, fear. One sees how the desire to do things the right way—so small an incentive?—operates within a storm of near-panic. In the presence of huge fear the other emotions flash like fireflies, briefly. Resentment of the command, anger at blundering comrades, relief, enjoyment. And one also sees clearly how the very inability to grasp the whole enables the will to survive. A man's *felt* world of relations is his own small group, and so loyalty remains constant, as constant as fear.

When at the close of his twelve days Mr. Matthews was sent to the rear, dejection was immediate. Reality was back there where his comrades were. Relieved of fear, loyalty instantly spread out beyond the group and covered all the men upon that front. That is the absorbing thing in this book. It is as if the author were reporting a tremendous laboratory experiment. Exhausted men, almost broken, are pulled back out of action. They expect to be sent into rest. The command comes, no one knows quite how, to return to the front. With the suddenness of lightning, anxiety produces a wild, spuming effluence of rumor. Anger, grief, and immediate fear produce only laconic utterances. Anxiety is voluble. Mr. Matthews may think I have missed much that he considers important in his book. I have not. He can write so well, for instance, that if I were still a publisher's editor I should throw overboard all professional etiquette and ask to see his next manuscript.

RALPH BATES

The Philippine Problem

THE PHILIPPINE STORY. By David Bernstein. Farrar, Straus, and Company. \$3.75.

CAN we afford to permit our friendship with the Filipinos to deteriorate into antagonism, hatred, and possible bloodshed? Can we afford to say 'good riddance' to the Filipinos and stand by, bemused, while they stagger in the direction of the Soviet Union?" Thus Mr. Bernstein in the peroration with which he concludes his proposal of a twenty-five-year plan of American aid to be offered "to assist the Filipino people in building an economic structure that will last for generations." At the time he was writing it had not become apparent that the first stagger would be not in the direction of the Soviet Union but in the direction of Franco Spain. This does not rule out the possibility of an ultimate goal which is very different—one of the characteristics of a stagger is that the staggerer may go backward as well as forward—but it does point to the fact that the Philippine problem is perhaps more complicated than the author of this book seems to understand. That problem did not begin when the Americans gave the Filipinos their independence, or when MacArthur was taken at night from Corregidor, or when the Spaniards handed the Islands to the United States some fifteen years before Mr. Bernstein was born. At that time Americans inherited trouble which had been three hundred years in the making, and any attempt to write wisely about the Philippines must have behind it a more than cursory study of the institutions which the Spaniards found there and those which they installed there.

Mr. Bernstein's thesis is that the Philippine Islands and their people emerged from the war in a very difficult position, that they could not at the time afford the independence which had so long been promised them, that the act of giving them that independence has not freed the United States from an obligation to give continued assistance to its former wards. With this thesis few could quarrel. But to put it into force in the form of administrative measures, grants of aid, and so on is a very different matter, and one which sets up question marks all along the line. It was not

for lack of warning of trouble ahead that independence was granted on the promised date with as much panoply as could be summoned by a shattered people standing at attention as best they could while their capital lay in ruins about their feet. No Filipino leader had dared risk his future by asking that the accolade be postponed. No responsible American statesman thought it possible to make the world believe that the delay would be solely for the good of the Filipinos. So the fatal comedy was played as planned; Mr. Bernstein's suggestion

that now it would be nice if the United States offered a twenty-five-year aid plan, against that background and no strings attached, is, in the present state of world tensions, not a very realistic one.

In the main this book is polite, well-informed, and temperate. There is not much in it that will be new to *Nation* readers, but it is useful to have all this information in one place. Mr. Bernstein's knowledge of the Islands dates from his official connection with them during the late war. In 1942, while serving with the OWI, he met the then

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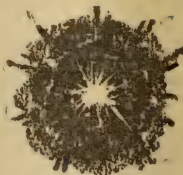
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President, Manuel Quezon, who had been rescued from the Japanese siege by the United States. At the latter's request the author set up the Office of Special Services for the Philippine government in exile, acted as political adviser, helped beam short-wave news and information to the Islands. After the Japanese surrender he became special adviser to Quezon's successor, President Osmeña. He knows many of the leading personalities in government circles, and he does not speak unkindly of his friends, or of the Huks who were not his friends.

Concerning the economic plight of the Islands he says quite rightly that the United States, by giving the Philippines the advantages of free trade, continued that deviation from their native norm which the Spaniards had started. Geographically, they should be a great market sitting astride sea routes in the Asiatic trade. But they were pulled by conquest toward the West, first into the Spanish orbit and then into the American pattern.

In a world consisting almost entirely of "ifs" it is interesting to speculate on what might happen were the Philippines to be cut loose from American ties and left free to resume their old place at the crossroads of an island world off the coast of Asia. Unfortunately the island world is not what it used to be, and has not been for some four hundred years. Neither is Asia, nor the United States, nor Spain, which made all the trouble in the first place.

MILDRED ADAMS

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A Westerner Goes East

RICHER BY ASIA. By Edmond Taylor.
Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.75.

EDMOND TAYLOR, after something over two years in India, Ceylon, and Southeast Asia, from 1943 to 1946, found his intellectual and spiritual life greatly enriched. If the world at large, he feels, could learn what he learned in that experience, it too would grow much richer by Asia. His enrichment consisted in coming to understand for specific reasons what he might have been willing to admit only in disembodied principle before he went there: namely, that Asia and Asians have a right to their own lives free of Western imperialism, which is injurious to them and the imperialists alike; that their cultures have values, chiefly of the mind and the spirit, which the rest of the world should understand and at least in part employ; that through the recognition of these facts mankind can achieve the state of one world which will forestall other wars. Institutions and nations, he tells us, like individuals, quarrel and fight because they suffer from paranoid delusion, which seems to be just another way of saying that they misunderstand one another's motives and needs and give way to panic and irrational conduct expressed by violence. Mr. Taylor's ideas are evidently sound enough, though they are hardly novel and do not in themselves constitute the interesting part of his book.

The real value of the work lies in the author's full and careful statement of the steps by which he reached his convictions. He analyzes his intellectual experiences in the greatest detail, and the subject of the book is actually the education of Edmond Taylor. Since he has unusual powers of self-analysis and a fluid, vivid, and rich prose style, this personal history is absorbing and stimulating, except in a number of spots where excess of detail and repetition tend to relax the attention of the reader.

Mr. Taylor has remarkable skill in investigating individual and public sentiment through conversation and interview, and he has obviously supplemented this by considerable reading and reflection. His book may therefore help other thoughtful men who cannot duplicate his experiences to obtain some measure

of the rich education which he has so conscientiously recorded.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Fiction in Review

A REVIEWER who has persistently battled the popular notion that a novel is as good as its politics must do a bit of backtracking in the case of Humphrey Slater's "The Heretics" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.75). Perhaps, after all, a novel is as good as its political heart in at least this one sense—that if it has a truly sound political core, this healthiness is likely to be reflected in the feeling tone of the whole work. There would certainly seem to be a relation between Mr. Slater's decent political point of view and the fact that his book suffers from none of the weaknesses endemic in our contemporary fiction of good-will; it is not priggish, condescending, or inflated. On the contrary, its manner is beautifully quiet, self-respecting, direct, consistently matching its disciplined political intelligence with a disciplined literary taste.

But unfortunately Mr. Slater's good sense and taste, while they save him from the common pitfalls of current political fiction, seem also to put a strong brake on his novelistic energy. "The Heretics" is lamentably underwritten in point of character development and drama. It is only the suggestion of the fine novel it might have been, a seed rather than a full growth.

Mr. Slater divides his story into two sections, the first dealing with the Albigensian heresies of the early thirteenth century, the second with the Spanish civil war. The connection is only ideological: Mr. Slater is giving us a comparative study in fanaticism. But he also contrives a narrative link by carrying over the names of the chief characters in the first half of the book to the second. Four children are the main actors in the early section of "The Heretics"—a brother and sister, Paul and Elizabeth, their friend Simon, and Moro, the Moorish boy with whom they join forces after their parents are killed as heretics. Seven centuries later a Paul and an Elizabeth, brother and sister, and a friend Simon are again Mr. Slater's principal characters; in the confusion

of the Spanish war, in which the three of them become variously involved—Elizabeth as a correspondent for the English papers, Paul as a Trotskyite soldier, Simon as a Stalinist soldier and spy—the old quartet is completed by Cordova, Elizabeth's Spanish lover. It is a stuntsy contrivance, without either intellectual or emotional vitality.

For the fact is that no more than Mr. Slater's modern characters are present-day counterparts of the Albigenian orphans is the Spanish civil war a modern equivalent of the heresy-hunting of the Middle Ages. "The Heretics" is not saying anything so mechanical as that history repeats itself. What it is saying, if I read it correctly, is that the instinct to fanaticism has been fairly constant throughout history. Just as a dedication to the ideals of the church issued in the reign of terror against the Albigenians, so a dedication to the Soviet ideal produced the ruthlessness of the Spanish Communists; in whatever period, that is, there is a reverse of violence to the coin of principle. Mr. Slater's parallels between the child victims of the church crusades and the Russian *bezprisoni*, between the trials of the heretics and the Moscow trials, between the Nominalist-Realist issue and the theoretical issues of radical dissidence have a more than literal significance. They indicate the paths of thought and feeling that connect man to man over the centuries.

The earlier portion of Mr. Slater's book is historically interesting. It was nevertheless a mistake for Mr. Slater to have included it in the same novel with his Spanish material, which, quite by itself, has such fine fictional potentialities. Probably no one who has written about the Spanish struggle is better qualified for the task than Mr. Slater, both in military knowledge—he fought in the Spanish war and he has published several books on military strategy—and in political insight. "The Heretics" has none of the sentimentality or political ambiguity that marred Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls." Its author is not caught by the myth of heroism, nor is he afraid to move completely into the open with his indictment of the Stalinist command in Spain; the book's most brilliant passage, indeed, is a short satiric chapter describing a meeting of the Operational Policy Commission, three Spaniards and three Russians. Yet de-

spite these advantages, "The Heretics," as a work of the imagination, is not to be compared with Hemingway's Spanish novel. Every human situation in it, every occasion of drama, is, if not entirely thrown away, taken at its lowest pitch—quite as if the whole business of novel-writing were properly conducted only on the scale of a well-bred drawing-room conversation.

And one's disappointment at Mr. Slater's undue reticence turns to bitterness if one happens, as I did, to read "The Heretics" hard upon Frederic Wakeman's "The Saxon Charm" (Rinehart, \$2.75), which is one of the most inept books ever to come my way, and yet one of the most self-proclaiming. The new novel by the author of "The Hucksters" has a novelist as its protagonist and a good deal to say about the profession of literature. Clearly, Mr. Wakeman believes that the writing of novels is a very superior pastime, for he provides opportunity for everyone in his book to acclaim it. Whenever Novelist Eric Busch, hero of "The Saxon Charm," utters an inanity, which is whenever he opens his mouth, there is a bystander to murmur, "What wisdom!" And obviously Novelist Busch would feel no less strongly about Novelist Wakeman than Novelist Wakeman feels about Novelist Busch.

Let other reviewers risk libel by naming the likely original of the villain of Mr. Wakeman's piece, the prodigious play-producer whose genius for the theater is so heavily larded with egotism that it leaves no room for the genius of his playwrights. I am content merely to report that Mr. Wakeman calls him Matt Saxon, and that he comes nowhere near making a credible fictional character out of him. We are intended to understand that Saxon's malign charm was the temporary undoing of a fine writer named Busch who had written a fine play about the life of Molière. (Happily Mr. Wakeman spells Molière correctly; the same cannot be said of his repeated spelling, "Stendahl.") People who can believe in the quality of Busch and of Busch's dramatic effort, or who can even remember with respect that there was such a person as Molière after Mr. Wakeman's manhandling of him, will no doubt also believe in the inordinate power for good and evil of Mr. Saxon. I am not one of them.

But I should add that my untempered response to "The Saxon Charm," however much it may result from the contrast between Mr. Wakeman's entirely unwarranted confidence and Mr. Slater's unwarranted modesty, is also directed to a culture which encourages such cheapness as Mr. Wakeman's and even pays dearly for it. The terms in which the hero of "The Hucksters" left the advertising business and committed himself to the life of art should perfectly have prepared us for the kind of art we get in the novel that follows "The Hucksters." There was every evidence in Mr. Wakeman's book about radio advertising that the point of view of its author was identical with the point of view of its chief character, and that if, after he broke with his old world, Mr. Wakeman's hero went on to be a writer he would simply lay aside his "sincere" neckties for "sincere" ideas. But self-revelation was read as healthy self-criticism, Mr. Wakeman was credited with a conscious act of social usefulness, and anyone who failed to appreciate his service to American life was accused of refusing help when it was offered.

Perhaps the same accusation will be leveled against the critic who fails to welcome Mr. Wakeman's newest seriousness. Perhaps here the ungenerosity will be found to lie in tracing so close a connection between the quality of "The Hucksters" and the quality of "The Saxon Charm," in failing to encourage Mr. Wakeman's journey from Mammon to literature. But I risk the imputation in view of the substantial aid our society makes available for such travelers. The report is that the movies

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Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MAURICE EVANS'S revival of "Man and Superman" (Alvin Theater) is said to be New York's first since 1912. Even the Theater Guild steered clear of it in the days when the Guild was treating Shaw as a staple commodity, and it gave—privately—as its reason the belief that this particular play was too heavily loaded with doctrine to be still viable. But it is obvious now that these fears were groundless. When you leave out the famous scene in hell—which has almost never been played—and forget all the published paraphernalia of preface and appendix, what you have left is a vigorous farce-comedy merely spiced with brains. Indeed, the present reviewer, at least, was struck by nothing more forcefully than by the fact that as time goes on it becomes more and more evident how completely the best of Shaw's plays are in the grand tradition of classical comedy, how relatively superficial is that overlay of "modernity" which once seemed the only reason why they could be considered "important."

At the performance which I attended the audience seemed predominantly "Broadway." I saw no evidence that any considerable number of its members were professional Shavians or, for that matter, that the play was familiar to

them. They burst into laughter at the right moments, but it was the genuine laughter of surprise, not the dutiful laughter of those who know what is expected of them. I doubt that the references to the "life force" and the other specific Shavian doctrines were anything more than rather vague allusions to what are now vague commonplaces.

What the audience was seeing and reacting to was simply a fresh version of one of the oldest comic situations—that, namely, in which a man's surrender to the wiles of a woman is a better joke than usual because he knows what is happening to him and continually protests that it never will. John Tanner may think that he is something new in the world. Nothing like him, so he thinks, could have existed before Marx and Bergson had revealed the truth about the world and the universe. But in actual fact he and Ann are merely Benedict and Beatrice. They are also, especially in the last act where Tanner makes his big speech explaining why he consents to marriage and how different his marriage is going to be from any that ever was in the world before, merely Millamant and Mirabell. Of course they talk a different lingo. They give different reasons for doing what men and women have always done. But the difference between Tanner and Mirabell is no greater than the difference between Mirabell and Benedict. Congreve rewrote Shakespeare in the terms of his age; Shaw rewrites Congreve in the terms of ours. And to say this is, of course, not to belittle Shaw but to exalt him. In no very distant future his doctrines will be either forgot-

ten or taken for granted, and in either case they will be incapable of keeping him alive in the theater or even in the library. But it looks more likely now than it did twenty years ago that his place in dramatic literature is, if not as secure as Shakespeare's, then at least as secure as that of Congreve or Sheridan.

It is obviously out of some such convictions as these that Mr. Evans has staged the play. He has costumed it as a period piece, but in such a way that though there are occasional moments when the result is to make it seem merely quaint, the effect on the whole is less to set the play in a particular time than to take it out of time and to put it in the eternity where comedy belongs. There must have been a temptation to play Tanner either as a tweedy and red-bearded young Shaw or even as a parlor pink of the thirties, but Mr. Evans has chosen instead to play him as a young man who is grotesque in nothing except his ideas, and that I think is right, though I am less sure of the rightness of Frances Rowe's Ann, who is stylized almost as much as the Gwendolin of Mr. Gielgud's "The Importance of Being Earnest." As an isolated figure she is striking and amusing. Her interpretation makes, of course, the point of the contrast between essential woman and the disguise which the sentimentality of the Roebuck Ramsens and the Ricky-Ticky-Tavies make her put on. But that is not the way I have always seen her in my mind's eye, and I should very much like to see an opposite manner tried. In the play Ann is the only person except Tanner who is a

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realist. Indeed, there is less self-deceit in her than there is in him. Her concessions to respectability and decorum have always seemed to me to be, not attempts to deceive, but overtly mocking, and I should like to see her played, not as even externally a Victorian doll, but as a woman whose feminine vitality is almost embarrassingly obvious.

If you leave out of account the pseudo-Ibsenite dramas of his nomenclature, then "Man and Superman" is, of course, the first of Shaw's plays in which he dared to profess preaching as his primary aim. Yet it is also, of all his plays, the one in which he makes most open fun of himself, the one in which the Shavian hero is most decisively put in his place; and Mr. Evans gets the full effect of the final scene in which Ann's "Go right on talking" brings the curtain down upon one of the funniest conclusions in modern comedy. Indeed, when the whole thing is played as he plays it, all the implications of the title except one pretty well fade away. The only real superman is and will remain merely Woman. Perhaps it is worth noting that the line which got the heartiest laugh was Tanner's definition of virtue—in the "limited Victorian sense of the word—as merely "the trade unionism of the married."

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued a new recording of Beethoven's Violin Concerto made by Szigeti with Bruno Walter and the New York Philharmonic (Set 697; \$7.10). I am unable to compare it with the old Columbia recording that Szigeti and Walter made in Europe; but even if my recollection of more excitingly dynamic phrasing by Szigeti in the old performance is correct, his playing in the new one is superb, and Walter again provides it with an excellent orchestral framework. Unfortunately, however, the recorded sound of the new performance is bad—worse even than that of the Brahms concerto performance for which Columbia last year was given its prize for excellence by a jury of prominent record critics acting on behalf of some record magazine. On a wide-range machine the

orchestra is harsh, the violins knife-edged and acidulous, the solo violin wiry and shrill. And I have no doubt whatsoever of my recollection of the beautiful recorded sound of the old performance.

Victor has issued a recording of Bach's Concerto in D minor for two violins made by Heifetz—who plays both solo parts—with a chamber orchestra under Franz Waxman (Set 1136; \$3). Heifetz's playing in the first movement is uncharacteristically straightforward in style, but the joint performance of the movement by soloist and orchestra comes out constrained and jerky. In the slow movement we get the constant swelling and wailing that are characteristic of Heifetz's phrasing, and that carry over into the finale. The recorded sound of the performance lacks some of the spaciousness and richness one expects, but is otherwise good.

Other Columbia recordings include one of Dvorak's Symphony No. 1 played by the Cleveland Orchestra under Leinsdorf (Set 687; \$7.10). The work is engagingly melodious, with a particularly fine opening movement; it is well performed; the recorded sound of the orchestra is clear and bright, though without all the warmth and luster it might have; and some of the surfaces of my copy are poor.

Also Strauss's music for "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme" played by the Pittsburgh Symphony under Reiner (Set 693; \$7.10). The music is luxuriant and sugary, with some pretty tunes and humorous touches; the performance is good and is well reproduced except for the shrill and nasal sound of the solo violin.

And also an effective performance of Dukas's "L'Apprenti sorcier" by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy that is the best-reproduced of the group (12584-D; \$1.25).

On a Victor single disc (10-1323; \$.75) are excerpts from Verdi's "Un Ballo in Maschera" and Giordano's "Andrea Chenier" beautifully sung—a number of years ago, I would guess—by

Bjoerling. On another (10-1325; \$.75) is a piano piece by Schumann that I find uninteresting, his Arabesque Opus 18, which Iturbi plays in his excessively mannered and affected style. The piano is excellently reproduced; but the surfaces of my copy are noisy. And on still another (10-1326; \$.75) are Rubinstein's performances of the Dance of Terror and Ritual Fire Dance from Falla's "El Amor Brujo"—the recorded sound of the piano too hard and bright in the first, dull and strange in the second, and the surfaces of my copy noisy.

From English Decca comes a set (ED28; \$5) of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Russian Easter" Overture played by the National Symphony under Jorda. The work is one of Rimsky's best; ears accustomed to the sensationalized Stokowski performance may find Jorda's too unexciting, but it seems right, and the orchestral playing is very fine; and it is reproduced with marvelous fidelity to timbre, clarity of texture, spaciousness, and brilliance.

Also superbly reproduced is the excellent performance by the London Philharmonic under Sargent of the ballet music from Holst's "The Perfect Fool," which may have been effective with the stage action but is agreeably inconsequential by itself (Set ED31; \$5).

And on a single disc (K1164; \$2) are Handel's *Cave Solvo* from "Atalanta" and *Ob, Sleep! Why Dost Thou Leave Me?* from "Semele," sung with lovely vocal tone (except for the insecure opening phrase of the second piece) by Ada Alsop, soprano, with the Boyd Neel String Orchestra.

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Letters to the Editors

Upon What Meat Doth Our Caesar Feed?

Dear Sirs: Recently in your columns two able writers discussed the relative food value of the salmon and the tuna. But surely both of these excellent varieties are surpassed in importance by a much smaller fish. I refer, of course, to the humble red herring.

Consider how nourishing the red herring is, at least to that relatively small proportion of our population which constitutes our present ruling group, namely, the leaders of the Republican Party and the N. A. M. With its highly diverting odor, the red herring exerts an influence all out of proportion to its size. We all know what it accomplished at the last election.

Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed that he has grown so great? Upon the little red herring, of course.

HUGH STRONG

San Diego, October 11

The A. D. A. and the Marshall Plan

Dear Sirs: In his article Marshall Plan vs. Socialism, in your issue of October 4, J. Alvarez del Vayo stated that "the recent statement of the Americans for Democratic Action unfortunately ignored the inescapable fact [that] if American liberals in their all-out support of the Marshall plan help to defeat socialism in Europe, their own natural allies will be wiped out in the inevitable clash between the extreme right and the Communists."

Mr. del Vayo's statement completely misrepresents the position of Americans for Democratic Action. Every A. D. A. statement on the Marshall plan has emphasized the very point which Mr. del Vayo claims we have ignored. We agree with him that this phase of the plan is crucial and feel that it justifies making A. D. A.'s record perfectly clear to readers of *The Nation*.

On July 22 the Executive Committee of A. D. A., together with several of

its members, including Mrs. Roosevelt, Barry Bingham, Emil Rieve, and Herbert Lehman, proposed an immediate six-point program to give substance and life to the "high hope" latent in the Marshall plan.

That program covered the "inescapable fact" which Mr. del Vayo claims was ignored. It read as follows:

We urge that the Administration make clear—beyond any possibility of honest doubt or of purposeful distortion—that the United States does not intend to use its aid as a means of forcing upon European countries an economic system contrary to their freely expressed desires. We must repudiate those confused voices who would withhold American aid from nations engaged in expanding the areas of public ownership or public control; we must make it abundantly clear that we regard the free governments of Europe, with their varying degrees of state control, as among the most honored champions of democracy.

Again on September 20 the National Executive Board of A. D. A., meeting in Chicago, issued a statement calling for a special session of Congress to meet the indivisible foreign and domestic crisis. That statement said that "we reject the proposals to deny aid to the Socialist governments of Europe. If we should use our aid as a means of vetoing internal change based on the free choice of the peoples concerned, we would sacrifice our best allies in the struggle against totalitarianism."

Elaborating that point, the lead editorial in the current edition of the *A. D. A. World*, official organ of Americans for Democratic Action, devotes itself to attacking those "confusionists" (Senator Ball, Harold Stassen, McGraw-Hill, and the N. A. M.) who advance the contention that Western Europe is finished unless it turns its back on all forms of socialism. . . .

Mr. del Vayo assumes that the entire Administration is committed to using the Marshall plan to help defeat socialism in Europe. He quotes Arthur Krock and Secretary Snyder, but ignores an authoritative report that such suggestions have been steadfastly rejected by Secretary Marshall, George Kennan, and the Harriman committee. In fact, the whole implication of Mr. del Vayo's article seems to be that liberals should not support the Marshall plan.

It seems very clear to us that it is the

responsibility of American progressives to see that the Marshall plan is made a reality, free from the political restrictions proposed by the "confusionists."

Without the Marshall plan Europe faces another winter of hunger, want, and chaos under which the remaining hope for democratic planning may collapse. That, too, is a rather inescapable fact which Mr. del Vayo apparently ignores. If all liberals do the same, then all hope for social democracy in Europe is truly lost.

JAMES LOEB, JR.

National Executive Secretary, A. D. A.
Washington, October 13

Wanted: an Integrated Science Foundation

Dear Sirs: In a recent article, Atomic Bombs or Atomic Plenty, in *The Nation* of September 20, Leonard Engel condemned President Truman's veto of the bill to establish a National Science Foundation and emphasized the great danger of continued military control over scientific research. We agree with Mr. Engel on the importance of the proposed foundation and on the dangers of military control, but we would like to point out certain facts that he apparently overlooked.

First, as pointed out by the *New York Times* on August 8: "No great harm has been done by this reluctant veto. No funds were specifically appropriated for research to be conducted under direction of a National Science Foundation. . . . Hence it would have been impossible to have set a [foundation] in motion"—this year, at least.

Second, it does not seem to us profitable to spend further time attacking or justifying the Presidential veto. Events have shown that the critical issue now is not so much whether we are to have a National Science Foundation—all parties seem to concur in this—but rather what kind of foundation it is to be. The sponsors of the vetoed bill wanted a foundation publicly supported by government funds but administered by "dollar-a-year" men. Only by happy coincidence is such an organization administered primarily in the public interest. The alternative is a foundation both publicly supported and publicly controlled, with direct responsibility to our elected officials.

Third, it should be noted in connection

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tion with Mr. Engel's apprehension over the military's dominance of science that the type of foundation proposed in the vetoed Smith bill was advanced and strongly supported by Dr. Vannevar Bush, chairman of the Research and Development Board of our National Military Establishment. This fact, taken in conjunction with the provisions of the bill regarding liaison with the army and navy, suggests the possibility that the proposed foundation would not have represented a clean break from military control.

In condemning control of basic research Mr. Engel very effectively pointed out that in spite of the excellent qualities of individual officers, military control would lead in the long run to emphasis on weapons for war rather than on peace-time applications, because *"the system is stronger than any number of excellent individual officers."* We would like to point out that the same principle applies to the proposed foundation. If the *wrong* sort of foundation is established, its stultifying effects may well prove stronger than the efforts of any number of well-meaning individuals working within it.

The task for progressives is not simply to urge a science foundation but to insist on a type of foundation that will be fully integrated into our national life. Such a foundation should be *democratically* administered to promote the general welfare through the encouragement and support of basic research in all sciences, including the social sciences.

IRVING FEISTER

For the Science Legislation Study Group, Washington Association of Scientists

Washington, October 8

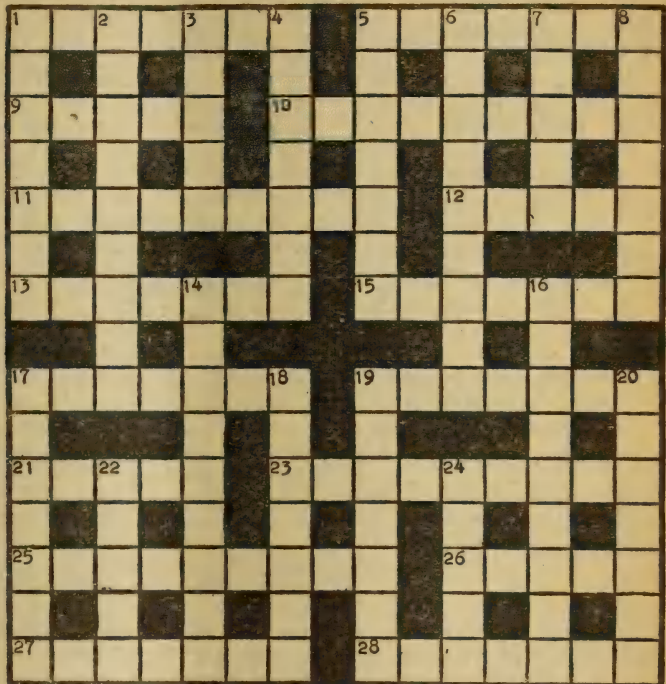
Arbitration and Sovereignty Not Incompatible

Dear Sirs: Your editorial Vetoes and Other Tools, in *The Nation* of August 30, says that the Netherlands ambassador to the United States, Mr. Van Kleffens, rejected United Nations arbitration of the Indonesian dispute because such action would infringe Dutch sovereignty. Then follows this statement, "He did not bother to explain why the Security Council's cease-fire order had not infringed Dutch sovereignty or why American mediation would not do so."

The fact of the matter is that on August 15 Mr. Van Kleffens told the Council, "The United Nations scored a success with the cease-fire invitation.

Crossword Puzzle No. 234

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 In a way it's late around here for Romans. (7)
- 5 T. N. T. does, ditto a storm, a photographer or sometimes a pitcher. (5, 2)
- 9 This sometimes comes back to Wintertgreen. (5)
- 10 Latin cone which took eight years to construct. (9)
- 11 and 12. Equipment of holding companies? (6, 3, 5)
- 13 Those who did sometimes paid for their tickets later. (7)
- 15 I bled as a result of getting hurt. (7)
- 17 Blood vessel? (7)
- 19 Indeed, sir! (7)
- 21 What to do with your bright light on the road coming back? (5)
- 23 Magnificent but novel. (9)
- 25 These shouldn't be used on rainy days. (9)
- 26 Marries around fifty, but forms a perfect union! (5)
- 27 Put R. C. in 13, if it doesn't go to extremes. (7)
- 28 The fiddle should be tough, because it is. (7)
- 4 Paroled, but often behind bars. (7)
- 5 Happened to be debited, in old accounts. (7)
- 6 Might be read on them? (9)
- 7 Sort of coins for graft. (5)
- 8 Sleep is disturbed for the worn. (7)
- 14 Add the rye without the water. (9)
- 16 Parisian Hawkshaw. (9)
- 17 How to get abreast of a hot dog? (7)
- 18 Sort of rope with get-up in it. (7)
- 19 Sort of side streets. (7)
- 20 People who belong to this usually have quite a line. (7)
- 22 Perhaps you'll see me around a broken window. (5)
- 24 Both he and it have seen the seamy side of life in Paris. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 233

ACROSS:—1 ANAGRAM; 5 DANGERS; 6 RUSTIC; 4 MADE; 5 DRAB; 6 NUANCE; 7 ENDORSE; 8 SUNBEAM; 12 BAREFACED; 14 NOTABLE; 15 AGONIES; 18 ACE; 19 SHY; 21 ARTICLE; 22 SECULAR; 24 ORBITAL; 25 ENDLONG; 26 and 23 across FLYING TACKLE; 27 DORSAL; 30 AGED; 31 DRAY.

DOWN

- 1 Sheds. (7)
- 2 A lone whale finds time for bobbing. (9)
- 3 No danger of ticks, if you stop it. (5)

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You know that we accepted that on humanitarian grounds, not because we recognize the jurisdiction or the Council."

In all likelihood Mr. Van Kleffens never bothered to explain why United States mediation of the Indonesian dispute wouldn't have infringed Dutch sovereignty because it never occurred to him to do so. After all, if the Netherlands government voluntarily accepts third-party mediation, the question of sovereignty doesn't arise.

With a few notable exceptions American liberals have not looked kindly on the Netherlands police action in Indonesia. In Holland, however, the Socialist Party of Labor, which together with the Catholic Peoples Party forms the coalition government, has supported this action. Furthermore, these Dutch "liberals" took this stand even though their party is strongly committed to a policy of cooperation with the Republic.

It is well known that on March 25, 1947, Dutch and Indonesian representatives signed the Linggadjati agreement for the settlement of their peoples' future relationship. The Socialist Soetan Sjahrir signed for the Republic and the Socialist Willem Schermerhorn signed for the Netherlands. This agreement was widely praised as setting the pattern for a new and equitable relation between the peoples of East and West. To say the least, however, the agreement hasn't lived up to its promise—or rather, the Republicans haven't lived up to the agreement.

Remember that the Indonesians are not fighting for their freedom: that has already been promised to them as of 1949, and their interim de facto authority has already been recognized. The Netherlands government still stands on its offer to deal with the Republic on the basis of the Linggadjati agreement.

H. J. FRIEDERICX
Chief of Political Affairs,
Netherlands Department of
Overseas Territories

New York, October 7

**Cheers for Neuberger's
Alaska Articles**

Dear Sirs: This is fan mail! I hope very much that you have had a bale of letters commending you for Richard L. Neuberger's articles on Alaska. For someone as well known as he to write so fearlessly and honestly, and with no ax to grind, does my heart good.

I stayed up there for some months, and it is just about God's most beautiful country, and the people are for the

most part, friendly, frank, and intelligent. Yet, as he says, the Territory is tied—head, neck, and heels—and the situation for enterprising young people up there makes me sick! I am glad Mr. Neuberger is talking about it to a new group of readers.

LOUISE POTTER

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., October 10

**A Social Affair
in Johannesburg**

Dear Sirs: At the present session of the United Nations the treatment of the colored peoples in South Africa is once again the subject of discussion, and it is the fervent hope of liberal-minded citizens of that country that the introduction of a more progressive policy may result.

The conception that the white races are superior to others creates the belief that the white man may treat his colored neighbor as he pleases. A recent incident will illustrate this: Only a few weeks ago a native employed as a chef at a home in a fashionable suburb of Johannesburg was beaten to death by Europeans while waiting to board a tram car. Investigation revealed that the assault was provoked by the fact that the native was well dressed and was wearing gloves; the Europeans apparently found this incompatible with "keeping the Kaffir in his place."

The evil of this attitude, however, lies not so much in the injustice to individuals as in the fact that the systematic suppression of the colored peoples effectively prevents their playing a part in the development of the country and creates bitterness which can only become more dangerous with the passage of the years.

F. LANDAU

Johannesburg, October 11

An Important Difference

Dear Sirs: In my article in *The Nation* of September 13, Chicago Has One More Chance, there is a statement that the coming Chicago referendum for a bond issue for public housing "will most certainly be voted down now as a result of the Fernwood violence." This is a garbled version of my original text: the bond issue might be defeated. The difference between *might* and *most certainly* is important to advocates of public housing in Chicago who are working to turn *might* into *will not*.

HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, October 7

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 165

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NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

THE UN-AMERICAN HEARINGS DIRECTED BY J. Parnell Thomas and designed to expose Communist plots in Hollywood are still going strong in Washington. So far, they have revealed what the well-dressed movie star wears when he attends a hearing of the Un-American Committee; they have disclosed that Adolphe Menjou reads Marxian literature; they have indicated that there are some seventy-nine Communists and fellow-travelers in Hollywood who have had little or no success in injecting propaganda into films and whose influence on the screen unions is declining as a result of democratic opposition within the ranks. The first episodes of the *Perils of Parnell*, though they have played to a full House, have been a dismal flop as far as their alleged purpose is concerned. The Undoubting Thomas and his committee have added little to what was already known about Hollywood—that there are actors and writers among the swimming pools who, with varying degrees of innocence, salt their high-paid existence with dreams of “the revolution” and even sometimes invest some of their money in it. But the committee has done a fine job of flouting every American precept of the rights of individuals and doing it in the most cowardly way possible—under the protection of its Congressional immunity. Moreover, by holding over Hollywood the threat of such “investigations,” it has added to the stultifying pressure of the Hays code still another pressure which should go far toward making American films even more puerile and timid than they already are. We doubt whether the hearings are a prelude to censorship, if only because such exhibitions make official censorship unnecessary. Altogether, a fine day’s work—making hash of the Bill of Rights at the American taxpayer’s expense. The exposure of a few Communists in Hollywood seems hardly worth the price.

✱

AFTER A WEEK OF UNDILUTED NONSENSE, however, the sane public has begun to react. A sober conference in New York on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties, called last weekend by the Progressive Citizens, converted itself into a crowded demonstration against the Washington hearings and allied varieties of hysteria. Several thousand delegates and plain citizens, overflowing the big ballroom of the Hotel Commodore,

adopted a series of resolutions calling for abolition of the Thomas Committee and revocation of the President’s loyalty tests. At the same time, Americans for Democratic Action, in New York, issued a strong attack on the committee signed by a wide assortment of writers and other professional people. And two official protests have come from the Motion Picture Association—one by Paul V. McNutt, special counsel for the association, and one by Eric Johnston, its president. This is a good beginning. A few more well-aimed rebuttals may bring to an early close the Washington run of Mr. Thomas’s melodrama.

✱

THE IRANIAN MAJLIS HAS DECIDED TO REJECT the proposed Russian oil concession in Azerbaijan province and to refuse all further foreign participation in the development of oil resources. This action was hardly surprising after Premier Ghavam, who signed the tentative agreement with the Soviet government in 1946, asked for its nullification. Moscow will certainly feel that it has been double-crossed and is sure to protest bitterly, even if it does not immediately take other steps. However, the Soviet case is weakened by the undeniable fact that the concession agreement was signed under duress while the Red Army was occupying part of Iran and encouraging a separatist movement in Azerbaijan. In deciding on its present action, the Iranian government has undoubtedly been emboldened by American moral and material support. We have recently granted that country a \$25,000,000 arms loan, and our ambassador in Teheran pointedly declared, just before the oil debate started in the Majlis, that “the United States is firm in its conviction that any proposals made by one sovereign government to another should not be accompanied by threats.” According to rumor, this public declaration has been backed up by still stronger private assurances to the Iranian government. The British government, on the other hand, is said to have advised Teheran to leave open a door for further negotiations with Moscow should the concession be turned down. This advice may not have been wholly disinterested, since the barring of Russia was likely to raise questions about the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company’s profitable concession in the south. And the Majlis program, in fact, includes negotiations with Anglo-Iranian for larger royalty payments. Nevertheless, the British suggestion was wise. Iran cannot develop its oil without

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foreign capital and technical assistance. Moreover, if there really is oil in quantity in northern Iran, Russia is the only practicable market for it.

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A CLASH BETWEEN THE BRITISH LABOR government and the House of Lords was bound to come. When the Attlee Cabinet took office, it seemed probable that the upper chamber would throw out some vital bill passed by the Commons—thereby holding it up for two years—and create the kind of situation that led Asquith and Lloyd George, in 1911, to go to the electorate on the issue of the Peers versus the People. For the past two years, however, their lordships have behaved very circumspectly: they have done nothing in particular and done it very well, refraining from challenges to the government on matters of principle and confining their activities to suggesting technical amendments to bills. But if they have kept their power under wraps, they and everyone else have been conscious of the fact that it existed, ready to be unleashed at the strategic moment. Most people thought this moment would come when the government moved to nationalize the steel industry, as it was pledged to do by its election program. For various reasons, that bill has been postponed until next year, which means that the Lords, by virtue of their authority to reject bills for a maximum of two consecutive sessions, would be able to stymie it until after another general election. Consequently, the Labor government has decided to take the offensive by introducing legislation limiting the Lords' power of delay to one year. That seems to us a pretty mild way of dealing with what is, after all, a hopeless anachronism. In fact, from this distance, it is a little difficult to understand why people we respect, like the editors of the Manchester *Guardian*, are so stirred up. Their theory seems to be that the government's action will tend to destroy national unity at a time of crisis. But attached as the British are to historical monuments, we cannot believe that they are going to split badly as the result of this modest effort to whittle down hereditary privilege.

★

THE TWO SUBCOMMITTEES ON PALESTINE—one to deal with partition, the other with the Arab demand for a "unitary state"—are struggling, as we go to press, with an almost impossible assignment. They were directed to send to the full committee, by Wednesday of this week, concrete proposals for carrying out their respective solutions. Since such basic and controversial problems are involved as the administration of Palestine during an interim period and the enforcement of whatever decision is reached, it seems likely that the discussions will drag on for some time. This is the more probable, since the appointment of the two groups was accomplished only after a series of unsavory intrigues

and maneuvers too complex to recite here. In the end, Dr. Evatt overruled several attempts to load the subcommittees with members whose only function would be to delay action. Perhaps the most challenging and yet hopeful aspect of the whole situation is the presence of Russia and the United States on the subcommittee dealing with partition. As its only big-power members, these two are faced with the salutary necessity of working together toward an end both have publicly espoused. If they are able to agree on a plan to carry out the partition proposal, it will surely be adopted; in such circumstances, Britain would not and could oppose it. But the problems they must meet involve issues in which power politics might easily play a destructive part. At this moment, the subcommittee has become a test tube in which the capacity of Russia and the United States to cooperate in a specific action will presently be proved. The result has an importance far outweighing the Palestine issue itself.

✱

THE THREE HOUSING AMENDMENTS TO BE voted on in New York State in themselves present no unusual features. They simply call for \$135,000,000 to be lent to the cities for housing and raise the maximum state subsidy by \$4,000,000 and the amount of subsidy contracts that can be made in any year by a half-million. But New York State is pivotal politically. How New York votes on housing will affect the 1948 party platforms. Some Republican diehards now think Senator Taft was shrewd to support low-rent housing. The Republican-dominated Joint Investigation Committee on Housing is touring the country, ostensibly to find out about conditions but actually to determine just how "hot" housing is. Another reason for national interest is the position of Mr. Dewey. At the beginning of the year, the Governor thought he could prevent the submission of any housing amendment this year and thereby pick up positive support from the American Legion and the real-estate lobby. Now that it seems evident that the veterans' vote may hinge on housing, Mr. Dewey behaves as though he were the loving parent of the amendments. The main danger lies in public lethargy. Last year, only one in three voting citizens voted on the housing amendment. Since this is an off year, with several other propositions to pass on, the real-estate lobby is hoping that the housing amendments will fail. Mr. Dewey's Republican cronies have never liked public housing either. They view Mr. Dewey's support as purely strategic and will, as before, do what they can to side with the lobby. But unexpectedly there has been a big registration. Why? Outside of a judgeship fight in New York City between able Representative Benjamin J. Rabin and the Dewey-sponsored J. Edward Lombard, Jr., there are no important battles. Is it because housing has really become a live political issue?

The President Acts

NOW that we have failed to save the world by forgoing chicken every Thursday, it is heartening that President Truman has resumed the leadership which the country rightly expects from the White House. In the continuing tug-of-war between his two groups of advisers, the Missouri provincials won a minor skirmish in the President's recent outlandish remarks on price controls and the "police state," only to lose a major engagement in his bold decision to call Congress in special session.

The decision did require a measure of courage, because there is no doubt that the Republicans, bending the Administration's urgency to their own purposes, will exact a price for their cooperation. One has only to note the comments of their leaders to be convinced that the making of political hay is in prospect. "Everything will be before us," was Senator Taft's prompt reaction, and he has announced that taxes will be one of the first matters considered. It may be recalled in this connection that it was Representative Clarence Brown, now Taft's Presidential campaign manager, who, in the last session, raised the slogan "No tax relief, no foreign relief." Speaker of the House Martin has served notice that Congress will "take up any domestic issue" that seems necessary, and Senator Ferguson, who at first opposed a special session, now thinks it "a good idea."

Since this intention to throw the session wide open was foreseen as a major danger, there is naturally speculation as to why the President, in announcing his decision, chose to stress the highly controversial cost-of-living issue rather than the crisis in Western Europe. Legislation on prices is all but certain to involve protracted wrangling on the Hill, while European relief, which has been steadily winning support among hitherto hostile Congressmen, is almost sure to be approved. Nor is there much doubt that it was pressure from Secretary of State Marshall and our principal European ambassadors that prompted Truman to act rather than a sudden conviction that only immediate legislation could check run-away prices. But it is our own belief that, in this instance, the President has combined an act of statesmanship with a political shrewdness none too common in this Administration. By calling the session, he assures Western Europe of stop-gap aid, and by giving the domestic crisis as his chief reason, he once again puts the responsibility for checking inflation squarely on Congress, where it belongs.

We do not know what specific inflationary curbs the President will propose, but there are strong hints out of Washington that they will include some kind of control on the prices of a few key commodities imposed at the

source of production, government allocation of crucial materials, and extended import-export controls—all of which, by the way, were urged editorially in the September 20 issue of this magazine. We hope that Congress will adopt some such program, but if it does, we shall be greatly surprised if it fails to demand a quid pro quo in the form of reduced taxation. Politically, such a course would make sense in a pre-election year, but economically it makes none at all. Less money in the Treasury will not serve the purposes of the Marshall Plan, and more money in the pockets of the public will further stimulate inflation. Thus, in one neat stroke, both purposes of the special session might be seriously undermined by the "bargain."

Republicans who are not willing to press a political advantage to such lengths would do well to consider the formula worked out by Senator Morse of Oregon, amounting to a tax-reduction bill with a delayed fuse. Under the Morse proposal, the cut would become effective at some future date, to be fixed either by the President, subject to a Congressional veto, or by Congress, subject to a Presidential veto. In this way, the reduction would be assured, but it would be timed to events and made to serve as a brake on a sliding economy rather than an encouragement to further inflation.

Whatever the domestic political perils involved, the President has done the right thing. He has arrested a dangerous tendency toward government by drift, he has administered a psychological shot-in-the-arm to the despairing peoples of Western Europe, and he has imparted to his own country a sorely needed sense of how grave the situation has become.

American Success Story

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

CABLING from Athens to the New York *Herald Tribune* on October 22, Joseph Alsop used these words: "In our vague, somnambulist way, we have already begun to act abroad like the great power we are." And he goes on to urge that we do it consciously, methodically, using all needed resources. But what is unconscious or somnambulist about our behavior in Greece? Mr. Alsop describes Americans taking over the Greek administration—not as advisers but in "key positions in the more important ministries." He tells how they are balancing the budget, revamping the tax system, insisting on the dismissal of 15,000 civil servants. (He does not explain what effect budget-balancing will have in a country with a miserably small income whose heavy military expenses are being expanded, not reduced.) Mr. Alsop says that the Americans understand the job they are doing and feel right at home doing it.

Greek officials, he reports, are delighted and have shown their satisfaction by inviting the Americans to "extend their responsibilities still more immensely by advising on the military operations of the Greek army." Later press dispatches announce that Washington has accepted the invitation. Somnambulist? The word hardly seems to fit this brisk readiness to run a foreign state and direct a civil war.

Then there is our triumph in the United Nations. The same paper that carried Mr. Alsop's vivid story reported the adoption by the General Assembly of the American resolution setting up a United Nations border watch to protect the Greek frontier. The only votes against the resolution were cast by the Slav bloc, and Vishinsky's demand that Anglo-American armed forces be withdrawn from Greece was turned down by the same overwhelming majority. Was this American initiative also a sign of somnambulism? Or is it clear, by this time, that the Truman Doctrine, launched as a strategic military-political move against Russia in the Balkans, has been carefully elaborated into a system of full-fledged intervention, sanctioned and buttressed at last by the United Nations? Forgotten is the unilateral character of our initial action, forgotten the idea that "aid" to Greece might have been administered through a United Nations agency; today, American policy is practically U. N. policy, and Moscow, not Washington, is by-passing the international organization with its threat to boycott the border commission.

America in the right, Russia in the wrong, Griswold running Greece, a U. N. commission on the border to ward off Slav aggression—if these be the results of United States sleep-walking, one awaits with trepidation the hour when consciousness returns.

BUT while these evidences of firm purpose and firmer control accumulate, other events in Greece suggest that America's democratic intervention has its limits—perhaps self-imposed. Americans boss government departments and agencies, and prepare to boss the army. But apparently neither they nor their front man, the venerable Premier Sophoulis, has anything to do with the administration of justice. On October 20 and 21, just before the Alsop story appeared, dispatches from Athens reported that Communist newspapers had been suppressed and fifty-odd "alleged Communist guerrillas and sympathizers" had been executed after trial by extraordinary courts martial.

Since civil war is raging in Greece, one would normally expect captured partisans to receive summary punishment. But this civil war has been taken over and called something different by the Americans. It has been called a "defense of constitutional government" and "restoration of order." If we can plunge in and run administrative agencies with the bland self-confi-

dence Mr. Alsop describes, one would think we might also check the sort of repressions we criticize so sharply in other neighboring countries. It is true, of course, that we engineered the amnesty offer and had some political exiles brought back from the islands. But the amnesty has failed; not, I suppose, because the guerrillas want a war to the death, but because they have little confidence in a government that imprisons and executes leftists and suppresses newspapers while ostensibly conforming to the democratic susceptibilities of its great protector. Two Communist newspapermen, by the way, were fined and sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment the other day for spreading "false reports" and stories "insulting" to Dwight Griswold. According to Dana Adams Schmidt, writing from Athens in the *New York Times* of October 21, Premier Sophoulis, having had so disappointing a response to his amnesty offer, must now carry out his promise to "exterminate the minority serving foreign interests." The quotes are the Premier's.

THAT the Soviet Union has helped bring about the American success, no one but Vishinsky and his colleagues would deny. The Americans baited a trap and caught the Russians in it. By going well beyond the findings of the U. N. commission of investigation and placing all blame for Greece's border troubles on the Balkan states—and inferentially on the U. S. S. R.—the United States jockeyed the Russians into a position of intransigence that cost them considerable neutral support. Many states were reluctant to accept the American formula; first, because they genuinely wanted conciliation rather than a deadlock, second, because they know that the Balkan states cannot justly be shouldered with sole responsibility for the Greek struggle. It was this feeling which finally forced the United States to modify its resolution, withdrawing the direct charge against Greece's neighbors and substituting a milder, but still incriminating, reference to the findings of the Security Council's investigating commission.

By that time, Russia was committed with utmost violence to the position that no version of the American formula could be accepted and only the withdrawal of Britain and the United States would end the trouble in Greece. Since this view was as well calculated to anger the two Western powers as the American resolution was to anger Russia, the results were increased ill-feeling and a final showdown in which even the most conciliatory Western delegates felt obliged to vote with the United States.

Why was it necessary for Russia to force the issue to this point? A more moderate course might have won the Soviet delegation a major strategic victory along with increased respect. If they had indorsed the principle of a border commission while insisting on strict im-

partiality in its composition and terms of reference and rejecting all imputations of one-sided guilt, their position would have been almost impregnable. Such an attitude would have exposed the provocative bias of the American resolution and undoubtedly won over a large number of delegates. But the Russians rejected compromise in favor of denunciation. They buried their best arguments in a thunder of invective. They demanded all or nothing; and America consequently walked off with a total victory it did not deserve.

New Line-up in France

BY LOUIS LEVY

FROM New York it is rather difficult to see clearly what has happened in France in the last ten days. The American press has given a curiously distorted picture of the French elections and subsequent developments, and official French figures on the vote of the various parties are not yet available.

None the less it is already possible to draw a few general conclusions. The first is that the Gaullist threat is now out in the open; the General's *Rassemblement* received more than 30 per cent of the total ballots cast. The second is that the working-class parties have by and large held their own. Despite the economic crisis and the difficulties encountered since liberation, the French masses are not taken in by the verbiage of apprentice dictators. In this connection the consolidation of the Socialist Party is especially significant: contrary to predictions of American correspondents in Paris, it resisted the double assault of Gaullists and Communists and on the whole maintained its positions intact.

It would be futile to try to gauge the extent to which foreign policy, notably the formation of the Communist Committee of Warsaw, influenced the French voter. Unquestionably it played a part; in the Paris region, for example, the Gaullists cut deep into the Communist vote. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that the feature of these elections was the consolidation of the left positions on the one hand and the absorption of the right and center forces—the P. R. L., the M. R. P., and the Radical Socialists—by the Gaullist *Rassemblement*, on the other. The latter process may have been accelerated by recent developments abroad, but signs of it have been apparent for several months. And De Gaulle naturally did his best to speed the realignment.

LOUIS LEVY, French journalist and writer, is correspondent of the *Populaire* in London and now at the Assembly of the U. N. He is also delegate of the Executive of the French Socialist Party in Great Britain.

The collapse of the M. R. P. should surprise no one familiar with the history of French politics. In the period before the war the Christian Democratic left never succeeded in penetrating the strongholds of Catholicism. The spectacular rise of the M. R. P. after the war was due to a special combination of circumstances, involving the Resistance and the role played by men like Georges Bidault and Francisque Gay. Today, however, it is plain that the church has withdrawn support from the left Catholics, an augury which gives little reassurance as to the political intentions of the Vatican.

TWO or three days before the elections Léon Blum delivered an important speech at the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris. The chief of the Socialist Party affirmed the determination of the French people to be neither "Americanized" nor "Sovietized." His most serious reproach to the Communist Committee of Warsaw was its acceptance of two blocs in Europe as a *fait accompli*. He declared that socialism must exert every effort to prevent the formation of antagonistic East-West blocs. Finally, after denouncing De Gaulle's "Caesarism," Blum warned against aggravating the present differences between the two wings of the working class, whose unity may prove necessary in the coming struggle.

In the light of this speech I confess that Premier Ramadier's recent Cabinet shake-up was somewhat unexpected. I broach this subject with infinite caution, having thus far received no detailed information from Paris. Apparently if Ramadier has not moved in the direction of the popular front to which Blum's speech logically pointed, it is because he felt that collaboration with the Communists might not only intensify the split between left and right but also jeopardize the Marshall Plan. He therefore seems to have hit on a centrist formula in order to fight the Gaullists, while at the same time assuring his middle-class supporters that he will strongly resist the maneuvers of the Communists. Ramadier's pledge to these M. R. P. and Radical Socialist elements took the form of sacrificing the two ministers whose *dirigisme* (economic planning) they have violently opposed—André Philip, Minister of National Economy, and Tanguy Prigent, Minister of Agriculture. At the same time he shelved two ministers suspected of Gaullist sympathies—Michelet, Minister of War, and Jacquinet, Minister of Marine. Their posts are now combined in a single Ministry of National Defense headed by Teitgen, an M. R. P. leader who in recent weeks has taken a sharp anti-Gaullist stand. The Ministry of the Interior remains in the hands of Edouard Depreux, who, unlike certain of his Socialist comrades, did not wait until 1946 to discover the danger of Gaullism.

I have tried to explain Ramadier's move on the basis of the few facts at my disposal, without, however, defending it in the least. To my way of thinking it is destined to early failure. The departure of the most "dirigist" ministers has surely created widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Socialist Party—notwithstanding the fact that Philip has been replaced by Jules Moch, also known as a "dirigist." But more important, a considerable number of militant Socialists must now be calling for the creation of a popular front. That is the only way to defeat the Gaullists.

I realize that the Communists have done little to facilitate such a move. Since the Warsaw meeting their attitude toward the Socialists has been increasingly aggressive. I am told, however, that the party's new policy is meeting with resistance: Maurice Thorez himself is said to oppose it. One would be wrong to think of the French Communist Party as a monolith. It is almost impossible for Moscow to maneuver as it pleases a party with the numerical strength of the French Communists. Despite the frequent *maladresses* of the Soviet leaders, they are surely aware of the degree of political and democratic sophistication among the French proletariat.

To save the republic, all republicans are needed—Socialists, Communists, and also those rank-and-file democrats who have voted for the Radicals or even for the Christian Democrats. Although several Radical chieftains have passed over to the Gaullists, Edouard Herriot, true to character, has refused to yield. In such a democratic regrouping the Socialists of the C. G. T. can play a capital role. We must not forget that Léon Jouhaux, who will be back in Paris by early November, was the moving spirit behind the first popular front of 1935.

Who's a Warmonger?

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 26

THERE's a wag out here at Lake Success who, after following the debate in Committee 1 for the past week, has come to his own conclusions about warmongering. There are three kinds of warmongering, he has decided: war-fishmongering—or Billingsgate; war-ironmongering—or armament making; and war-ironcurtainmongering—or the perennial East-versus West propaganda barrage.

And if it comes to a matter of undermining the last remaining ties of friendship between us and our former Eastern allies, the Billingsgate of Dr. Bebler must be counted as more effective than the pious self-righteousness of Mr. Austin. And whereas, with Mr. Spaak gone,

there is no one left to match the debating energy of Mr. Vishinsky, the overtones of propaganda are so predominant that they almost completely submerge the more cogent strains of his argument.

A psychiatrist friend of mine after reading one of Vishinsky's longer masterpieces said, "That's the talk of a man who is desperately frightened." And it may be that this determined zeal to jail Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Forrestal, Mr. Harriman, and Mr. Churchill—to name just a few on Mr. Vishinsky's list of public enemies—stems from a deep-rooted conviction that war is being plotted by the world's most powerful, bomb-possessing nation. Other possible explanations are (1) that the Soviets and their friends are snared in their own dialectic and feel that the coexistence of capitalism and communism makes war inevitable and the blame had better be laid on the capitalist side before it starts; (2) that, seeing the imminence of the Marshall Plan, the Soviets are making a last desperate bid for Western Europe. It is also possible that they seriously consider the Marshall Plan itself the first big strategic move in the new war: certainly that is what they are saying in both the Political and the Economic Committee.

Unfortunately for the Soviet case, the very violence and intemperance of its proponents are discrediting it. Delegates are beginning to recall with Hector McNeil that back in October, 1939, Britain and France were accused by Mr. Molotov of fomenting war with Germany and that up to June 22, 1941, the Communists in the United States were calling President Roosevelt a warmonger. Nobody likes warmongers and warmongering. But most people object to the terms being used simply to denote people or nations the Soviets don't happen to like. It is the old question of totalitarian reasoning: the opposition is the enemy; the dissenter is the heretic; the fascist is the warmonger. And the only way to deal with the rascals is to put them behind bars.

In the debate, therefore, we have seen the same clash of political philosophies that has occurred before in a good many United Nations committees. It has occurred in the Human Rights Commission in the discussion of a world Bill of Rights. It has appeared in the subcommittee on the Freedom of the Press. It cropped up last week in connection with a Yugoslav resolution in the Social and Humanitarian Committee. It is the basic issue between the principle of freedom of expression and a belief in the control of opinion for the purpose of eliminating error. (And if the principle of freedom of expression, what with loyalty checks and Hollywood quizzes, is becoming more honored here in the breach than in the observance, this, in a free society, is recognized as a temporary corruption and not an accepted practice.) On this issue the Communist Party of 1947 is as rigid as the Catholic church was at the time of the Inquisition. Dr. Evatt may quote Milton's great lines:

Let truth and falsehood grapple;
Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and
open encounter

To the Russians this seems decadent nonsense. Mrs. Roosevelt may insist that the remedy for loose war talk lies not in the curtailment of information but in the vast expansion of information: this is tantamount to a toleration of the evil which destroys.

From a theoretical point of view the conflict is so absolute that there seems no way out but for the Assembly to decide in favor of one approach or the other. And with the democratic nations vastly outnumbering the Russian group it is quite apparent that the Soviet motion to make warmongering a crime will be defeated.

Here the United States, angered by the vicious Soviet attacks, would leave the matter. The majority of delegates, however, aware that there is far too much loose talk of war as well as dangerous misrepresentation of national policies, want a resolution against warmongering and in favor of a positive policy of "peacemongering," to use the phrase of the Canadian delegate, Mr. Ilsley. They realize that improved understanding between nations depends upon a more responsible attitude on the part of press and radio—not only in countries where freedom of expression prevails but in those where the media of information are under state control. It is almost certain, therefore, that a substitute resolution embodying some of the principles of the Australian, Canadian, and French amendments will carry.

It is rather odd that it was Mr. Austin, the American delegate, who emphasized that the prevalent war talk was symptomatic rather than causal. "Talk is a symptom," he said; "we must get at the causes, such as distress, despair, hunger, and ill health." He pointed out that the United States was firmly behind the economic activities of the United Nations and was backing the cooperative efforts of the Western European nations to find a way out of their present crisis. Mr. Austin made his speech the day before President Truman announced the special session of Congress. We thus have the interesting spectacle of the nation which is the outstanding exponent of political and economic individualism espousing the theory of the economic determination of political beliefs and indorsing economic planning to eliminate political expressions which would endanger world peace. It is quite possible, then, that implementation of the Marshall Plan may not mean simply the European projection of American capitalism that the Russians fear. Nor will it mean simply the projection of American individualistic democracy that the Americans anticipate. It may become the basis for a social democracy about which neither Russia nor the United States will be particularly happy but which the Western Europeans want. And it may succeed in cutting down both the talk and the danger of war.

The Catholic Church in Medicine

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

MOST Americans would be somewhat startled if they picked up a medical journal and read a table of contents like this:

Episcopal Principles of Therapeutic Abortion, by Bishop Sylvanus Bump, D.D.

Baptist Technique for Removing Gall Bladders, by James McCutcheon, S.T.D.

How a Methodist Nurse Should Behave in a Presbyterian Hospital, by Deaconess Matilda Little, M.A.

Jewish Ideals and the Cæsarian Operation, by Rabbi Marcus Goldberg, Ph.D.

Denominational excursions into the field of practical medicine are almost unknown among Protestants and Jews. But not among Roman Catholics. The homiletic and ecclesiastical journals of the American priesthood abound in articles by theological writers on specific subjects. Here, for example, are the titles of eight articles and discussions recently published in America's two leading magazines for priests, the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*: May Circumcision by a Jewish Rabbi Be Done in a Catholic Hospital? May a Catholic Nurse Summon a Non-Catholic Minister? Sterility Tests and Their Morality; The Use of Contraceptives When the Wife Is Sterile; May a Catholic Doctor Employed by the State Perform Eugenic Sterilization? Irradiation of the Ovaries.

The priests of the church are not only spiritual advisers to the Catholic physician and nurse; they exercise authority over them in many areas of professional life, particularly in those of birth, death, and sexual conduct. They tell the Catholic physician and nurse when life begins in the womb, what the surgeon can and cannot do concerning the destruction of the fetus, and what must be done with the child immediately after birth. In the field of sexual conduct they lay down very definite and detailed instructions not only concerning courtship, marriage, and divorce, but concerning contraception, abortion, masturbation, insemination, sterilization, sodomy, and sexual relations. Celibacy does not embarrass

"I have written these three articles," says Paul Blanshard, "as a challenge to Roman Catholics to examine the social policies of their church's hierarchy. I am convinced that (1) American Catholics are good citizens who (2) are not responsible for the undemocratic policies of their own priests in the fields of medicine and education, and (3) will some day realize that they as Americans must force a change in those policies. Am I right?" The Nation hopes Mr. Blanshard is right, and that is why it offers these challenging articles to its readers. As to the author, Mr. Blanshard attracted nation-wide attention by his exposure of Tammany graft while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia. During the war he was a State Department official assigned to the Caribbean, and he has revealed the misery and unrest of that region in his recent book, "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean."

the prelates of the church in giving their advice, for they are convinced that virginity is the best preparation for sexual wisdom.

The priests of the church impose upon all Roman Catholics a ritual for the dying and a code of medical etiquette which makes the scene of death in both Catholic and non-Catholic hospitals an effective opportunity for proselytizing. They continue to exercise control over physical details after death by making cremation a mortal sin and by excluding the unbaptized from consecrated ground.

Only one phase of this priestly authority in the area of medical conduct has attracted much attention in this country, and that is the Catholic opposition to birth control. When ten distinguished doctors in Connecticut and Massachusetts were arbitrarily removed from the staffs of Catholic hospitals because they supported the right of physicians to give birth-control advice to their married patients, the dismissals excited widespread interest. (I shall discuss this situation in my next article.)

THE story of Roman Catholic medical policy is important. There are 692 Catholic general hospitals in the United States in which nurses and doctors are subject to the church's medical code. About 3,300,000 patients a year are treated in these hospitals, most of them non-Catholics. In many non-Catholic hospitals there are Catholics among the directors who exercise some veto power over medical policies, and Catholic doctors and nurses who obey the injunctions of their priests. The general public is frequently called on by bishops and other members of the hierarchy to support the church's hospitals as broad-gauge humanitarian institutions. The non-Catholic, therefore, is justified in asking certain questions about Catholic medical policy. The questions do not concern the devotion of the Catholic nursing sisters, or the ethical standards of Catholic physicians, or the principles of Catholic worship. They concern the medical dogmas which priests seek to impose upon

American Catholics. I shall touch here upon four of these dogmas.

1. *Equality of mother and fetus.* When an American woman approaches the ordeal of childbirth, she takes it for granted that her physician will do everything humanly possible to save her life. I am sure that 99 per cent of American husbands would consider themselves murderers if, confronted with the choice between the life of a wife and the life of her unborn child, they chose the life of the child.

The Catholic hierarchy does not indorse this choice, nor can a good Catholic physician leave such a choice to the husband and father. "The life of each is equally sacred," says Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "Casti Connubii," "and no one has the power, not even the public authority, to destroy it."

Probably the best-known and most authoritative work on Catholic morals is the four-volume "Moral and Pastoral Theology" of the Jesuit priest Henry Davis, published by Sheed and Ward under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Birmingham. Father Davis says (Vol. II, p. 138):

One of the most distressing problems which surgeons have to face is that of saving the lives of both mother and child in difficult cases of parturition. Each has a right to life and neither has a better right than the other. . . . Where induced abortion, *abortus provocatus*, is the procedure indicated, he [the Catholic doctor] will disregard his textbook and save the mother in some other way, and if there is no other way, he will abandon the case. In the last resort, where nothing whatever can be done to save the mother except abortion, he may not destroy a nascent life directly.

Father Patrick A. Finney in his "Moral Problems in Hospital Practice," reprinted by Herder in 1947 under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of St. Louis, is even more specific. He says (p. 60) in a series of questions and replies:

If it is morally certain that a pregnant mother and her unborn child will both die if the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, but at the same time the attending physician is morally certain that he can save the mother's life by removing the inviable fetus, is it lawful for him to do so?

Answer. No, it is not. Such a removal of the fetus would be direct abortion.

Dr. Austin O'Malley in his "The Ethics of Medical Homicide and Mutilation," published under the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Farley, stated the philosophy behind this principle:

The assertion that an undeveloped fetus in the womb is not as valuable as the mother of a family is beside the question, and in certain vital distinctions it is untrue. Any human life as such, whether in a fetus or an adult, is as valuable as another, inasmuch as no one but God has any authority to destroy it, except when it

has lost its right to exist through culpable action. Secondly, the quality of motherhood is an accidental addition to a mother's life, not substantial as is the life itself. This quality of motherhood does not create any juridic imbalance of values which justifies the destruction of the rights inherent in the fetus. That the fetus may not be able to enjoy these rights if the mother dies is, again, an irrelevant consideration. . . . An innocent fetus an hour old may not be directly killed to save the lives of all the mothers in the world.

Is it surprising that younger American Catholic women are reacting against this doctrine with considerable horror? Recently when a young priest in a Massachusetts city ventured to expound the dogma of the equality of mother and fetus to an audience of young Catholic matrons he was so heckled by his infuriated listeners that the meeting was almost broken up.

As for Catholic physicians, they must pay lip service to the doctrine because it comes directly from the Pope, but in practice they use a loophole in the law which has been developed by the Jesuit casuists who control every full-term Catholic medical college in the United States. This loophole permits an *indirect* killing of a fetus in the process of saving the mother if an operation is necessary to remedy "an acute diseased condition." Not many Catholic physicians are so stupid that they cannot discover "an acute diseased condition." But officially they are still bound by the rigid dictum of the Holy See that therapeutic abortion is always a crime, although the courts of every state in the union recognize its legality when the life of the mother is at stake, and although the vast majority of American doctors consider therapeutic abortion under such circumstances to be a moral obligation.

The hierarchy goes so far as to direct Catholic legislators publicly that they "may not approve" of any measures designed to legalize therapeutic abortion. The words are those of Father Francis J. Connell, associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America, in his "Morals in Politics and Professions," published under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Baltimore-Washington.

2. *The doctrine of the sacred head.* Since the primary concern of the church at childbirth is the salvation of the soul, and since the soul of the fetus is equal to the soul of the mother, the head of the fetus as the probable seat of the soul becomes the center of moral attention in the delivery-room. All Catholic nurses and doctors are bound by strict injunction to observe the sacredness of the head of the fetus.

The negative rule is that the head of the fetus must never be operated on directly even to save the life of the mother and even if the head is that of a monster. "If craniotomy is absolutely indicated," says Father Davis (Vol. II, p. 165), "a Catholic doctor must give up the case, but he is not thereby precluded from telling

those whom it may concern that other medical advice must be got, or rather may be got." Father Davis does not explain what a mother in childbirth should do when she is abandoned by a Catholic physician and no other physician is available.

The affirmative rules concerning the sacredness of the fetal head are chiefly concerned with baptism. Sister Mary Berenice Beck in her "The Nurse: Handmaid of the Divine Physician" (Lippincott, imprimatur of the Archbishop of St. Louis), directs Catholic nurses to reach the head of the fetus with the sacred water of baptism at the first possible instant in order to make sure that the soul is saved before death comes. In cases of difficult delivery the nurse is urged not to wait for actual birth. "If the head protrudes," says Sister Beck (p. 48), "it may be baptized absolutely." If the head does not protrude, the nurse may baptize what she sees, and later baptize the head conditionally to cover the contingency that she might not have reached the head the first time.

Every Catholic nurse "has a serious obligation, obliging her under pain of sin, to baptize an infant in danger of death, whether of Catholic or non-Catholic parents." This is because the fetus is not innocent but is tainted with original sin.

The water must be applied to the head [says Sister Beck]. If water is not available, baptism cannot be administered. Not much water is needed, but there must be enough so that it can be said to flow. . . . Milk, juice of fruits, oil, excretions from the body as tears, saliva, perspiration, etc., are not considered water. . . . Unbaptized infants who die are deprived forever of the sight of God (that is, are barred from heaven); hence it is important that every effort be made to baptize infants in danger of death.

The deep concern of the church for the transmission of divine grace via the head of the fetus extends even to monstrosities. Sister Beck says:

If there are two or more heads and one body, baptize one head absolutely, the others conditionally. If there are two chests but only one head, baptize the head absolutely and each of the chests conditionally.

3. *The doctrine of protection against heresy.* Included in the Catholic code for nurses are provisions for protecting patients against heresy. Catholic nurses are instructed not to accord Protestant or Jewish clergymen equal treatment with Catholic priests even when the hospital is a non-Catholic institution and the patient is a Protestant or Jew. One of the official purveyors of this doctrine is the leading Catholic proselytist in America, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen. Charles McFadden's "Medical Ethics for Nurses" (Davis, imprimatur of Cardinal Dougherty), for which Monsignor Sheen wrote a foreword, says (p. 333):

The request of a non-Catholic patient for a minister of his own religion presents some minor difficulties.

The Catholic nurse realizes that there is only one true church of Christ, and she firmly believes that the Roman Catholic church is that church. She cannot therefore regard any other church either as the church of Christ or as the true religion in its entirety. For these reasons she may neither encourage nor assist any person in the practice of what she is convinced is a false religion.

The Catholic nurse, therefore, may not summon the official of any other religion for the express purpose of having him minister to members of his church. To do so would be a direct encouragement and aid to another in the practice of a religion which she believes to be false.

The Sheen-McFadden gospel is not one of reciprocity. Catholic nurses are instructed (p. 203) to baptize dying non-Catholic infants stealthily if it cannot be done openly, thus bringing them within the blessed fold of the church:

If a certain medicine were absolutely needed to save the physical life of a child, a doctor or nurse would give it, even though the parents were unwilling. The attitude of such parents would be unreasonable. . . . When the unreasonable attitude of the parents is evident, the nurse should quietly baptize the dying child without knowledge of the parents.

4. *The doctrine of ectopic pregnancy.* The knottiest obstetrical problem worrying American priests in recent years is that of ectopic pregnancy, and in the ecclesiastical journals they discuss it with solemn ferocity. One of the main reasons for the anxiety is a sweeping decision by the Holy See in 1902.

An ectopic fetus—that is, one conceived outside the womb, in the fallopian tubes—if allowed to continue its natural growth, is likely to kill both the mother and itself. Even if it is removed by an operation in the later stages, the mother's life is always endangered and the child is frequently deformed. Usually the fetus dies before or shortly after "birth." The one way to guarantee the survival of the mother is the surgical removal of the fetus as soon as the abnormal condition is discovered.

In view of the papal ban on all therapeutic abortion American priests have asked: Should the life of the mother be sacrificed in such cases to permit a problematical survival of an abnormal fetus for a few hours? Until last year the weight of Catholic authority favored sacrificing the mother. Father Finney in his "Moral Problems in Hospital Practice" (p. 135) says:

Question 35: In a case of ectopic pregnancy which has been diagnosed as a case of unruptured tubal pregnancy is it lawful, before the term of viability, to remove the unruptured tube with the living fetus as a means of forestalling the danger to the mother's life upon the rupture of the tube?

Answer. No, it is not lawful. Such a removal is a direct killing of the fetus and is therefore forbidden.

The Congregation of the Holy Office gave essentially the same answer on March 5, 1902. But, for once,

American and British Catholics have rebelled. Perhaps some of them dared to ask themselves what an American jury might think about the problem. When the life of a Catholic mother is sacrificed for the life of a *normal* fetus, a jury might accept the priestly mathematics involved as religion, but it might use an uglier word if the life of the mother was sacrificed in a case of ectopic pregnancy for a hypothetical one-one-hundredth of a normal life-prospect. No clear-cut case of such a death has ever come before an American jury, and it never will now, for the Jesuits have begun a strategic retreat from an untenable moral position. They are "reinterpreting" the papal doctrine to fit the American conscience.

Father Davis, in his above-mentioned book, did not venture to defy the Holy See openly on this policy, but he published the written opinions of scores of Catholic physicians to the effect that "tubal pregnancy is not only a pathological condition but is far more dangerous than cancer of the uterus." American priests began to quote this opinion cautiously, and finally the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* of October, 1945, in answer to a question about ectopic pregnancy made the flat admission:

Medical men today are quite commonly agreed that tubal pregnancy constitutes a pathological condition and is as much a threat to the mother's health as a cancerous uterus. The theologians of the past century who held that it was gravely sinful to remove an unruptured tube containing a living fetus, because such a procedure is direct killing, were right in their principle but

wrong in their facts. . . . It is not direct but indirect killing.

Even the Sheen-McFadden book gave its blessing to this "interpretation," and thus far no excommunications have taken place. Some ecclesiastical scholars will undoubtedly discover by special research in the near future that the edict of 1902 was never intended to prevent the surgical removal of an ectopic fetus. Meanwhile, the admiration of the observer for the hierarchy's skill in adjusting itself to a changing world is modified by one disturbing question: How many Catholic women died between 1902 and 1945 while their priests were "right in their principle but wrong in their facts"?

This whole story of ectopic clericalism illustrates the hierarchy's technique of medical control. When an American Catholic wants to know what is morally permissible in the field of medicine he gets his bishop to forward a question to Rome to the Congregation of the Holy Office, a committee of cardinals and their celibate associates, headed by the Pope. The Catholic people of the United States have nothing to say about the membership of this committee or its policies. It is chosen and guided entirely from above, and of course it never includes a woman or an American doctor. Yet its decisions are binding on pain of excommunication on every Catholic doctor and nurse in the United States.

[The second article of this series, to appear next week, will discuss the position of the Roman Catholic church on birth control, marriage, and divorce.]

Korean Diary

BY HUGH DEANE

Seoul, Korea, September 25

ON JULY 19 Lyuh Woon-hyung, the most respected liberal leader of South Korea, was shot down on the streets of Seoul. Writing of his murder—and his long struggle for Korean independence—in *The Nation* of September 6, I said that perhaps like Sun Yat-sen he had died at the right time: he was "temperamentally a moderate, and it was hard for him to see his friends going to the right or the left." Since his death the division within the people has sharpened, and the repression of the left has become even more severe. The terrorism practiced by the rightist police, with the support of the American occupation, is clearly revealed by a chronological summary of the events of the last two months.

HUGH DEANE is Far Eastern correspondent for the *Allied Labor News*.

July 24: Cho Pyung-ok, head of the South Korean police and member of the Hankook Democratic Party, controlled by the notorious Syngman Rhee, told a group of visiting American editors, "It is a bitter fact that a group of political and social organizations in South Korea, inspired by the north . . . are executing a plot to destroy what the South Korean Interim Government is trying to build up. . . . It would be contrary to common sense to treat them on an equal basis with the other group, which is patriotic and pro-American."

July 25: Terrorists attacked a meeting of 1,200 Seoul Electric Company workers as it was dispersing and seriously wounded three. Police arrived and carried off seven truckloads of the workers. They had voted to attend the People's Front rally and had demanded reinstatement of 375 workers fired after the March general strike.

The *New York Times* reported, "The North Korea radio has been demanding 'physical attacks' upon Kim Koo and Dr. Syngman Rhee, rightist leaders, in retaliation."

tion for the assassination of Lyuh Woon-hyung." This report was based on a curious mistranslation by official United States monitors. According to South Korean newspapers, the broadcast had urged that the reactionaries be dealt a "fatal blow."

July 26: United States G-2 began to release reports of violence, actual or threatened. By August 14 it had reported some thirty instances, in half of which leftists were held responsible. Considering the bias of both the carefully screened G-2 personnel and the Korean police, their major source of information, this proportion is remarkable. Among the incidents noted were these:

About thirty members from both the rightist Kwangbok Young Men's Association and the General Youth League for Rapid Realization [or Acceleration—H. D.] of Korean Independence attacked the Kwangju Normal School dormitory last week and beat two teachers and one student. Students . . . have since formed a "Self-Defense Body."

A group of rightist terrorists who are alleged to be from the Northwest Korean Youth Association recently invaded an art exhibit which was under the sponsorship of the Taejon leftist Artists' Alliance. The vandals tore down and destroyed all the paintings. None . . . were apprehended.

July 27: Fifty thousand people carrying banners of the People's Front climbed South Mountain to celebrate the reconvening of the U. S.—U. S. S. R. Joint Commission. This was destined to be the last authorized political assembly of the left. Major General A. E. Brown and Colonel General T. F. Shtikov, chiefs of the American and Soviet delegations to the commission, addressed the gathering. General Brown explained that the American "concept of democracy" and the "right of the individual" forbade the exclusion of "certain large rightist parties" from consultation. A Korean speaker who followed him said: "General Brown spoke of individual rights. But do we have such rights in South Korea today? In South Korea there is brutal terrorism and oppression of the people." This man was arrested by police as he stepped from the rostrum, before the eyes of the Soviet general. General Brown had left when it started to rain.

The meeting broke up in a monsoon downpour. As the crowd thinned out, terrorists waylaid them in the alleys and beat them up, saying, "You have been to South Mountain. We know because you are soaking wet."

July 27 to August 1: The workers paid the penalty for daring to go to South Mountain. About 350 girl workers had managed to get out of the Kyungbong textile factory (run by Kim Sung-soo, chairman of Rhee's Hankook Democratic Party) to go to the meeting before the police locked the gate. When they came back, the management fired nine ringleaders. Eight hundred girls then threatened to strike if the nine were not taken back. The management called in a hundred or more terrorists from the Great Korea Federation of Labor—supreme adviser,

Syngman Rhee—and let them invade the girls' dormitory; fifty-four girls were injured, four severely.

At the Seoul Electric Company thirty-two men and seven women were loaded into a truck and taken to Won Hyun Palace, headquarters of Rhee's General Youth League for Korean Independence, where they were beaten. When workers at the plant gathered in protest, the police dispersed them and arrested six, charging that they planned to "sabotage the transformer." The beaten workers were afterward fired, along with eleven others.

July 28: A G-2 report described how other People's Front meetings had been broken up:

In Yonan . . . the police chief announced that he had arrested forty-two students attempting to organize a left-wing meeting. In Paekchon . . . police announced the arrest of forty students for attempting to organize a leftist meeting. In Kangning no meeting occurred, possibly because of the presence in jail of 200 left-wing leaders. In Chochiwon . . . an orderly pro-commission meeting was held by 700 Communists. In Ochwon . . . police broke up an unauthorized meeting of 5,000 leftists. . . . A group of 3,000 refused to disperse. Police broke it up, killing five and making several arrests.

Colonel J. N. Robinson, assistant chief of staff for G-2, told me that since April terrorism had increased steadily from one or two incidents weekly to three or four daily. In his opinion the left had formerly been primarily responsible, but since spring the rightists had been most often guilty. He said that the leftists were now on "good behavior." In a discussion of G-2 reports on Communist threats to use violence against Americans, Colonel Robinson said that up to that time not a single American soldier had been attacked for political reasons.

August 2: Hong Jeung-sik, general secretary of the People's Front, and two other People's Front leaders were summoned to police headquarters for a conference and jailed. Three days later the police announced that they were charged with violation of General MacArthur's Proclamation 2, issued September 7, 1945, which declares that any person who "does any act calculated to disturb public peace and order . . . shall upon conviction . . . suffer death or . . . other punishment." One of the men arrested was alleged to have "misinformed" the public in a magazine article.

August 5: The police announced the discovery of a Communist plot in the Seoul radio station. Fourteen employees had been arrested and the informer was in protective custody. On August 12 James W. Browitt, American adviser to the station, told me that the Communists had had a three-point program—working propaganda into the programs, spying on American personnel, and causing mechanical breakdowns during rightist broadcasts. A police official charged that the reds planned to blow up the station, "if worse came to worst."

August 6: Rhee's Society for Acceleration of Korean Independence congratulated the police for efficient "maintenance of law and order."

August 11 to 15: Large-scale arrests throughout South Korea, coupled with intensified terrorism, drove the left underground. The Americans had in effect given the police a blank check in conferences of high officials. One American official said later, "G-2 did not know how far the police would go and frantically tried to find out what was going on. But the line was to back the police whatever they did."

All offices of leftist political parties, trade unions, the farmers' union, and similar groups were raided and closed by the police. Roughly 2,000 arrests were made; about half were released within a few days. A few arrests were also made by the American Counter-Intelligence Corps.

Most of those arrested were leaders or staff workers of the twenty-four parties and groups affiliated with the People's Front. A great number of key leftists escaped, however, thanks to long-standing precautionary measures. Many liberal teachers, writers, artists, newspapermen, and lawyers were rounded up, among them the co-chairman and general secretary of the Civil Liberties Union; Shin Nam-chul, former professor of philosophy at Seoul University; Che Chong-wan, mathematician; Pak Choon-yung, principal of Hansung Middle School; An Yong-il, theatrical producer; and Yu Chin-oh, a poet who had just completed a year in prison for reading a subversive poem at a mass-meeting.

During this period right-wing terrorists in Seoul and elsewhere searched homes, beat up leftists and suspected leftists, confined and tortured selected individuals in private prisons, and raided leftist offices and newspaper plants. On the fourteenth a group of leftist newspapermen were arrested as they left a Soviet press conference. By the fifteenth about half the leftist press had suspended publication. On August 13 Kim Kok-tong, member of the central committee of the centrist Socialist Democratic Party, was kidnapped. His body was found in the gutter on the fourteenth.

After August 15 arrests continued on a lesser scale; terrorism subsided to the high level which had prevailed before the eleventh. By the nineteenth several leftist papers were able to resume publication.

August 12: The South Korean Interim Assembly was urged by the late Major General A. L. Lerch, military governor, to pass the pending election law "as soon as possible," even if it had to disregard the criticisms of the draft law made previously by Brigadier General C. G. Helmick, then acting military governor. The assembly quickly passed the law, disregarding all but one of Helmick's criticisms.

August 13: The legislative assembly received a request from General Helmick that Ordinance 88, per-

taining to the press, be amended to provide for cancellation of licenses of newspapers publishing reports which were false or calculated to agitate the people. (In fact, two leftist newspapers in Pusan had just been suppressed on such grounds.)

August 15: The second anniversary of Korea's liberation was officially celebrated at Seoul Stadium. Rightist youth-corps members booed and jeered both General Shtikov and Civil Administrator Ahn Chai-hong, moderate rightist and associate of Kim Kiu-sic.

August 20: Cho Pyung-ok, the police chief, told me a plot involving the entire People's Front had been discovered, directed from North Korea. "Of course we can prove little connection with North Korea; naturally they keep these things secret." He cited various acts of leftist terrorism: seventy-eight policemen in all had been killed, 60 in the Taegu riots of last October, and 494 rifles had been stolen.

August 22: After a statement by the Soviet delegation had protested against the large number of arrests in the previous fortnight General Hodge explained them to the foreign press. The disclosure of the plot to "blow up" the Seoul radio station, he said, had led to the uncovering of a broader conspiracy "of a revolutionary nature." Only that day a police raid had unearthed a cache of weapons. (As far as I could learn, the only weapons found that day were dug up in the backyard of a house belonging to a member of the centrist Socialist Democratic Party. They were Japanese weapons, deteriorated to the point of uselessness, and had apparently been there a long time. According to the Socialist Democratic Party, they were discovered some time ago by a woman digging in the garden. A servant had told the police about them.)

The Communists, General Hodge declared, were instigating riots and interfering in the grain collections "to cause starvation and so create unrest." He expressed surprise that the Soviet Union should protest, since these activities "were directed from North Korea."



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Grapes Without Wrath

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Westfield, New York, October 22

A LARGE sign at the entrance to this trim, attractive little town near the shores of Lake Erie tells the traveler he has arrived at the "Grape Juice Capital of the World." The boast is supported by the location here of three plants devoted to the manufacture of this beverage and the headquarters of the Welch Grape Juice Company, the pioneer in this field, which it still dominates. Moreover, Westfield is the geographical center of a grape-growing belt stretching from near Buffalo into eastern Ohio. A favorable combination of soil and climate has made the narrow coastal plain between Lake Erie and Chautauqua Hills one of the best and most extensive vineyard areas in the United States.

A few wine grapes are raised, but the district is, or was, a stronghold of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. When grapes became a leading crop here in the last half of the nineteenth century, its influence helped to persuade growers to concentrate on the Concord variety, from which the best unfermented juice is made. This attracted to Westfield in 1896 Dr. Thomas Bramwell Welch, a fanatical dry, who started his business with the object of providing a non-alcoholic substitute for communion wine.

Today Dr. Paul Welch, a member of the family, is chairman of the Welch Grape Juice Company, but a large majority of the shares were acquired a few years ago by J. M. Kaplan, a New York City business man. Under his guidance, and with new capital he has provided, the company's three plants in this area, as well as four others in Michigan, Arkansas, and Missouri, have been enlarged and modernized. Simultaneously, the management has contracted an alliance with a large local grape-growers' cooperative—an experiment which deserves attention as an attempt to place relations between farmers and food processors on a more stable and friendly basis.

More often than not those relations are strained by the inability of the two sides to see eye to eye on the question of fair prices. Most fruit and vegetable crops that are canned, bottled, or preserved are harvested in a short season and must be disposed of immediately if they are not to spoil. Farmers believe, sometimes with reason, that processors take advantage of this situation to secure undue profits by buying cheap and selling dear. Processors retort that theirs is a risky business: they must

lay out cash for raw material at harvest time and recoup it gradually over the following twelve months. If they misjudge demand for the finished product, or if market conditions worsen during that period, they may be broken by inventory losses.

THE Welch plan, which was put into effect in the summer of 1945, seeks to reconcile these opposing points of view by spreading the risks and sharing the profits. The arrangement is as complicated as it is unique. Three master agreements have been signed by the Welch Company and the National Grape Cooperative Association, which now has nearly two thousand members in the Erie belt, mostly owners of small and medium-sized properties. In addition to grapes they cover tomatoes and other fruits grown by members.

The first agreement provides for the lease by the company to the association of its four plants in the area (one is used only as a warehouse and receiving center) for a period of twenty-one years; the second, for the employment of Welch's by the association to manage and operate these plants for the same period; the third, for the appointment of the company as sole distributor of the association's products. The association pays as rent a sum equal to 3 per cent of the net sales price of all products processed. It further agrees to produce fruits and vegetables in sufficient volume to enable the plants to operate as nearly as practicable at full capacity, to pay all taxes and similar charges, and to maintain the plants in good repair. The company, for its part, undertakes to advance such funds as the tenant needs to fulfil these conditions.

The management agreement gives the company full authority to operate the plants, to determine the kind and amount of production, and to decide what expenditures are necessary for maintenance. Finally, as sales agent, Welch's agrees to use its best efforts to create demand for the association's products, including use of the widely advertised Welch label to the fullest advantageous extent. In turn the association undertakes to produce only the kinds, qualities, and quantities of goods approved by the agent. From the proceeds received the agent is entitled to deduct all selling and other distribution costs, all excise taxes, a ratable share of overhead expenses, and a commission of 7 per cent of net sales (defined as aggregate invoice price with deductions only

for returns, damage allowances, and lawful discounts). As a safeguard against unduly inflated sales, the agent agrees that the total of deductible items is not to exceed 27 per cent of net sales.

To sum up: the association, in effect, pays 10 per cent of the proceeds ultimately derived from the grapes and other products of its members, who contract to sell their entire crop through the association, to secure the use of Welch's capital, management skill, and label. It receives, for distribution to its members, 90 per cent, less manufacturing and selling costs.

THE plan, it is claimed, offers substantial advantages to both parties. As the company advances only part of the cost of raw material, spreading the balance of payments over the year as the finished products are sold, it is able to finance a larger turnover without a proportionate increase in liquid capital. At the same time its risks are reduced because inventory can be valued on the basis of the first partial payment made to the growers. Finally it is assured of the tonnage needed to keep its plants operating efficiently. The growers, for their part, share the risks of market changes but in return get a certain market for all they produce, the benefit of the company's selling organization, and a share of the profits.

So far the arrangement seems to have worked out to the satisfaction of both sides. For their 1945 crop the growers received advances of \$127 a ton and a final dividend of \$13; for the 1946 one, \$135 and \$27.50. When they compare such returns with an average price of \$40 paid in 1940, growers feel they are doing well. For the crop now being picked \$75 a ton is being paid on delivery—a sum agreed on between the directors of the association and the Welch management. While this is less than in either of the two previous years—a reflection of uncertainty about market conditions in 1948—none of the growers I have talked to had any complaints to make. They seemed fairly confident that later payments would bring total returns to a much higher figure. Meanwhile the advance more than covers growing costs estimated to range between \$35 and \$60 a ton.

Of course, the recent happy experiences of the grape-growers cannot be ascribed wholly to cooperation à la Welch. This venture was launched at a moment when prices were generally rising and when the demand for semi-luxuries like grape juice was particularly good. Processors striving to keep up with this demand were competing for tonnage and providing for the growers the kind of sellers' market that is every farmer's dream. These conditions continue, but they are unlikely to last forever, and we have yet to see how this capitalist-cooperative alliance will hold together in a period of declining prices. However, when I put this point to Hall Clothier, president of the association, as he worked in his vineyard, he replied, "Then the cooperative will be

more necessary and more valuable to us than it is now."

The growers' optimism seems to be based in part on the strong impression made upon them by Mr. Kaplan's personality. A man who combines boundless energy and great resourcefulness with a progressive business outlook, he believes that the effects of a possible general recession can be offset by broadening the market. His aim is to lower unit profits on a larger volume so that grape juice can be priced more competitively in relation to other fruit juices. The agreement with the growers designed to secure a greater and more dependable tonnage is one means to this end; another is reduction of processing costs by the use of more efficient labor-saving equipment. Thus in the past two years the company has installed in its various plants forty-four huge stainless-steel tanks to take the place of the thousands of five-gallon glass containers in which the juice used to be stored until it was bottled. These tanks save an enormous amount of handling and have many other advantages.

Such policies are beginning to show results for consumers as well as producers. At a time when prices generally are riding a non-stop elevator Welch's has announced a reduction in the prices of its grape juice and preserves. For instance, it is now listing a case of twelve quart bottles at \$4.50, down 60 cents from 1946, and only 12½ per cent more than the price in 1940, when raw material, labor, and other costs were much lower. Here is a record which challenges a good many other processors of farm products.

THE National Grape Cooperative Association is the largest growers' organization in the Erie belt but not the only one or the oldest. There are, in fact, three completely independent producers' cooperatives operating their own plants. Some members of the National told me that they expected these groups would ultimately join them. However, when I talked to T. R. Skinner, manager of the Westfield Planters' Cooperative Fruit Products, he told me that although they had received a number of feelers in this direction, his members were not interested.

Mr. Skinner assured me that the Welch plan had not attracted away supporters of his cooperative or served to reduce its tonnage. In fact, he said, there is a waiting list of candidates for membership, for the 125 growers who own Planters are able to supply all the grapes the factory can handle. This cooperative last year paid out \$150 a ton, which is rather less than National Grape's distribution. However, a surplus of \$42 a ton was held back in a revolving fund to provide working capital. As the fund is replenished from the proceeds of future packs, all or part of this sum will be released and distributed to members. The balance sheet of Planters certainly shows solidity. Started in 1935 with a capital of \$45,000, it now owns plant and equipment valued at

\$277,983, after depreciation, and total assets exceeding \$1,000,000.

Some at least of the independent cooperators in the belt are decidedly suspicious of the National Grape set-up. They regard it as a very fancy façade behind which Welch exercises the real power and carries on very much as before. The association, they point out, nominally hires the company to process and sell its products, but in fact its directors have no voice in deciding operating or selling policies. All the same, these critics concede, the plan may work out satisfactorily as long as the independent cooperatives can provide competition and a yardstick. But should the independents falter and agree to join the Welch family, the company would achieve something like a monopoly and the growers would be at its mercy.

This seems to me a reasonable position to take, even though I have been very well impressed by the good intentions and good faith of the present Welch executives. For twenty-one years is a long time, and continuity of management policies cannot be guaranteed. On the other hand, there is no evidence, at present, that the company needs or aims at a monopoly. Under the influence of good prices grape culture in the belt is recovering from the low it reached a few years ago. Old vineyards are being improved by increased use of fertilizer and more spraying; new vineyards are being planted. Thus it should be possible in any good crop year for both the Welch Company and its cooperative competitors to obtain the tonnage they need for efficient operation.

More threatened, perhaps, are the smaller private packers, but some of them at least seem to have seen a red light and are now introducing profit-sharing schemes of their own. Nor is the influence of the Welch plan likely to be confined to this district. Its principles are being applied by the company in its operations in other parts of the country, where its rivals may also be expected to sit up and take notice.

There is at least a chance, it seems to me, that the spread of this profit-sharing technique will help to bring stability to a notoriously unstable branch of industry. Growers and processors of innumerable foods have a community of interest which they have often forgotten in a search for the fleeting profits of scarcity. The first needs an assured market for his whole crop, the second a dependable supply so that he may secure the benefits of continuous capacity operation. A profit-sharing alliance is a good way to secure these objectives, provided both sides remember they have a silent but influential partner—the consumer.

Next week I. F. Stone will make a full report in The Nation on the Un-American Committee's all-star fiasco in Washington.

In the Wind

OPEN THE MAIL," said the Wind. "Okay," said the Candle. "This is from Chicago: 'Gentlemen: Both the Candle and the Wind should flutter at the knowledge that pages from *The Nation* bearing stories of starvation in Europe, race riots in the United States, trouble in the United Nations, and other minor diversions, have been selected as an appropriately sporty background for a couple of show-windows of ties in the Store for Men of Marshall Field and Company here. The sales talk that goes with the ties and *The Nation* reads, 'Lines, lines, lines . . . crisp, clear-cut, and well-defined.'"

"THIS," SAID THE WIND, "is from Japan—from Hugh Deane. See page 469: 'The censors here have prohibited publication of the second half of Edgar Snow's 'Battle for Asia,' and the publishers have melted down the plates. The first half was published some time ago. 'Red Star Over China' also cannot be published; it has been held up seven months. Such parts of Snow's books as have been published have been instant best-sellers.'"

"AND MELVILLE CANE, of New York, has sent us the following chef d'oeuvre," replied the Candle, extraneously:

How much Hartley,
How much Taft
Figured in the final draft?
Fifty-fifty? Mostly? Partly?
Who worked smartly?
Taft or Hartley?
Who was helmsman of the craft?
Who was fore and who was aft?

"BRAVO!" CRIED THE WIND. "Do you think that 'it may be necessary to listen to cries of fascism in order to get rid of the termite Communists who use racial equality . . . to destroy the foundations of the Republic'?"

"Not quite," answered the Candle. "Who does?"

"*Bank Trends*, a news-column release from Washington News Features, U. V. Wilcox, editor."

"Oh," said the Candle. "Well, I have heard of an easier way to avert 'communistic and socialistic trends.' Clive W. Haas of Big Timber, Montana, vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Telephone Association, says it can and must be done by expanding telephone facilities in rural areas."

"I'M SURE HE'S RIGHT," said the Wind. "Almost as right as Millard C. Faught of the Small Business Economic Foundation, who wants everybody to know that 'as things stand, we as a nation have the last free-enterprise team on the field. It's ninth inning, bases loaded, and two out. If we fan out now, the whole Free Enterprise League gets disbanded for good. What a time to hit one over the fence!'"

"HERE'S A FINAL NOTE of good cheer, and then let's get out of here," said the Wind. "Up in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Charles Stewart, chief steward of Lightship No. 5, was jailed for a day for 'wilful insubordination.' Steward Stewart attempted to force Captain Louis Duquet 'to accept ham and eggs for breakfast when the skipper ordered steak'"

The Fight for "P. R."

BY GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

WHAT was slated to be an off-year election in New York City has turned out to be quite a lively surprise. With no officers to be voted for except a few judges, two district attorneys, and legislators to fill half a dozen local vacancies, more people have wanted to vote than in the mayoralty election of 1945.

Explanations differ, but all are agreed that the most important issue is the abolition or retention of proportional representation, familiarly known as "P. R." This method has been used in the last five municipal elections for the selection of city councilmen. It is being attacked with hysterical vigor by the regular organizations of both major parties and as vehemently defended by an array of minor-party, civic, labor, and veteran groups ranging all the way from the Commerce and Industry Association to the Communist Party.

A similar battle is raging in Cincinnati, where the controlling but chastened Republican organization is trying to get rid of a strong good-government opposition in the city council by abolishing P. R. The little New York seashore suburb of Long Beach has a miniature version of New York's battle, with both major party organizations trying to repeal P. R. against a stout civic and labor defense; and Boulder, Colorado, which has used P. R. for thirty years, is voting on a repeal question for the third time. On the same day five Massachusetts cities—Worcester, Pittsfield, Fitchburg, Medford, and Revere—are voting on petition proposals for the adoption of P. R. along with the city-manager plan of government, and eight cities in other states are holding P. R. elections for members of their city councils.

A new struggle for political rights comparable to the woman-suffrage movement seems to be well under way. Proportional representation is already accepted in principle in many of the most civilized countries and has gone far enough here to be recognized as a major threat by old-style politicians throughout the nation.

The more usual methods of electing representatives in this country give all the representation in each district, or at large, to the most numerous organized group. When the strength of the largest party is spread evenly over the entire area, it may win all or nearly all the seats even under the district system, as when the Republicans completely monopolized the city council of Philadelphia for more than twenty years and when the Demo-

crats elected sixty-four aldermen out of sixty-five in 1931 in New York City. If this situation becomes established, competition dwindles, the inner circle of the dominant group feels free to nominate docile henchmen, and popular elections are a mere form without substance.

Proportional representation attacks the evil at its roots. It accepts the principle stated by the eminent Swiss publicist Ernest Naville as long ago as 1865, that "in a democratic government the right of decision belongs to the majority, but the right of representation belongs to all." As its name implies, it gives representation to every substantial group of like-minded voters in approximate proportion to the group's voting strength.

The form of P. R. used in this country, Canada, Australia, and Ireland—where it has been used for national as well as local elections since 1920—is based on a preferential ballot which permits the voter to express his order of choice among the candidates, or as many of them as he wishes to mark. No primaries are needed; candidates are nominated by petition. Several members are elected together, either at large as in Cincinnati or in a large district as in the New York City boroughs.

A minority quota, either fixed as a definite number of votes (75,000 in New York) or calculated each time as a definite fraction of the total, is taken as the basis of election. Any group of voters large enough to poll this quota is sure of representation. A larger group may fill up more than one quota and elect proportionately more members, but each particular voter helps to elect only one—the first of his choices who turns out to have a chance of election with his help. The lowest candidates are dropped one by one, and as each one goes out, the ballots which have been counted for him are transferred to the credit of the next choice of the particular voter among the candidates still in the running.

Under this plan there is no longer a possibility of a political monopoly. The present New York City Council consists of twelve Democrats, five Republicans, two Liberals, two American Laborites, and two Communists. Even the Democrats and Republicans on the council are a free choice of the voters instead of hand-picked selections of district leaders. The council is a real deliberative body, very different from the rubber-stamp Tammany Board of Aldermen which preceded it, and it has dealt constructively with many vital local problems.

But the major party strategists are unhappy about P. R. because it has curtailed their powers. Though they have not been above making frequent deals with radicals for their own purposes in district elections, they are seizing on the presence of the two Communists in the council as the excuse for a hysterical appeal to throw out P. R. The ruse may or may not work. The choice is between a Tammany dictatorship and good, representative government.

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., is secretary of the New York Citizens' Union and associate secretary of the National Municipal League.

Del Vayo—Vambery of Hungary

THE corridors at Lake Success have been enlivened lately by the presence of a man whose conversations bring a note of high spirits and humor to those usually cheerless surroundings. Though he represents an unpopular cause, delegates who have known him for a long time have no fear of compromising their reputations by being seen in his company. His name is Rustem Vambery, and his immediate mission is to obtain Hungary's admission into the United Nations. I sometimes wonder whether his own government realizes how fortunate it is to have Professor Vambery as Minister to Washington and champion of its cause before the international organization.

The Hungarian envoy is too well versed in world affairs to underestimate the value of old-fashioned diplomacy, but he enjoys the liberty provided by the new diplomacy to speak his mind without restraint. He manages to be a forthright defender of his country's interests without giving up an ounce of independence or critical judgment. His statement to the press the day he presented his credentials to President Truman was perhaps the wittiest and most outspoken recently made by a foreign diplomat.

Vambery does not pretend that Hungary is a model of democracy; he considers it nonsense to talk about "public opinion" after twenty-five years of Admiral Horthy. On the other hand, he believes it is unjust to ignore the achievements of the new Hungarian regime, which in two years has eliminated much of the chaos left by occupation and war.

In December of 1944 a coalition government was set up in Hungary in which Communists predominated. The following November, elections were held in which the generally conservative Smallholders' Party won a smashing victory. Naturally, the results met with the approval of the men who were then laying the groundwork for a Western bloc, and the election was hailed in Washington and London as a model of democratic franchise. However, when the elections held in August of this year produced different results, the United States and Britain denounced them as an outrage to democratic opinion. Actually, neither election was an example of democratic purity. They were simply the kind of elections one must expect in countries where the free play of parties does not exist and never has existed.

When politicians and columnists and radio commentators speak of Eastern Europe, they forget the factor which in the past has been common to most of these countries: the unbridgeable gap between a mass of impoverished, hunger-ridden peasants and an almost medieval privileged class of landed proprietors. Between these two strata an industrial proletariat, the most advanced and revolutionary element, slowly emerged, and, after the liberation, formed the core around which coalition or national-front governments were built. Inevitably, this core was largely Communist, and the governments became minority regimes which for a long time to come will bear little resemblance to Western parliamentary systems.

Foreign reporters forget something else. In the years be-

tween the two world wars several attempts were made to plant democratic methods in Eastern Europe, and except in Czechoslovakia they failed miserably. They brought no real improvement in the situation of the masses, nor did they even limit the privileges of a feudal aristocracy that was able to manipulate the new constitutional machinery for its own benefit and continue to rule by caprice.

Progress toward normality and a more democratic atmosphere in all these countries is also impeded by the worsening of relations between the West and the East and the endless talk of war. In the Balkans, as in Germany, reactionaries speculate on the imminence of war and in the measure that they see war draw nearer become bolder in their intrigues. This in turn leads the left minorities in power to be more intolerant and less discriminating in their repression. Another factor working in the same direction is the agitation carried on from abroad against the new regimes. No fewer than fourteen former Hungarian envoys are now in foreign countries working actively against the Budapest government. Several of them, together with fellow-reactionaries from neighboring states, have foregathered in the hospitable atmosphere of Washington.

With six opposition parties represented in the Hungarian parliament, it is difficult to substantiate the charge of a "one-party dictatorship." True, Hungary has a political police. But what is the FBI, pray tell? Its methods are still restrained, by Eastern European standards, but the widening purge in Washington gives a hint of what can be expected if political tension increases.

What is clear, as Ambassador Vambery has emphasized, is that the internal situation in Hungary constitutes no valid basis for refusing it admission to the United Nations. To oppose Hungary's membership on the ground that changes brought about in the last government crisis were not "in accordance with the principles of international law" is completely absurd. Constitutional law might be a criterion, but certainly not international law, which touches in no fashion whatsoever the internal structure of national governments. In any case I am tempted to ask the delegations which opposed Hungary's admission but accepted Yemen, when the last elections took place in the Imam's absolute monarchy.

Even more hypocritical is the argument that if Hungary and certain other countries of Eastern Europe are accepted into the United Nations, admission cannot be refused to Franco. I am sick of this leveling zeal. Not so long ago in Washington, at an off-the-record talk on Spain before an audience composed largely of government employees, I was asked: "Can the speaker establish a difference between the Tito regime and the Franco regime?" "At least one," I answered. "Tito came to power by fighting the Nazis; Franco through the help of the Nazis." If anyone in the U. N. is so firmly convinced that Hungary and Franco Spain are on a par, let him have the honesty, at least, to get up on his feet and dispute with Argentina's Dr. Arce the honor of pleading the fascist dictator's cause.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Jameses

THE JAMES FAMILY: A GROUP BIOGRAPHY. By F. O. Matthiessen. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.75.

THE JAMES FAMILY" is the climax of the many recent works on the subject, superseding, I should say, all but R. B. Perry's infinitely rich "The Thought and Character of William James." It is a marvel of comprehensiveness, a wonderfully full record of a family that peculiarly deserved just such a memorial. The Jameses were not only very conscious but very communicative. They exercised both faculties in a vast correspondence, for they were great travelers. Fortunate as well as talented, they were in a position to know almost all the important figures of their time. But they were never simply reporters: the observation of people and places and the appraisal of books and plays and paintings were always for them a form of confession, a means of identifying themselves in the complex international scene that had replaced the small, sufficient American scene of their childhood. An anxious sense of self, a fateful sense of nationality pursued them almost constantly, charging with a high value whatever they wrote.

"The James Family" is intended as a voluminous document on the minds, and to a lesser extent the lives, of this vivid circle. Mr. Matthiessen includes letters and fragments of autobiography as well as examples of the more formal writings. These materials he arranges in such a way as to show the Jameses in all the variety of what they most prized: their relations—relations to each other, to friends, to famous men, to the United States and Europe, to philosophy, art, politics. And he has interspersed his excerpts with lengthy passages of editorial comment. He has done his job so thoroughly that anyone who, like the present reviewer, has a special interest in the Jameses will read the book in a constant state of pleasurable recognition. One expected such famous items as the elder James's narrative of his conversion to Swedenborg, his brilliant letter to Emerson about the Boston Saturday Club,

the letters illustrating the endless family debate over the question of Europe versus America, Henry's account of the curious injury to his back, the children's letters to and about their "sacred old Father" at the time of his death—surely the high point, these latter, of American epistolary writing. But alongside these familiar things one is always encountering items which one had long cherished as personal discoveries.

I will give a single example. Mr. Matthiessen devotes several pages to the varied family response to Turgenev, whose work they began to read some years before Henry James became personally acquainted with him in Paris. William leads off by declaring to Henry in a letter of 1869 that although Turgenev is "solid" and possesses "style," "his mind is morbid"—presumably the Russian is too melancholy for William, who reads novels and will continue to read them largely for inspiration. Shortly thereafter young Henry James publishes in the *North American Review* a much more subtle statement of a similarly divided view of Turgenev. But in 1874 the elder James addresses to Turgenev a letter of homage which is so attractive a document of the man and the period that I am delighted to find it included in Mr. Matthiessen's book. "You sink your shaft sheer through the world of outward circumstance, and of social convention, and show us ourselves in the fixed grasp of fate, so to speak, or struggling vainly to break the bonds of temperament. Superficial critics revolt at this tragic spectacle, and pronounce you cynical. They mistake the profound spirituality of your method." In short, as Mr. Matthiessen points out, the elder James was quite equal to a pessimism from which William and Henry shrank. His theological system, crazy and atavistic though it was, lifted him above mere gentility, delivered him from the inveterate high-mindedness not only of his age but of his two brilliant sons, even though it may have worked to keep him from anything like their great accomplishments.

But Mr. Matthiessen is extremely im-

partial toward all members of the family. He fully appreciates the elder James without falling into the absurd ancestor worship which has led certain recent critics to discover the father image everywhere in the work of the sons. Even more important, he is not victimized by his own theme, the family pattern. That pattern, he makes clear, involved as much diversity as uniformity. In one very vital matter, however, I think that Mr. Matthiessen has been over cautious: he avoids any psychological approach to the family. And this is a little peculiar, for the Jameses themselves, as distinguished from, say, the public-minded Adamses, were specialists

IN THE CAMP THERE WAS ONE ALIVE

Flakes pour to the black dead
At Lasen, by the wire.
The child, in his charred cave,
Watches the shaking fire

Struggle to him in torment
Till, stumbling, the shades sink back
Into his helplessness; his shaking
Limbs shrink to nothing, crack

Under the beams that pin him.
He hears, beneath the hiss
Of snow, a step on snow, the vague
Murmur of many voices.

They have come; and he calls to them
In gladness—It is the dead.
They speak softly, he understands:
Nothing, and inches his head

Back over to them; but he sees
Nothing, he hears nothing. He moans
In his last loneliness—and the voices
Ring in his ears, the stones

Are flung from the hammering feet
Of the dead who cry
The child's name over and over.
He laughs out in joy

And wrenches with all his strength
Against the timbers, cries:
"I'm coming." The voices are fainter,
The footsteps die as he dies.

RANDALL JARRELL

in intimate experience. They had a heritage of psychic crisis as the house of Atreus had a heritage of bloodshed, and they were intensely aware of it. To the implications of so much emotional distress Mr. Matthiessen is very cool. And as a further small instance of his indifference to the inner relations of the family, he fails to include the statement by the youngest son, Robertson, to the effect that as a child he had felt himself a "foundling" in that ostensibly most devoted of family groups; instead Mr. Matthiessen merely pronounces the unfortunate Robertson a case of self-pity. No doubt he was, but in any integral view of the James family Robertson's fate is immensely symptomatic: his extreme sense of estrangement was a measure of what William and Henry had likewise to confront and overcome. In some of the richest pages of "A Small Boy and Others" Henry James confessed to having felt, if not a foundling, at least a very anxious little outsider in the family circle; and the tragedy of exclusion was to figure deeply in his novels. Of all this Mr. Matthiessen makes strangely little in his otherwise admirable volume.

F. W. DUPEE

The Machinery of Society

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR. A Study of Decision-Making Processes In Administrative Organization. By Herbert A. Simon. The Macmillan Company. \$4.

BOTH the exasperated veteran of bureaucracy and the confused and irritated novice should find solace in this calm and relentless dissection of the operating machinery of society, whether public, local and national, or private, both commercial and voluntary. Professor Simon does not lay down the law. He merely shows what to expect at the present stage of social evolution when citizens have to contend with bureaucracy or are drawn into bureaucracy on an increasing scale. He does not write for everybody. His ambitious attempt to discuss the sociology and the practical science of administration is tailored to the reading habits of the academic man who needs a framework for research and teaching. But that is no reason why the book should not be-

come a best-seller in this age of widespread college education. The inclusion of material from military administration should add to its appeal for our veterans. They probably still need some help in digesting past experience while orienting their academic learning to the practical necessities of a managerial society.

The new generations should welcome the book for two additional reasons, neither of them explicit in it. Professor Simon shows the elements of administration common to business, government, and volunteer organization. He fits in the profit motive. He considers the possible difference in administrative problems and techniques between totalitarian and democratic communities, alleging insufficient knowledge in the first and suggesting adjustments in administrative organization in the second. In the process he demonstrates, however, that much would be gained if, in public affairs, contending parties had the knowledge and the will to distinguish administrative implications of the agenda. In this perspective the book reads like a running commentary on United Nations discussions at Lake Success during the summer and fall of this year. But Professor Simon has clearly not intended to make such possible generalizations more than incidental to his book. If the reader wants to refer back to the book for its value in the broader perspective, he will have to add considerably to the index under the headings of democracy, totalitarianism, private enterprise (profit, commercial, non-profit, reform, and religious organizations), socialization, technology, and even public relations, all topics dealt with in the text. Suitably enlarged in this manner, the index will show the reader that Professor Simon has a perspective on society that points beyond an ideological structure old enough by now to be interred in the history books.

The second reason why this book is valuable to new generations—and to everybody needing encouragement about public affairs—lies in the evidence it provides of a community of people in our midst who are attacking the operating problems of our society in a systematic manner without emotional, ideological, or historical bias. Undoubtedly a pioneering work in the range

and logic of its presentation, Professor Simon's book acknowledges a broad debt to public servants, academic teachers, and business men, who are shown in the notes to be helping in the development of a science of administration. Living philosophers are not excluded. Again, however, the index fails the reader. Perhaps it is debatable whether the index should reinforce Professor Simon's acknowledgment of a debt to the *Public Administration Review* and other periodicals that have recently begun to function as writing laboratories in the field. But John Dewey, who is mentioned many times in the text, is missing in the index, while Freud, who is mentioned only once, is there. **BJARNE BRAATØY**

Out of the Resistance

A FINE OF 200 FRANCS. By Elsa Triolet. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.75.

HERE are three long short stories ("short novels," the American publishers call them) whose characters move against the backdrop of the German occupation and the Resistance. The first story, "The Lovers of Avignon," follows a detective-story technique, and there is an element of surprise for the reader when he discovers that Juliette, the beautiful stenographer, who up to a certain point in the story has ambulated mysteriously and incomprehensibly through the French countryside, is gathering data for the Resistance. ("I've always been fond of Juliette Noël," Elsa Triolet tells us in one of her charming asides to the reader; "I find her extremely charming and attractive.") And small wonder that Juliette should be in love with one of the leaders of the *maquis*: "Riding breeches, boots, a blouse without braid, unbuttoned. . . . A large body, whose movements were so abrupt one would expect him to overturn things. But he wasn't like that at all. He had the grace of a horse who takes an obstacle cleanly. The head of an archangel, somber, fallen, with burning, prominent eyes beneath bold eyebrows. . . . The tropical heat in the room seemed to emanate from him." But why go on? Here are Charles Boyer and Ingrid Bergman turned to flesh and blood before our very eyes.

The second story, "Private Life

or Alexis Slavsky," in spite of interminable descriptions of Lyon, its houses, furniture, and inhabitants—which are easily skipped—is by far the best in the book; but the effort to connect and interweave the life of the heroine in "Notebooks Buried Under a Peach Tree" with that of the characters of the previous story seems a little forced. She is at any rate a fascinating creature, whom music—as her "Notebooks" tell—"always stirred more deeply than liquor or men" and who "sometimes dressed like an elegant woman, sometimes like a choir boy, with extravagant make-up." She is caught and executed by the Gestapo, having joined the Resistance, that everybody's Purgatory where sins are burned to dross. Lady Brett was never like this, and the Notebooks are dug up from beneath the peach tree by Jean, the One-Man-She-Ever-Really-Loved.

The translator is faithful to the French original and certainly knows French well. He remains shyly anonymous, so only two slight mistakes prove that he hasn't been in France during the past few years: *le car* is not a train but a motor bus which runs between pro-

vincial towns; *ne pas desserrer les dents* means to shut up, not to utter a word, and not "Henriette clenched her teeth."

Unfortunately, American readers will judge contemporary French writing by this collection of Elsa Triolet's stories; she has written much better ones. The fact that this volume won the Goncourt prize explains the choice of the publishers.

RENE BLANC-ROOS

Numbers, Space and Time

ONE TWO THREE . . . INFINITY.

By George Gamov. The Viking Press. \$4.75.

PROFESSOR GAMOV, a well-known theoretical physicist, here entertains the lay reader with illuminating discussions relating to numbers, the square root of minus one, space and time, atom smashing, genes, entropy, and almost anything else that comes into his fertile mind. Most of it is entertaining; much of it is understandable; some of it is too deep for the type of reader to whom the author wishes to appeal.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Racial Mores in Brazil

THE BRAZILIANS. By Hernane Tavares de Sá. The John Day Company. \$3.

SENHOR TAVERES DE SA offers a warm and convincing image of his country, and the abundant detail he sets down concerning custom and convention adds up to something more than a brilliant travelogue. Having read it, one feels that one has learned how Brazilians make their private and public decisions.

Perhaps the most fascinating section of the book is the one which deals with the color problem. In the main the author follows Gilberto Freire's analysis. What Freire in his recent book did not make clear, however, is that the encouragement of miscegenation has been the conscious policy of Brazilian governments. The Brazilian color problem, it is said, is really one of class. A woman who marries a Negro or an Indian does not sacrifice her "white supremacy," for there is little racialism among the broad masses. But she does accept a

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lower standard of living and therefore often shrinks from a mixed marriage. In a land with a colonial history where office and good employment have hitherto been reserved for whites and where illiteracy is common, colored labor is ill rewarded. The sexual motives which rule in the United States actually work in reverse, according to the author. The census discloses that many women declare themselves to be colored when they are not, apparently because of the tradition that Negroes are more gratifying sexual partners than white women. So runs the argument. It is not entirely convincing when set out with the brevity imposed upon the author. For example, one notes that Senhor Tavares de Sá admits that the mixing of strains has been largely due to extramarital intercourse. That the government's policy is called "whitening" suggests that the idea of white superiority does exist. Nevertheless, the author's statement of visible fact, that racialism produces no such embittered tension, must be unreservedly accepted.

There is no extensive survey of politics in "The Brazilians," but the author's account of recent events brings into focus all that he writes concerning economic and cultural potentials. Following an extremely sympathetic portrait of the Communist leader Prestes and an admission that the party is a very powerful force, Tavares de Sá says that the army's revolt against Vargas was not due to the fact that he had permitted elections but to his deal with Prestes. Vargas and his machine meant to utilize Prestes and his great popular following. The generals feared that Prestes would outwit the dictator and so prepared their coup, whereupon the Communist leader withdrew his sup-

port. Dutra, the victorious candidate, was the representative of the old machine and the generals. The present regime, which naturally rests upon the army, is now suppressing the Communist Party, and the liberals are still without cohesion and without a solid program.

If this is so, what is the future of Brazilian democracy to be? There is a good survey of problems which that democracy must face in this very readable and useful book, but there is no confident answer to the larger problem.

RALPH BATES

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

COMMAND DECISION (Fulton Theater) is, I think, quite the best play so far to come out of World War II. Inevitably, therefore, it has been compared with "What Price Glory?" but the two are as different as plays dealing with war in the field could very well be. "What Price Glory?" was a brilliant cartoon intended to shock and getting its effects by bold strokes and crude colors. Its cynicism and its sentimentality were both of the most abandoned sort, and it quite frankly sacrificed everything to theatrical effect. "Command Decision" also has, to be sure, plenty of drama as well as a certain amount of mere theatricality, but essentially it is sober—as much more sober than the Anderson-Stallings melodrama as the prevailing reaction to the war just past is more sober than that of the twenties to World War I. Indeed, if a future historian ever compares the two plays he will probably be able to sense from them alone the real difference between the two post-war epochs. To the authors of "What Price Glory?" the conflict had been a gaudy binge upon which they looked back in the true spirit of a morning after. That, they were saying, was my last and biggest wild oat. It was fun in a way, but we'll never go there any more. "Command Decision," on the other hand, is a picture of a preposterous yet imperative enterprise almost unbelievably grueling and tragic at the same time that it was inescapable. What is the use, it seems to ask, of saying that it must not happen

again? We could not prevent it this time, and, God help us, we should quite possibly be unable to prevent its happening again.

The three acts take place in the office of a general in command of an air squadron which operates against Germany. The general is convinced that precision bombing, at the moment on trial, is our only hope. He knows that the tremendous losses he is taking when he sends his bombers out beyond the range of fighter protection are, by the cold calculus of military logic, entirely justifiable. But newspapers and Congressmen count only the cost and prefer relatively safe little sorties which sacrifice little and accomplish nothing. Even the military higher-ups, sensitive to public opinion, will not share his responsibility. He is on his own, and so he must himself make the decision, which is not only to send brave men to their death but also to face the probability that he will be relieved of his command and sacrificed to public opinion in the guise of a butcher.

To its central theme the play keeps, for the most part, with grim insistence. A correspondent wanders in and out; there is an official visit from Congressmen and high brass; there are also a few references to the pleasures of the soldier off duty which played so large a part in "What Price Glory?" But in the main the tone is sober, and few concessions are made to the supposed need for color and comic relief. The author, William Wister Haines, seems to know how a command post actually operated, and he is determined to reveal its workings. Indeed, there are moments when the play almost suggests one of those film "documentaries," like "Target for Tonight," which were quite as much informative as they were dramatic. Hence, though drama is by no means lacking, one gets continuously the feeling that truth to fact is as important to the author as theatrical effect. Somewhat similarly, the play also tends to stick pretty close to its specific problem. It does hardly more than suggest that this specific problem is a typical one, and that to answer it is to answer the general problem raised when we must fight a war in the interests of those values which war in itself completely negates.

Nevertheless, there is, I think, no doubt that the author does unobtrusively

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suggest just that and no doubt what his attitude is. If the general was right—and the author obviously thinks he was—when he sacrificed his men to an enterprise which, in the long run, would save lives, his decision answers also the larger question. Once war has been accepted, then, for the time being, only the logic of war is valid. We may be fighting it in the interests of antithetical institutions. We may have embarked upon the most inhuman of enterprises because we hope some day to reestablish the security of humanity. But we cannot, even so, make war humane, and we would simply be condemning ourselves to defeat if we tried even to temper it with humanity. In war no considerations are legitimate except those which ask to what extent a sacrifice contributes to victory. The enemy of ruthlessness must himself be ruthless. A monstrous paradox? Of course it is. A dangerous gamble against the chance that the temporary may become the permanent and that the time when we can return to another way of life will never seem to have come? Obviously it is also that. But is there any alternative? The author, so it seems to me, is saying that there is not.

Paul Kelly contributes a grim, restrained, and effective performance in the role of the general, and there is also a very good portrait in a different key created by James Whitmore as the general's sergeant, "Command Decision" probably will and certainly deserves to be a hit, but since the comparison has already been made, candor compels me to admit that it is, nevertheless, unlikely to be remembered as long as "What Price Glory?" That is partly for the simple reason that so vigorous a cartoon figure as Captain Flagg is, however regrettable, more memorable than so sober a portrait as that of the General Dennis in the new play. It is also, perhaps, because we need to be pretty close to the time when World War II was still news in the making to be as interested as "Command Decision" expects us to be in what I have already called a kind of documentary film.

"Under the Counter" (Shubert Theater) is an amiable if not very robust farce with music imported from England. Its chief asset is the low comedienne Cicely Courtneidge, who has a way with her.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

BEN SHAHN'S gift, though indisputable, is rarely effective beyond a surface felicity. What his retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art (through January 4) makes all too clear is how lacking his art is in density and resonance. These pictures are mere stitchings on the border of the cloth of painting, little flashes of talent that have to be shaded from the glare of high tradition lest they disappear from sight.

Shahn first came to notice as a "socially conscious" painter, working in that routine quasi-expressionist, half-impressionist illustrative manner derived from Cézanne, Vlaminck, and other precubist French artists, examples of which year in and year out fill the halls of the Whitney, Carnegie, and Pepsi-Cola annuals and the showrooms of Associated American Artists (Bohrod, Brook, Blanch, Bouché, Dodd, Pène du Bois, Sterne, etc., etc.). Shahn appears to have been momentarily successful within the very narrow limits of this style: thus in the gouache "Walker Greeted the Mother of Mooney," a real instinct for pictorial unity imposes itself on tawdry color and banal drawing. But his real originality, such as it is, emerges only with the entrance of the influence of photography, a medium he has practiced in addition to painting. It was the monocular photograph, with its sudden telescoping of planes, its abrupt leaps from solid foreground to flat distance, that in the early 1930's gave him the formula which remains responsible for most of the successful pictures he has painted since then: the flat, dark, exact silhouette placed upstage against a receding empty, flat plane that is up-tilted sharply to close the back of the picture and contradict the indication of deep space. Chirico is felt here.

Some striking pictures issue from this formula. They are all in tempera, which lends itself best to Shahn's precise contours and extremely simple color sense; among them are the "Handball" of 1939, the "East 12th Street" of 1947, the "Ohio Magic" of 1945. The influence of the photograph, with its startlingly irrational unselectivity of detail,

is also applied to advantage in the "Self-Portrait Among Churchgoers" of 1939.

On the whole Shahn's art seems to have improved with time. The later pictures become more sensitive and more painterly. That his "social consciousness" has at the same time become less prominent does not, in my opinion, play much of a role here; it is simply that Shahn gains better control of his medium as he goes along. Yet there has been a certain loss of vigor. Nothing improves upon or repeats the shock of "Handball." There is an attempt to strengthen and vary color, but to little avail. Shahn, more naturally a photographer than painter, feels only black and white, and is surest of himself when he orients his picture in terms of dark and light. All other chromatic effects tend to become artificial under his brush.

This art is not important, is essentially beside the point as far as ambitious present-day painting is concerned, and is much more derivative than it seems at first glance. There is a poverty of culture and resources, a pinchedness, a resigna-

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tion to the minor, a certain desire for quick acceptance—all of which the scale and cumulative evidence of the present show make more obvious. Yet Shahn has a genuine gift, and that he has not done more with it is perhaps the fault of the milieu in which he has worked, even more than his own.

Although Pepsi-Cola's "Paintings of the Year" annuals have improved, at least by omission, under Roland McKinney's direction in the last two years, they continue to pay diminishing returns as an effort to promote American art. It is good to see new talent outside New York being encouraged, but when this talent is as mediocre and as timid as the Pepsi-Cola shows reveal it to be, what's the use? Does it matter that twenty or thirty more young painters west of the Hudson and north of the Sound have adopted the manner of Alexander Brook and become eligible for commissions to illustrate Lucky Strike advertisements?

This year's exhibition at the National Academy of Design (through October 31) makes a decided retreat in so far as it confines the quota of abstract paintings to two or three—and very bad ones at that. The tendency seems to run even

more strongly than before to a populist modern art that, without going back all the way to conventional academicism, will not make things too difficult for the lay observer. The fact that the most ambitious and original American painting of the moment lies almost entirely in the direction of the abstract is disregarded. The reason for this becomes apparent, however, when we look at the list of jurors. Most of them are painters themselves and members of an academy with a vested interest to protect. None of them have gone farther than Vlaminck and Hartley, and it is only to be expected that they should discourage their juniors from attempting to do so. It is too bad that the Pepsi-Cola Company, whose intentions seem sincere, has let itself become their instrument. Doesn't it want its shows to be representative?

This year the first prize of \$2,500 was awarded to Henry Kallem of New York for his Klee-ish "Country Tenement," which seems a good and almost a fresh picture when seen in color reproduction in the catalogue. It turns out, however, that this reproduction has by its very unfaithfulness—which steps the colors up at least three tones in key,

converting the grays into whites, the violets into lavenders, and the reds into vermilions—greatly improved a painting whose original is rather muddy and timid, even if well drawn. Perhaps Mr. Kallem will be instructed by this enlightening accident and take more chances—in which case he would have to forgo Pepsi-Cola prizes for a while.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR has issued another group of records of performances by famous singers of the past. One (15-1010; \$2.50) offers the baritone Battistini in his 1907 performance of arias from "La Favorita" and "Martha" and enables one to understand the superlatives used in describing the quality of his voice, the ease of its production, and the style of its use. Another (15-1014) similarly documents the descriptions of the power and beauty of the soprano Emmy Destinn's voice when she first came to the Metropolitan, with a 1908 performance of *Un bel di* from "Madama Butterfly." On the reverse side is a 1914 performance of *Suicidio* from

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"La Gioconda," in which the voice has lost some of its beauty but the singing has acquired magnificent authority in style. I had to reduce the speed of the motor below 78 to bring *Un bel di* down to its correct key; and I notice that in the H. M. V. catalogue the two Battistini recordings are also marked "below 78." The surfaces of the Destinn record are quiet; those of the Battistini a little less so.

The record (15-1011) with the contralto Louise Homer's 1909 performance of Schubert's "Die Allmacht" reproduces the grand style of her singing and the richness of her lower tones, but not the beauty I recall of her high ones. And my copy distorts her loud tones in the fine 1905 performance of an aria from "Les Huguenots" on the reverse side. Also, surfaces are bad.

The one (15-1012) with the contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink's 1906 performance of an aria from "Lucrezia Borgia" and her 1907 performance of Ardit's "Leggiero Invisibile" reveals a voice remarkable not for sensuous beauty but for the power and flexibility that lend themselves to extraordinary bravura in vocal and musical style. Surfaces are poor.

And finally the one (15-1013) of the tenor Charles Dalmorès's 1912 performances of arias from "Carmen" and Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" reveals a powerful voice which is used with a lot of exaggerated nuances of tone and changes of pace in the first piece, but with simpler phrasing in the second. Surfaces are quiet.

Still having to postpone detailed comment on Blitzstein's "The Airborne" until I have the necessary space, I now merely report my lack of respect for it (which leads me to regret that at a time when RCA Victor hasn't the plant, materials, and labor to record or issue all the great art it should, or even to keep already existing recordings of great art available, it wastes what is involved in the production of a seven-record set on this piece of musical journalism), and the fact that the performance by the New York City Symphony and Robert Shaw's chorus, with Charles Holland, tenor, Walter Scheff, baritone, and Mr. Shaw as narrator, all under the direction of Leonard Bernstein, seems good and is excellently reproduced (Set 1117; \$8.25).

RCA Victor offers better value in the set (1141; \$4) containing the Royal Hunt and Storm and the March from Berlioz's "The Trojans" and the Overture to Borodin's "Prince Igor," performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic. The quiet opening and closing sections of the Royal Hunt and Storm have some of the details in Berlioz's music that bring tears to one's eyes with the intensity of their exquisitely wrought loveliness; the Borodin piece is very fine; the performances are excellent; and they are reproduced with spaciousness and richness, though with some overweight of bass and underweight of treble. In my copy there are occasional wavering pitch and occasional noisy surfaces.

Another Victor set (1135; \$5) offers Wagner's early and interesting "Faust Overture," his lovely "Siegfried-Idyll," and his dreadful Ride of the Valkyries, performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. The performance of the "Idyll" is relaxed, tender, and characteristic in its plastic modeling, which in the overture produces powerful organic coherence and a hair-raising climax. The recorded sound is magnificently spacious and rich, and a trifle brash; one side in my copy wavers in

pitch; and the surfaces are not bad with the Brush pickup, but are extremely noisy with the new Astatic QT.

On a Victor single disc (11-9653; \$1) is Stokowski's latest orchestral performance of Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor, full of the manipulations of sonority and pace that make hash of this great work, and excellently recorded. And on another (11-9654; \$1) is Morton Gould's "Minstrel Show," which I don't find enjoyable, and which is excellently performed by Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony and well recorded.

As for the set (1128; \$5.25) of "Henry V," it offers some fine passages from the play, beautifully spoken—but as prose rather than as poetry, with lines and parts of lines sliced out—by Laurence Olivier, and extensive passages of Walton's music for the film, which I don't consider worthy of the space that could have been used for fine passages in the play that are omitted.

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Letters to the Editors

An Arab Reaction to the Palestine Supplement

Dear Sirs: Your special supplement on Palestine and the Middle East was an education in itself, especially for Arab readers. Thus Egyptians, whose country is still occupied by foreign troops, will be very flattered to learn that they dream of founding an empire stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic, and Syrians and Lebanese, who have shown their attachment to their republican institutions, will be delighted to learn that they will probably soon have a Caliph-King.

As an agriculturist, Dr. Lowdermilk may be entitled to say that the Jewish colonists "have done the finest work I have seen on four continents," though if he had looked a little farther north, in Lebanon, or south, in Egypt, he would have seen quite as good a use of the land with much smaller capital resources and far less publicity. As an agriculturist, too, he may be more interested in the fate of the land than of its Arab inhabitants. But he cannot be so innocent of economics as to ignore the cost of Jewish agriculture and its financial failure. As an example of this, Mr. Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency, recently stated that although the Jewish colonists received during the war advances of \$72,000,000 from the Jewish Agency, they still stagger under debts of \$60,000,000 and their income hardly covers the interest on those debts.

But the most interesting article of your supplement was surely that of Professor Laski, for it shows how even an outstanding intellectual Socialist can let himself be carried away by narrow aggressive nationalism and forget the noble principles for which he formerly stood. After vigorously denouncing British and American imperialism he goes on to point out that the sovereignty of the Middle East states is a "hypocritical pretense" and—presumably as a homeopathic remedy—to suggest that

they should be deprived of what sovereignty they have and their resources put under a commission appointed by the United Nations—that is, by those same great powers he denounces.

Professor Laski does indeed anticipate some resistance to his plans but thinks they will only be *émeutes*, whose repression "would be nothing more than a big police operation." It would be really humorous, if it were not tragic, to see Professor Laski taking over, for the benefit of Zionism, not only the aims and methods but even the jargon of that imperialism he denounces.

The whole argument of your supplement rests on three assumptions: first, that the establishment of a Jewish state is such a desirable object that any amount of injustice it involves is justified; second, that, to quote Professor Laski, "such deep disagreement divides the Arab states that they would not effectively cooperate"; third, that only Russia can help the Arabs and that the last thing the "feudal Arab rulers" wish is to seek aid from Russia.

The first point has often been discussed, and there is no need to refute here the iniquitous fallacies on which it rests. As to the second, the Arabs have sufficiently reaffirmed their solidarity, especially as regards Palestine, and have enforced a boycott of Jewish goods whose efficacy is fully admitted by the Jews themselves. However, it is probable that you and others will only begin to take Arab solidarity seriously when it shall have proved itself by armed resistance to aggression.

As to the third point, it cannot be too often stressed that Zionism is opposed by all Arabs—*rulers and people alike*—and that no Arab would refuse aid from any quarter if that offered the sole avenue of escape from Zionist imperialism backed by the Western powers. However, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that Zionist propaganda will continue to stifle the conscience of the Western powers and prevent an understanding between the Arabs and the Americans, which the Arabs sincerely desire and which would be of such benefit to both sides.

CHARLES ISSAWI,
for the Arab Office

Washington, October 18

Without the Mufti Cooperation Can Exist

Dear Sirs: The delegate of San Salvador to the U. N. has suggested that an Arab-Jewish commission should come together and seek a basis for mutual cooperation and understanding. It was obvious that the Arab Higher Committee would reject any suggestion of this kind.

As I pointed out in my letter to *The Nation* about two months ago, the Arab Higher Committee has not the slightest legal standing and besides has no right to speak in the name of all the Arabs in Palestine, as it represents only the feudal families of the effendis and a few reactionary elements among the Arab Christians and other bazaar politicians who fish in troubled waters.

The fact that many Arab notables are being murdered by the followers of the Mufti and that many others have fled the land, seeking refuge in neighboring countries, is sufficient evidence that there are Arab leaders who favor an understanding with the Jews, particularly in that part of Palestine which has tentatively been allotted to the Jews by the partition plan of the majority report of UNSCOP.

The simplest thing to do is therefore to appeal now to the Arabs of that area to arrange their affairs themselves with the Jews, leaving out the Arab Higher Committee altogether.

But it is doubtful whether anything can be achieved if the Mufti is allowed to continue his political activity; moderate Arabs fear his terroristic acts, and they know that he commits them with the tacit consent of the British authorities.

Now is the psychological moment to demand his surrender as a war criminal. He violated the right of asylum and flew to Lebanon to defy the United Nations; the Egyptian government betrayed its pledge not to allow him to mix in politics. King Farouk himself is responsible; it was on his word of honor that the Mufti was allowed to stay in Egypt. The Lebanese and Saudi Arabian governments should be warned that they must not allow him to be splintered away and then say that he "escaped" without their knowledge.

It is also absolutely necessary to eliminate from the State Department all

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the reactionary elements hampering the activity of the United States government. A pro-Arab functionary like Wadsworth, who is known for his help to the Arab effendis, as you have pointed out so ably and rightfully, has already done much damage to the prestige of the United States, and will do still more if left in his post.

A. S. YAHUDA

New Haven, October 11

With the Mufti Murder Exists

Dear Sirs: The slaying of Sami Taha, chief of the Arab Workers' Society, on September 12 by a hireling of the Grand Mufti has aroused me sufficiently to submit to you certain facts regarding the Mufti that I feel might be important. It is possible that I may be the only American who knows these facts.

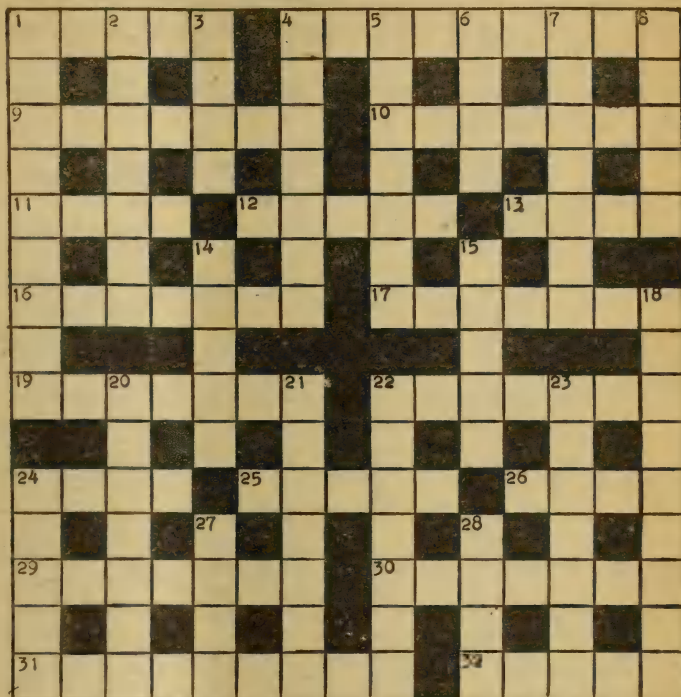
As a special agent of the Counter-Intelligence Corps in the Africa-Middle East Theater, I was at one time attached to British Intelligence as an interrogating officer. I remember the capture of a German parachute mission, dropped in Palestine in February, 1945, which consisted of at least two Germans and one or two Arabs. On this occasion I was told of the Grand Mufti's direct role in this and other missions by the interrogating officers. Working closely with the Abwehr (German Army Intelligence), the Mufti had helped in the recruiting, training, and instruction of the Arab members, who were to assist the German members in their sabotage and espionage objectives and to transmit information by wireless to Germany. One specific order to this February group was to increase in every possible way the split between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

My fellow-officers had also interrogated (I observed a portion of one of the sessions) a number of other Arabs who had come into the Near East through Turkey from Germany and who had been recruited and instructed by the Mufti to act as agents in the Near East and send information through Turkey to Germany.

Unfortunately, I was never assigned to any of the above cases; if I had been, I would have a much larger picture of the Mufti's activities. British Intelligence, of course, has many files of positive and incriminating evidence regarding the Mufti. These missions, had they been successful, would have caused great damage and disruption in the Middle East, which was a fighting zone and then later a very important training

Crossword Puzzle No. 235

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 As a rule, it sounds like an arm. (5)
- 4 Should mean a password at the bridge! (9)
- 9 The thief's in the jug overseas, and that's the end of it! (9)
- 10 How they drank at one time. (7)
- 11 Not the very image of diligence, apparently. (4)
- 12 Large and gaudy. (5)
- 13 Measures correctly, ■ stanzas should. (4)
- 16 Direction of Grant's march on Richmond? (7)
- 17 Ladies wear this out, and in a revel, at that! (7)
- 19 Place properly by tearing into pieces. (7)
- 22 Could steel be made out of them? (7)
- 24 Go to the river, and stick there. (4)
- 25 Fashionable vehicles, in a way. (5)
- 26 A demon returns hence. (4)
- 29 Was a grain a drop in the barrel once? (7)
- 30 Logical country for babies. (7)
- 31 St. Peter's dome is slightly off center, if you measure the distance. (9)
- 32 It's here now! (5)
- 3 This grand old man knew ■ thing or two! (4)
- 4 Only children are so cooked. (7)
- 5 Where 7 is spoken? (7)
- 6 If repeated, this leads to jail. (4)
- 7 Spoken in 5? (7)
- 8 Cowboy actors? (5)
- 14 Capital is definitely below par now. (5)
- 15 If this bird hadn't lost his head, he'd make a lament. (5)
- 18 Just before 32. (9)
- 20 Grading to make it cheap. (7)
- 21 Butter portion? (7)
- 22 Gilbert referred to an enterprising one. (7)
- 23 Lochinvar was so in love! (7)
- 24 If the answer were "nip," this might be the clue. (5 hyphenated)
- 27 Frequently greased at the beach. (4)
- 28 A good place not to be on! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 234

ACROSS:—1 ETHICAL; 5 BLOWS UP; 9 FOLIO; 10 OCTENNIAL; 11 and 12 STOCKS AND BONDS; 13 SPEEDED; 15 DISABLE; 17 KINSHIP; 19 DESIRED; 21 TIMID; 22 OBSESSION; 23 HAYMAKERS; 24 WELDS; 27 PRECEDE; 28 STRINGY.

DOWN:—1 REFUSES; 2 HALLOWEEN; 3 CLOCK; 4 LEOPARD; 5 BETIDED; 6 OMIBUSES; 7 SCION; 8 PELISSE; 14 DEHYDRATE; 16 BERTILLON; 17 KETCHUP; 18 PROTEGE; 19 DESISTS; 20 DYNASTY; 22 MAYBE; 24 SEWER.

DOWN

- 1 Take a taxi to the river, and allow one to ride in it. (9)
- 2 A negative reply is nothing to ■ but offensive. (7)

and supply area. We know the British have been very dishonest about the Mufti's case and have used his divide-and-conquer tactics themselves in Palestine, as in Greece.

JAMES ROGERS

Milwaukee, Wis., October 11

Mr. Ickes's Words— and Deeds

Dear Sirs: Miss Lopinsky's letter, in the October 4 issue of *The Nation*, referring to my article *Fish and Politics*, requires a rejoinder.

She cites a purported record to show that Harold L. Ickes as Secretary of the Interior was concerned with ending the salmon monopoly in Alaska. Although there are more than 400 fish traps in Alaska, Mr. Ickes did nothing to restore control of the bulk of these to Alaskans until January 31, 1946. This was thirteen days before he sent his letter of resignation to President Truman. One wonders whether he was trying to toss a hot potato to his successor or attempting to make "a record" on the eve of his departure.

From 1939 until 1946 Governor Gruening continually agitated for return of fish-trap sites to Alaskans. Secretary Ickes gave him not one scintilla of support. Suddenly, thirteen days before his resignation, Mr. Ickes issued orders limiting company ownership of trap sites. Why did he not do this earlier? He had had full control of the Alaskan salmon industry from 1939 on.

I have lived in both the West and Alaska, the two regions most associated with Mr. Ickes's Interior Department. I served nearly two years in Alaska during the war. My considered opinion of Mr. Ickes is that his deeds often were at variance with his words. He could advise the Navy Department what to do with helium, and he could tell the Commerce Department what to do about the automobile industry—but when it came to the Interior Department challenging the Alaskan fish monopoly, that was a different question.

I also think it is pertinent for readers of Miss Lopinsky's letter to know that she is an associate of James Curry, a Washington lawyer and former Ickes employee, who is trying to collect damages for certain Indian tribes under rules set down by Mr. Ickes while he was Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Curry is to receive 10 per cent of what the Indians collect. This could well run to several million dollars.

This letter need be no longer. Mr. Ickes through his syndicated column is showing himself clearly to the American people. Of late his two main targets have been David Lilienthal and President Truman, and one of his heroes has been Senator Taft.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., October 15

Newsprint Control Through Postal Laws?

Dear Sirs: I have read with considerable interest about the praiseworthy efforts of Senator James E. Murray to protect the paper supply of the smaller publishers. In that connection I should like to make a suggestion which may be helpful.

The postal subsidies allowed to publishers are based largely on the theory that the dissemination of information to the citizenry should be encouraged. It is, of course, true that an informed electorate is essential for truly democratic processes, and to the extent that publishers help to enlighten our people, the subsidy is warranted. It is apparent, however, that most of the large publishers have little or no interest in public enlightenment. Their primary function is the sale of advertising space for profit, with bits of gossip, scandal, news, or information thrown in to allure readers.

Under no theory can a subsidy for advertisers be justified. Such a subsidy to the most privileged economic class is an unfair drain upon the average taxpayer through postal losses. Moreover, a good deal of the advertising is done because Uncle Sam pays much of the cost through reduced income taxes. Both of these subsidies tend to promote a great deal of socially wasteful advertising, the cost of which is passed on to consumers as well as to the government.

I suggest that existing postal laws be amended so as to require every publisher to furnish monthly a report of the percentage of space used during the previous month for commercial advertising. The subsidy provision should continue to govern only for the space used for news and educational matter, the rest to be billed at the ordinary mailing rates.

I believe that this simple proposal would be fair and appropriate and would gain public favor in a short time.

IRVING H. FLAMM

Chicago, October 12

A Medal for Ecker

Dear Sirs: Last week the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing wrote to Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, asking for an appointment to see him. As of this date, the audience has not been granted. The committee has therefore decided to publish its letter and has so informed the Mayor's secretary. The letter follows:

Honorable Sir: The *New York Times* of September 30 reports that you will be a speaker at the One Hundred Year Association dinner on October 30 for Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. At this dinner it is planned to award Mr. Ecker a gold medal for his "achievements" in the field of better housing.

Unfortunately, Mr. Ecker has gained such a deplorable reputation for his outspoken stand in favor of segregation in housing that it would be a slap at all fair-minded citizens for the Mayor of New York City to accord Mr. Ecker the honor of his presence. You must be aware that in the controversy about the Stuyvesant Town housing policy Mr. Ecker took a most unequivocal stand backing Jim Crow. Only last spring he insisted on a proviso in a contract with the United Nations secretariat which permits his company to practice its express policy of segregation in housing U. N. personnel.

We are aware of your policy of equality for all, and no act on your part should exacerbate, even inadvertently, this shameful insult to the U. N.

In behalf of the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing we believe that you should publicly refuse to attend this dinner, and some of us would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this matter with you. Will you kindly notify us when it will be possible for us to see you?

The committee continues to hope Mayor O'Dwyer will not see fit to attend the dinner. In any event, it will hold a protest demonstration against the "honoring" of Mr. Ecker, Thursday night, October 30, in front of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, in which the dinner is being staged.

CONRAD J. LYNN

For the Joint Committee
New York, October 24

LANGUAGES

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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A New Charter for Freedom

IN THE cold war that some have already proclaimed, the case for the West rests on its championship of "certain inalienable rights" of man. Unless the United States, which in effect speaks for the West, holds on to those rights, cultivates them, assures their exercise, and protects them against all comers, it will have no case at all in the eyes of the world, and its power to persuade will vanish. Nothing could be more timely, therefore, than the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a document of such uncompromising boldness that it at once exposes the "moral dry rot" in our midst, provides the most specific steps to clean it out, and displays before the world that corrosive self-criticism which is democracy's saving grace, its boundless advantage over dictatorship.

Eleven months ago, President Truman, foreseeing the wave of intolerance that invariably follows a great war, appointed a committee of fifteen, headed by Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, to investigate the dark corners of the Republic and to recommend measures for their illumination. He asked for concrete results, and now he has them. Rarely has a government commission made so broad and variegated a study of American life. It found much to be proud of, and it records the belief that "in no other nation have so many people come as close to this ideal [of freedom and equality] as in America," but, in line with its function, it necessarily focused its attention "on the bad side of our record on what might be called the civil-rights frontier." Here it found a "pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do," and the 173 pages of the report* are filled with examples of "moral erosion," some blatant and violent like lynching, others "continuing, quiet, omnipresent practices which do irreparable damage to our beliefs." Despite a marked decline in lynchings over a period of twenty years, "it is still possible for a mob to abduct and murder a person in some sections of the country with almost certain assurance of escaping punishment for the crime." And this "is merely a striking form of the broad and general immunity from punishment enjoyed by whites . . . for less extreme offenses against Negroes." J. Edgar Hoover told the committee

of a particular jail where "it was seldom that a Negro man or woman was incarcerated who was not given a severe beating, which started off with a pistol whipping and ended with a rubber hose."

The temptation is strong to go on citing from the report, which proceeds from a discussion of such violent blasphemies against the basic creed of the nation on through the whole sordid story of disfranchisement, discrimination, and segregation—it shows clearly how "the 'separate but equal' rule has not been obeyed in practice"—down to seemingly little but galling outrages such as Washington's annual marble tournament in which segregated contests yield two victors, the white boy being automatically designated champion and the Negro child runner-up. The quota system in schools of higher learning, directed against Jews, and sometimes Catholics, as well as Negroes, comes in for a good share of attention. So does discrimination in employment, "the war-time gains of Negro, Mexican American, and Jewish workers" being "lost through an unchecked revival of discriminatory practices." Restrictive covenants in the field of housing, shabby discriminations in the armed forces, and a dozen other expressions of abysmal prejudice are reviewed, all tending to make second-class citizens of Negroes everywhere, and of Jews, Mexican Americans, Orientals, and other minorities in various sectors of American society. Government itself comes in for sharp treatment, not only for its laxness in the enforcement of law, but for its own discriminatory practices and for the dangerous looseness of its current procedure in protecting itself against disloyal employees. The capital city, ironically, is found to be "a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy."

THE recommendations for bridging the gap between the nation's theory of equality and its discriminatory practices fit roughly into administrative, legislative, and educational categories. The committee would greatly strengthen the now weak and understaffed Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, give it the service of regional offices, and create under the FBI a special unit of investigators trained specifically for civil-rights cases. Similar systems are recommended for the various states. A permanent Civil Rights Commission is sug-

* Being published this week as a pamphlet by Almon and Schuster, under the title "To Secure These Rights." There will be a special introduction by Chairman Wilson. The price is \$1. The report was also printed in full in last Sunday's week-end PM.

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gested as an adjunct of the Executive Office, and Congress is urged to establish a joint standing committee on the subject—presumably with a different personnel from that of the Un-American Affairs Committee, whose mayhem on civil rights is regrettably ignored in the report.

The President's committee scorns the rationalization that prejudice cannot be eradicated by law. On the contrary, the report says, "the achievement of full civil rights in law may do as much to end prejudice as the end of prejudice may do to achieve full civil rights." Its proposals for legislation include everything liberals have been demanding for many years, and some that few of them have ever thought of. Among the most urgent, if obvious, are those calling for a complete overhauling of the archaic and ineffective civil-rights statutes, a federal anti-lynching law, either Congressional or state action to abolish the poll tax, laws to protect the right of qualified persons to take part in primaries, local and national suffrage for the District of Columbia, federal and state fair-employment-practice acts, the outlawing of restrictive covenants, and state fair-educational-practice laws to prohibit discrimination in the admission and treatment of students in other than denominational schools.

More novel than these is the proposal, opposed by a minority of the committee, to withhold federal funds from all institutions—schools, public-health services, housing projects, and the like—in which segregation is practiced, though "a reasonable interval" would be allowed for "adjustment to such a policy." The minority believes no less in the elimination of segregation "as an ultimate goal" but opposes the imposition of a federal sanction.

On the thorny question of "political extremists, the committee, taking special cognizance of the Canadian espionage trials, recognizes the government's duty to rid itself of disloyal workers, but asks for due process with specific rules of evidence, a bill of particulars, the right of the accused to confront witnesses, and other judicial safeguards, and it rejects conviction by mere association. Outside the sphere of government, it adheres to the traditional libertarian position for complete freedom in the market-place of ideas, but it would discourage political double-dealing by requiring all groups that "attempt to influence public opinion to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures." Federal taxing and postal powers would be used to compel such organizations to report the names of their officers, the sources and disbursement of their funds, and their organizational purposes. Those who use first-class mail for large-scale mailings would be required to file disclosure statements similar to those now in force for second-class mail, and, as a further curb on irresponsible propagandists, no mail at all

would be carried that did not bear the name and address of the sender.

Individual recommendations in the committee's report may be argued. Some will be regarded as politically impossible, others perhaps as tactically unwise. But the committee was not appointed to play politics or devise strategy; it was directed to make a searching study of a grave weakness in American society and to propose correctives. This it has done magnificently, and with a sense of history. Twice before, it points out, the nation found it necessary to review the state of its civil rights—in the period from 1776 to 1791 and in the era of the Civil War. The first self-examination yielded the Bill of Rights; the second, the Reconstruction amendments. Now the time has come for a third advance: morally, because the country "can no longer countenance these burdens on its common conscience, these inroads on its moral fiber"; economically, because "it can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence"; and politically, because "the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

President Truman hopes the report, significantly titled "To Secure These Rights," will prove "an American charter of human freedom in our time." In part, that depends on him; in greater part, it is up to Congress; but, above all, it is up to the country. However much of the charter it succeeds in having enacted, it can, by the very act of fighting for it, clear the air of the poisonous vapors generated by the political hysteria of the moment.

The Shape of Things

MR. THOMAS'S TRAVESTY IN WASHINGTON was called off last week—*siny dye*, as the chairman put it—but its after effects are still being registered. The hearings were in the spirit of fascism, and the faces of the Un-American Committeemen wore the look of fascists. Americans should study both proceedings and faces—this week's newsreels provide an instructive exhibit—so that they may recognize the stigmata. What the hearings meant, politically and legally, is discussed on pages 492 and 494 by I. F. Stone and Robert W. Kenny. Mr. Kenny who, with Bartley C. Crum, is acting as counsel for the subpoenaed Hollywood witnesses, sets forth his reasons for holding that the Thomas committee is unconstitutional. His analysis explains the refusal of ten of the witnesses to answer questions as to whether or not they were Communists and provides the legal grounds for his appeal to Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., to nullify the citations for contempt brought against them for refusing. If Kenny's request is rejected, as seems probable, the constitutional issue will be

promptly pressed in the courts, and eventually the Supreme Court will have an opportunity to decide whether an "inquiry" of the sort conducted by Mr. Thomas and his colleagues is permissible under the Bill of Rights. The problem is a legal one, but the issue is political, as I. F. Stone clearly demonstrates and as was proved in action by the mob that broke up the protest meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America in Independence Square in Philadelphia last Saturday. If the ghost of Benjamin Franklin was on hand for that rowdy attack, he must have wondered how far his country has advanced since he helped frame the constitutional guaranties under which the protest meeting was held.

✱

IN THE PAST WEEK, SENATOR TAFT HAS BEEN attempting to establish a party line which, if accepted by his fellow-Republicans, promises to turn the special session of Congress into a bitter partisan battle. In regard to Europe, the Senate leader and Presidential aspirant has indicated he is willing to vote limited assistance, but he told a Boston audience that he considered "the Marshall Plan, in its present form, beyond all reason." Like many other Republican members of Congress, Mr. Taft obviously believes that the schedules of requirements drawn up by the sixteen European nations at their Paris conference last summer are hopelessly inflated and represent a bargaining position. Most students of European economy, on the other hand, believe the Paris report actually underestimates American assistance needed for recovery. Under pressure from State Department officials to pitch their requests as low as possible, the European experts made a number of assumptions in regard to recovery prospects which many economists consider unrealistic. Nevertheless, Mr. Taft has no qualms in proposing that Europe's needs in 1948 can be met by a grant of \$4½ billion, little more than half the amount requested by the Paris committee. Administration officials working on the European recovery plan have been dismayed by this suggestion. They point out that it is in the next twelve months that the foundations for recovery must be laid. Europe's plans for increasing its own production are dependent on the early receipt of adequate supplies of food, raw materials, and equipment. In fact, if Taft's views prevail, all hope of early European recovery will be at an end; what we shall have is another temporary relief scheme.

✱

ONE REASON WHY THE SENATOR IS INTENT on shaving every possible dollar off foreign aid is his determination to pass a tax-reduction bill during the special session. Mr. Taft has been telling his audiences that a cut in taxes is one way to check the rise in prices. His reasoning on this matter is not easy to follow. In his speech at Boston on October 28, he declared: "Today the tremendous income of the people . . . produces a de-

mand much greater than production can supply and has inevitably forced a rapid increase in prices." Exactly! But surely it follows that a reduction in taxes, by increasing disposable income, will add to demand and strengthen the upward pressure on prices. Mr. Taft's theory, we gather, is that a tax cut will tend to lower production costs and so induce business men to lower prices. This could happen if the tax cut applied to corporation profits, though we very much doubt that it would so long as the supply of most goods remains inadequate to meet demand. But, in any case, we understand that the tax bill which the Republicans want to pass is intended to reduce personal income taxes, which can hardly be said to be an important factor in business costs. Is it conceivable, for instance, that if a tax cut raised Eugene Grace's take-home pay by \$30,000, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation would be encouraged to slash the price of steel? Come, come, Senator, you know better than that, and you shouldn't insult your audiences by assuming that they don't.

★

HOOVER ONLY ENVISAGED ONE CHICKEN IN every pot and a car in every garage. The sponsors of a new radio program are dedicated to the proposition that there must be three compacts on every dressing table—one tailored model, one for dressier daytime wear, and one for evening, to suit various "apparel moods" and "color accents." The announcer drew a harrowing picture of how you'd feel if, when you were all dressed up, you brought forth an old compact or one not perfectly suited to your aforementioned apparel mood. "Accessorize," he pleaded, "with discrimination." The new program is a quiz with Groucho Marx officiating. Instead of Four Marx Brothers we now have one Marx Brother and three compacts. This tendency has great possibilities. According to the law of diminishing Marx Brothers, on the day when every woman in the world has three compacts—and the clothes to go with them—even that Fifth Marx Brother, Karl, who asked the original \$64 question, may have disappeared from the boards.

★

TAKING OVER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE Democratic National Committee, Senator J. Howard McGrath announced that he had no "magic formula for success," a point that he immediately proceeded to prove. Instead of lustily wading into what is certain to be a desperate struggle, he chose the soft approach of the conciliator, and he drew the inevitable blank. The Southerners of his own party, long disgruntled over the abolition of the two-thirds rule which used to give them a veto power far out of proportion to their strength, have been agitating for extra convention votes for all states that went Democratic at the last election. McGrath proposed at the committee meeting to give them each a bonus of four votes. More important, he prevented the committee

from issuing a blistering attack on the Republicans' conduct of the Eightieth Congress. The subcommittee on resolutions had drawn up a fighting statement charging the G. O. P. with having blocked every decent measure of social welfare, "placed partisan politics above love of country," and "sacrificed the welfare of the people . . . in favor of pandering to the wealthy few at the top." McGrath told the committee to tear up the resolution. It was "a little too bitter at this time," he said, and would endanger Republican cooperation with the President's emergency program for European aid. The results of his kid-glove approach, which was obviously distasteful to retiring Chairman Bob Hannegan, were discouraging. The Southerners complained bitterly that four extra votes were not enough, and the Republicans sensed only weakness in the new leader of their opposition. Senator Taft bluntly replied that politics would not be suspended for the special session, and G. O. P. Chairman Reece blasted McGrath as a "millionaire Rhode Island Red." All of which proves once again that, compared with the way of appeasers, the way of transgressors is a flower-strewn path.

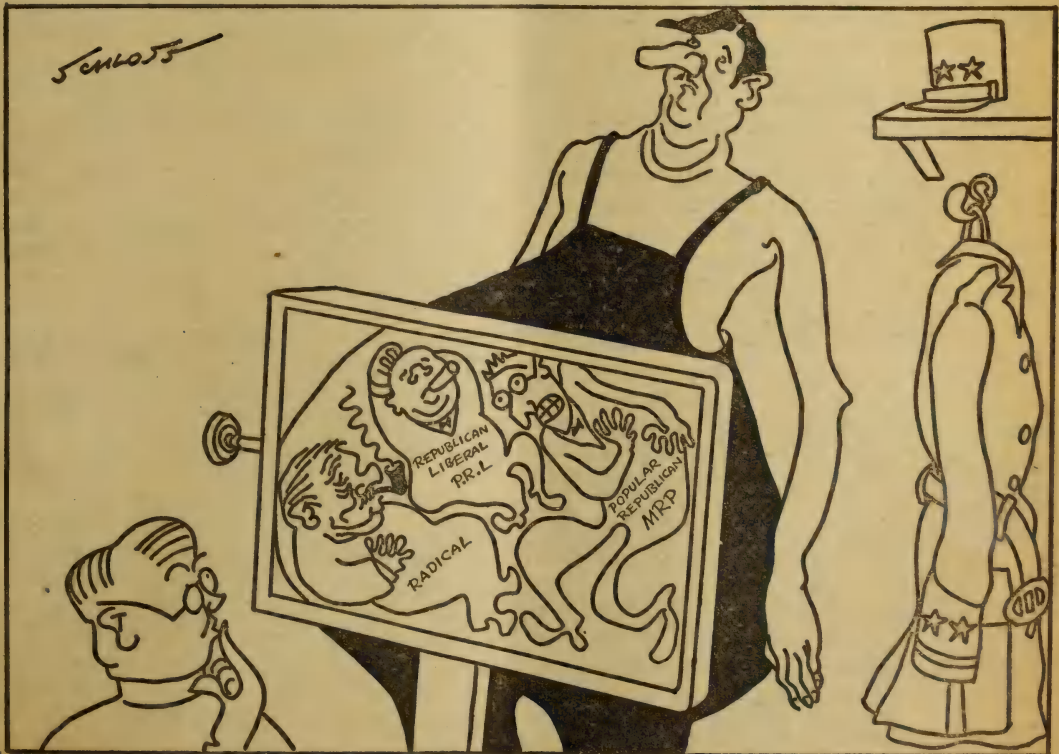
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THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS, IN ITS report to the President on the domestic effects of a foreign-aid program, admits frankly that financing European needs on an adequate scale will place some strain on both the physical and the financial resources of the United States. On the other hand, it points out that the strain will be a diminishing one, since, at the levels of new foreign aid under discussion, the export surplus will be less than in the past year, while domestic output of goods can be expected to expand. The report stresses the fact that "failure to authorize new aid programs would be likely to spell industrial paralysis for some countries, with the possibility of serious social disturbance and political reorientation. It is . . . impossible to calculate the impact of such a development on our own long-run economic situation. It might impose the necessity for increased military expenditure and would, without doubt, impair the outlook for a stable and peaceful world economy." The committee concludes, therefore, that the Marshall Plan conforms with vital American interests. But, it insists, it is essential to offset the inflationary effects of a foreign-aid program by bold government measures. Among the steps it recommends are continuation of present taxes, reduction in other government expenditures, allocation of scarce commodities such as steel, retention of export controls, and the enlargement of government powers to check credit expansion. The committee evidently fears that such measures may prove insufficient, but, while it suggests that "at least minimum powers for a more frontal attack upon these price increases should be made available," it fails to throw light on the strategy and tactics to be employed.

AMERICA'S PROPOSAL THAT THE PARTITION of Palestine be carried through by July 1 and that Britain meanwhile continue to administer the country is not popular in London. The United States plan would leave Britain in charge during a period in which British officials expect violent disorders as the result of a decision sure to be rejected by Arab leaders. That they will accept such an obligation is hard to believe; their general position is pretty well summed up in the remark of an unnamed Foreign Office spokesman quoted in the *New York Times* on Sunday: "I am inclined to take the view," he said, "that a British soldier is no more bullet-proof than a G. I." The British answer has not been made as this comment is written, but the attitude of Mr. Creech-Jones last week, before he left for home, seemed unyielding. The Colonial Secretary stuck firmly to the view he had presented in the Assembly: Britain would accept any Palestine solution that was acceptable to Jews and Arabs; it would not bind itself to help enforce a solution that was unacceptable to either group; it was determined to withdraw its forces "soon," in any case. American officials take a different view: Britain should be willing to carry the responsibilities of the mandate until a new system, approved by the United Nations as successor to the League, has been installed. Behind this insistence, one can detect the further desire to avoid any method of im-

plementation that would require the use of either American or Russian troops. *

PERHAPS A WAY OUT MAY BE FOUND through the Russian proposal calling for termination of the British mandate by January 1, the early withdrawal of troops, and the immediate appointment by the Security Council of a commission which, during an interim period of not more than one year, would serve both as administrative authority and agent for the implementation of the partition plan. This scheme would relieve Britain of the responsibility it has so firmly declined to carry and give the Council the authority it should assume. What it leaves out is the critical issue of enforcement. A U. N. commission cannot by itself insure an orderly transition, especially if the Arabs finally refuse to accept partition. To impose that plan, some force will certainly be required, and we doubt greatly the wisdom of leaving the job to the Jewish army, acting alone. Assuming British withdrawal, it seems evident that some international armed force will be essential if disorder is to be prevented. In the absence of a permanent U. N. police force, we suggest that the subcommittee consider the establishment of a small interim force made up of contingents contributed by three or more "disinterested" member states to act under the authority of the Security Council.



X-RAYING DE GAULLE

The Grand Inquisition

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 31

IT WOULD be easy to be cute about the pratt-fall with which the House Committee on Un-American Activities ended two weeks of hearings on the movie industry. No such inquiry is complete nowadays without the disclosure of some attempt to steal the atom bomb. By sophisticated standards the atom-bomb sensation produced by the committee was a dud; the ties between it and the film industry were of Rube Goldbergian tortuousness. Unfortunately, relatively few readers of newspapers will get beyond the flaring headlines which link Hollywood with atom-bomb spying.

It would be difficult to imagine a more far-fetched example of slander by association. A Soviet consul in San Francisco is alleged to have "offered" money to an oil-company scientist in 1942 to obtain information on some secret radiation work at the University of California. This scientist went to a faculty member, who in turn approached J. Robert Oppenheimer, later but not then in charge of the atom-bomb project at Los Alamos. Oppenheimer is said to have declared that he regarded such attempts to obtain information as treasonable. There is no allegation that any information was supplied. All this occurred in San Francisco.

How was it linked to the film industry? At this point the plot, as told by Louis J. Russell, a committee investigator, really thickened. The first scientist in the chain was a dinner guest two years later of Mrs. Louise Bransten, who stands accused of having helped to get Gerhard Eisler out of a concentration camp in France, of having aided many Communist causes, and of having given a dinner for Manuilsky, chief delegate of the Ukraine, during the San Francisco conference. Mrs. Bransten is alleged to have been helped in the Eisler rescue by a former State Department employee who knew John Howard Lawson and Herbert Biberman, two of the film writers cited for contempt in the film inquiry. The presumed clincher is that both these writers had also been dinner guests of Mrs. Bransten.

Even the committee investigator, Russell, who is not paid to be judicious, did not charge that anyone in the film industry had any part in trying to steal atom-bomb secrets, if any such attempt actually was made. That it was made is highly doubtful, unless the FBI and the Department of Justice are also in cahoots with Moscow. Russell said he gave this story to the Justice Department more than a year ago, and it took no action. Certainly it must have made an investigation, but scientist no. 1 in this Charlie Chan chain was allowed to leave for

England recently to work for the Shell Oil Company. Would he have been allowed to leave if he had tried to obtain atomic secrets for the Russians? But for every newspaper reader who examines the dispatches closely enough to ask himself that question, there will be ten thousand who glance at the headline "Film Reds Linked to Atom-Bomb Plot," and turn to the sports pages with the feeling that something will have to be done about these reds.

The literate and the thoughtful must not deceive themselves. The committee is succeeding in its objectives: to build up an impression that Communists have penetrated everywhere; that they menace the prize national possession, the atom bomb; that something drastic will have to be done about them; that the peril warrants dismissal of appeals to constitutional rights as legal pettifoggery, if not treasonable jesuitry. The state of mind being created is a kind of plot-and-persecution system akin to paranoid obsession and like paranoia impervious to correction by rational argument. The creation of this state of mind is the necessary preliminary for the emergence of a full-scale fascist movement garbed as militant Americanism. It is in this perspective, and not as some kind of unfortunate Congressional aberration, that one must view this latest in the long series of "hearings" by the Thomas committee and its predecessors. What the committee needs above all is attention, and the attention-getting potentialities of the movie star and the film industry are so much richer than anything else in American life that if there were no reds in Hollywood the committee would have to plant some.

AS SHEER spectacle, whether for the sophisticated or the unsophisticated, the movie hearings were the most superb performance yet put on by the committee. Outside the huge marble-walled caucus room of the old House office building on Capitol Hill a long line waited daily for a glimpse of the glamorous folk in attendance. "My wife," I heard a poorly dressed man plead with the policeman on duty downstairs, "wants to have a look at Humphrey Bogart." Within the guarded hearing-room the scene matched Hollywood's best in productions. On the right sat the ponderous moguls of the industry, with their handsome gray-haired counsel, Paul McNutt. A million dollars in movie names were scattered through the intent audience. In the front rows left sat perhaps the most affluent-looking group of alleged "reds" in modern history: earnest men, mostly young—only rich America could provide its alleged revolutionaries with

such sleek clothes and Sulka ties. On the aisle, out-dazzled both by their clients and by McNutt, sat Bob Kenny and Bart Crum, the determined counsel of the accused screen writers. The rows of press tables in front of them were crowded with stellar by-lines, hemmed in by Klieg lights. And on the high bench presiding was the Grand Inquisitor himself—the bald, stout, red-faced apoplectic-looking J. Parnell Thomas. One could not imagine a more perfect piece of casting for his role.

THE first week's hearings were largely taken up with the lunatic fringe of the right, Hollywood's Liz Dillings, male and female. The second week was different. From the moment strong-faced John Howard Lawson hitched up his pants over a rather capitalistic paunch as he strode to the witness stand, it was clear that the committee was in for a fight. Lawson's stentorian voice, aided by a microphone, out-shouted both Thomas, no dulcet tenor, and Thomas's gavel, which broke the first day under the pounding he gave it. The committee is accustomed to quiet crucifixions and docile answers to loaded questions. One screen writer after another declined to give Thomas the pleasure of watching the victim squirm, and ten were finally cited for contempt. The key question, "Are you a Communist?" brought neither denial nor affirmation nor even a flat refusal to answer, but an insistence on shouting the committee down. At one point Thomas asked a witness almost pleadingly, "Can't you answer yes, no, or maybe?" and two witnesses were even allowed to read their statements.

"The committee is determined," Thomas said at the beginning of the inquiry, "that the hearings shall be fair and impartial. We have subpoenaed witnesses representing both sides of the question." But the nearest the "accused" got to presenting their side, except for the reading of the two statements, was the chance to answer "yes" or "no" when they were asked about membership in the Screen Writers' Guild and the Communist Party. Their counsel, laying the groundwork for what will be a crucial test of the right of Congress to investigate in the sphere of ideas, were given no chance to cross-examine witnesses or rebut charges against their clients, and at one point were threatened with indictment for conspiracy if they had advised their clients not to answer. On each of the ten cited for contempt the committee released a voluminous dossier. These dossiers showed that the committee's investigators are constant readers of the Communist Party press: most of the information in them came from the *Daily Worker*, the rest from other party papers. That few of the "accused" could qualify as Republicans is hardly news. The dossiers were made up of numbered counts like an indictment; each purported to represent an "affiliation" with the Communist Party, but many of them could be brought forward against other leftists and liberals who

are by no means party-liners. Aid to Spain, defense of one of a long list of leftists from Tom Mooney to Gerhard Eisler, a 1931 speech against the criminal-syndicalism laws, praise of Marx and Engels, membership in Consumers' Union or the P. C. A., showing "an active interest in the Soviet Union," and signing an ad in 1945 calling for breaking relations with Spain were among the "counts" in these indictments, which could set precedents for wider dragnet proceedings.

But the most striking feature of the hearings and the dossiers was the almost complete absence of allegations concerned with what was supposed to be the business of the inquiry—Communist propaganda in the films. The committee claims to have a list of complaints but seems hesitant to make it public. The hesitancy becomes clear when one notes the character of the only two films to which the "dossiers" object as communistic. One is "Blockade," the Lawson film about the Spanish civil war, which was covertly pro-Loyalist; the other, "The Brotherhood of Man," which Ring Lardner, Jr., helped to write for the Automobile Workers' Union. This was based on the pamphlet "The Races of Mankind," by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. It is significant that among those cited for contempt are men who have written or produced those few movies which give the Negro a break and attack anti-Semitism: for example, Edward Dmytryk and Adrian Scott, who were responsible for "Crossfire."

THIS inquiry must be fought by all men of good-will. The constitutional issues go to the very fundamentals of what may truly be called Americanism. If a Congressional committee can investigate ideas in the movies, it can investigate them in the press. The purpose is to terrorize all leftists, liberals, and intellectuals; to make them fearful in the film, the theater, the press, and any school of advanced ideas the Thomas committee can stigmatize as "red." In the films, as the transcript shows, the committee is out to give the moguls of the industry no rest



until they not only take from the screen what little liberal and social content it has, but turn to making films which would prepare the way for fascism at home and war abroad. There were two revealing moments in the producers' testimony. Jack Warner, explaining the "subtle" methods of "red" screen writers, said, "They have the

routine of the Indians and the colored folks. That is always their setup." And when Louis B. Mayer said he was going to start making some "anti-Communist films promptly," Thomas leaned forward with a grin and asked, "These hearings haven't anything to do with the promptness, have they?"

"Congress Shall Make No Law..."

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

Washington, October 29

IT IS becoming increasingly clear that the conduct of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities cannot be authorized under the Constitution, that the House resolution by which it was formed is void, and that the provision of the Federal Administrative Procedure Act which embraces the resolution is invalid.

I intentionally separate the *conduct* of the committee from its *purported authority*, although I believe that the Constitution forbids any legislation which might seek to legitimize such conduct and that the purported authority for the conduct is not in fact valid. But even when we consider the conduct and the law separately, we arrive at the conclusion that what is being done violates one of the freedoms secured to the individual by the Constitution. In making the separation I am unnecessarily conceding ground to any defense of the committee which might be offered. I do not think that a court would consider separately the purported authority and the conduct of the committee.

All of us know that although the committee was ostensibly established for the purpose of proposing legislation, its real purpose is to intimidate all persons who hold radical or even liberal political opinions. It seeks to destroy the will to differ. Its methods of intimidation vary. Usually it publicly denounces its chosen victims as reds and thus injures or destroys their economic security. If the victims are wage-earners, their employers are prejudiced against them. If they are professionals, they lose favor with their clients.

In the case of the motion-picture industry, the committee has publicly marked some twenty persons for destruction—twenty persons in an industry which employs over 30,000. But twenty executions can still a city: all the inhabitants will be intimidated. It is not

necessary to be sure that the chosen victims belong to any particular political category. The Nazis have shown that hostages may as well be selected by lot as by any other method.

THE procedure in the hearing-room might conceivably be defended if the committee were genuinely seeking facts for the purpose of proposing legislation—although this is questionable. At its whim it holds hearings in secret. Counsel may be admitted, but his right to speak is strictly curtailed and often denied, as is the opportunity to cross-examine witnesses or to make a statement in his client's defense. *The entire hearing is aimed at the committee's press release.* This, not legislation, is the committee's real purpose. No court could blind itself to this fact, and I do not think the courts will. Even after secret hearings the witness, on leaving the building, has sometimes been greeted by headlines furnished in advance by the committee. Opinion cannot be suppressed by legislation, but it can be intimidated by publicity. The purposes and the methods of the committee are all of a piece—but not of a piece with the Constitution.

The First Amendment to the Constitution forbids the passage of any law "abridging" freedom of speech or of the press. The amendment, couched in language which denies power to Congress ("Congress shall make no law . . ."), recognizes an existing right of the people; you can "abridge" only what already exists. The little area of individual freedom walled in by this amendment is identical with that exposed for inquiry and legislation by the resolution and the "law" under which the committee acts. "Propaganda activities" lie precisely within the area which Congress must not touch.

Our Supreme Court has held that justification for the power of Congressional inquiry cannot be sought in English parliamentary precedents, since the House of Lords, unlike Congress, is a court as well as a legislative body. Although Congress exercises some judicial powers, as in impeachments and in passing on the qualifications of its members, its power—outside of these specified exceptions—is legislative only. Inquiry, properly a function of a judicial body, can be exercised by Con-

ROBERT W. KENNY, former Attorney General of California, was counsel for the nineteen screen writers and directors called to testify before the Thomas committee in Washington.

gress only as a necessary incident of its legislative power. *Where it can make no law, it has no power to inquire.* The present inquiry, therefore, since it is within the area proscribed by the First Amendment, is unconstitutional.

It is worth while to ask whether the word "un-American" adds anything to Congress's powers. Although Congress can pass no law abridging propaganda activities, could it nevertheless pass a law abridging *un-American* propaganda activities? Apart from the fact that the meaninglessness of the word "un-American" is enough of a hole to sink the statute in, it is clear that the use of the word adds nothing to the power of inquiry. If any one area more than another was the prime concern of those who insisted on the First Amendment, it was the area of politics and political controversy. The right to agitate for what is not, at any given moment, popular is precisely what is protected by the First Amendment—including, I dare say, the right to agitate for an amendment altering any part or the whole of the Constitution. Far from aiding the law, the word "un-American" nails down the self-condemnation it already carries.

TURN now to the resolution itself. There are those who argue that its words and intent have been perverted by the committee. Is this so? Can the committee now be "reformed" by rewording the resolution? I do not think so.

The resolution establishing the House committee was first passed in 1938. The committee's conduct has not altered substantially in the decade since the resolution was made law. If the meaning which the various committees on un-American activities have accorded the resolution over the years were different from what Congress intended, Congress could have changed the law in any one of four sessions. It has not done so.

The bare language of the law is plumped out by the history of the committee. There can be no doubt that the resolution itself violates the First Amendment. It is true that this situation presents new questions to the courts. But it is also true that much law yet remains to be made concerning the power of Congressional inquiry. The scope of that power, the occasions for its exercise, and its limiting circumstances have been the principal problems presented to the Supreme Court. Many of the abstract questions of power have been settled, usually in favor of Congress. *But the question of the rights of the individual when affected by the exercise of Congressional power has yet to be presented—and has yet to be settled.* The powers of Congress are not absolute. The Bill of Rights, like the federal system, is a limitation of the powers granted to Congress. The first ten amendments were framed to preserve the rights of individuals, but they are meaningless unless they also restrain the powers of government. This is elementary constitutional law.

The power to compel disclosure, particularly in secret session, is a most drastic power. Justice Sutherland and others have said that the right to be let alone is one of the most precious of all rights, next only to life itself. Freedom of choice in political questions is the staple of our democracy; without it America would not be America. The right of privacy, our Supreme Court has said, is one of the rights protected by the Fourth Amendment. The secret of the confidential character of communications in privileged relationships, and other areas of inquiry when they relate to political opinion have traditionally been beyond the power of government agencies. It is inconceivable that these rights, singly or together, are not a limitation on the power of Congress to inquire, whether for legislative or other purposes.



J. Parnell Thomas

PERHAPS the clearest injunction against the committee can be found in the Fourth Amendment, which assures to the people the right "to be secure in their persons . . . against unreasonable searches." Although this amendment is usually invoked when illegally procured evidence is used in criminal cases, our courts have held that it is applicable as a defense against any arm of the federal government. They have held that what constitutes an "unreasonable" search presents a judicial question. Little if any extension of previous decisions would be required to include protection against compulsory disclosure under the right of the people to be secure in their persons.

Lawyers and judges are familiar with the type of case in which the facts themselves are so eloquent that they dictate the law, even in the absence of precedent. The situation presented by the conduct of the un-American Activities Committee is that kind of case. Lawyers, judges, and scholars may differ about the reasons to be given for the conclusion; I think there can be little dispute about the conclusion itself. In my opinion, no official body in the past two decades has brought so much discredit on Congress as this committee. The injury done to decent people has been all the worse because it has been done under the cover of law.

In the light of the committee's history, its effects on the American scene, and the suffering it has caused in private lives, I do not think there can be any doubt about the decision that will ultimately be handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Sexual Code of the Roman Church

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

NOBODY knows exactly where the elaborate sexual code of the Roman Catholic church came from. It has developed by accretion over a period of nineteen centuries until today it is probably the most important part of Catholic moral philosophy. Perhaps it ought to be called an anti-sexual code, because the primary emphasis has always been upon the sin rather than the joy in sex. It would be unkind to suggest that even priests interpret the universe in terms of their own frustrations, for, after all, Freud's wisdom was not available to the early popes who clamped celibacy upon a reluctant clergy.

The anti-sexual emphasis of early Christianity came partly from the Orient, where certain ascetic cults glorified celibacy and masochism. These cults spread westward at about the time that Paul and his associates were building the early church. Paul himself was notably anti-sexual, and his followers carried his teaching to such an extreme that by the third century Origen achieved victory over his lower nature by castrating himself. The church has now repudiated castration both for monks and for choir boys, but it still exalts virginity as man's noblest condition. Cardinal Gibbons went so far in his "Faith of Our Fathers" as to suggest that Jesus chose his closest disciples on the basis of their virginity and when he went to heaven chose a special band of 140,000 virgin angels for the same reason.

From primitive beginnings the Catholic sexual code has expanded until today it covers every aspect of sexual life. The Catholic moral manuals in their specific descriptions go far beyond any novel ever banned by the effort of Anthony Comstock or John Sumner. They boast that there is no sexual sin which a competent priest is not prepared to handle in confessional, and for every sexual situation they contend that there is a specific Catholic answer.

If, for example, a Catholic girl is raped, the priest

instructs her that she may remove the male sperm by mechanical means within the first ten hours and still remain a good Catholic, but she may not, married or unmarried, perform a similar act under any other circumstances without definite risk of hell. If, after being raped, she fails in her efforts to remove the sperm, "once conception has taken place, nothing may be done" ("Medical Ethics for Nurses," by Charles J. McFadden, Foreword by Fulton J. Sheen, Davis, imprimatur Cardinal Dougherty, pp. 136-37).

If a non-Catholic woman is converted to Catholicism and her husband deserts her after refusing to accept her creed, the converted wife may remarry a good Catholic with the church's blessing under the so-called Pauline Privilege, but every other form of divorce is a mortal sin (ibid, p. 54). At the same time nullification of a marriage is obtained far more easily in the Catholic than in the civil courts.

If a Catholic doctor is asked to test the potency of a husband who seeks medical advice in establishing a family, he may direct the man and wife to have intercourse and then remove the male sperm for testing immediately afterward, but if he should secure such spermatozoa for his microscope slide after masturbation by the husband, both doctor and husband are guilty of mortal sin (Decree of the Holy Office, August 2, 1929).

One can imagine the astonishment and bewilderment of Jesus if he returned to this mortal sphere and heard members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy expound these tortuous and detailed sexual regulations as a basic part of his teaching. The Biblical evidence is absolutely clear that Jesus never said anything specific about birth control, large families, sexual perversion, masturbation, or sterilization. He never established a celibate priesthood or directed believers not to marry unbelievers. His most distinctive contribution to sexual ethics was one contemptuous sentence spoken to a group of Pharisees in the presence of the woman taken in adultery: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

Since the church has developed its own techniques for plucking selected precedents out of history, this shortage of divine authority in sexual matters has not greatly embarrassed the Catholic hierarchy. Today, as the hierarchy gains strength in the genial and tolerant climate of America, the sexual code is being asserted with increasing aggressiveness. Sometimes it is dressed up with all the latest clichés of science by earnest young Catholic Ph.D.'s who write theses supporting the sexual views of

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St. Thomas Aquinas. More often it is imposed upon unsophisticated congregations by half-educated priests with a confidence which amazes Protestants and Jews, who can find no warrant for these doctrines in the Scriptures.

Birth Control

THE Roman Catholic sexual doctrines which have excited the most opposition in the United States are concerned with marriage, divorce, sterilization, venereal disease, and birth control. Of these five the doctrine on birth control is now drawing the heaviest fire.

Just why Pius XI finally slammed the door on all kinds of contraception as late as 1930 is hard to understand. Before that the ecclesiastical utterances on the subject were very hostile but not absolutely conclusive. The aged Pius had just piloted the Vatican to a Concordat with Mussolini, and perhaps he felt that the future belonged to dictatorships in both the moral and the political field. At any rate, he announced in his famous encyclical "Casti Connubii" that birth control is "against nature" and that "any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offense against the law of God and nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of grave sin."

Pius used as Biblical authority for this position the story of Onan in Genesis xxxviii, which relates how Judah ordered his second son, Onan, to marry his brother's widow and "raise up seed" to him, and how Onan, not wishing to give his brother credit for paternity, "spilled [it] on the ground" during intercourse, whereupon God slew him.

As soon as Pius XI gave the signal, the celibate theologians of almost every nation in the world jumped into the fray against the rising birth-control movement. It would be hard to imagine a worse thing for the hierarchy to have done if it wished to win the friendship of intelligent non-Catholics in the United States. The strength and prestige of the opposition were completely miscalculated. Since the days when Margaret Sanger first went to jail, birth control has become so respectable that almost all well-to-do people in the United States, Catholic and non-Catholic, practice it to some extent. In fact, if the Catholic opposition, acting as a pressure group, did not block legislative reform in many states, the idea of birth control as a human right would be almost universally accepted in this country. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America lists 584 centers in the country which give not only contraceptive advice to married couples but valuable aid in overcoming infertility. Some six states include planned-parenthood counseling in their public-health services, and most scientists regard child spacing as essential to family happiness. In a world

whose inhabitants have doubled in the last century and may soon total five or six billion, the eugenists see no solution to the population problem unless human beings learn to regulate their reproduction.

Intelligent Catholics know all these things and are rebelling against the church's attitude. The birth-control clinics of the Planned Parenthood Federation in nearly every part of the United States are used by Catholic women in about the same proportion as by non-Catholic women. At least three national public-opinion polls have demonstrated that Catholic women do not follow their priests on this subject. When the *Ladies' Home Journal* asked its women readers in 1938 if they believed in the right to disseminate birth-control information to married couples, 51 per cent of the Catholic women polled said yes. When *Fortune* posed a similar question in 1943, 69 per cent of the Catholic women said yes. A Roper poll in Connecticut reported that 54.9 per cent of the Catholic women voting said yes.

This defiance by Catholic women has driven the priesthood into a corner. In self-defense it has resorted to frantic vilification of the birth-control movement. Twisting the plain medical facts about birth control, it has pretended that contraception is likely to cause cancer, that it destroys the health of married women, and that it is a form of abortion. It has so intimidated the legislature in many states that there can be no scientific dissemination of birth-control knowledge to the masses of the people, who need the information most.

When *Look* magazine in its issue of April 1, 1946, published a sober factual review of the clinical work of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the top-ranking layman of the Archdiocese of New York under Cardinal Spellman wrote a reply, published in the issue of May 6, in which he accused the federation of advocating "education in animal functions completely divorced from morality and ethics," and declared that such education meant training people "to be sexually promiscuous with least risk of pregnancy or venereal disease." "The planned-parenthood program," he wrote, "assumes that the cure for beastliness is to teach juveniles how to get away with acting like beasts." This philippic against an organization with which some of the most respected bishops and rabbis of the country were associated aroused violent criticism among Catholics.

Faced with this type of response from within the church, the hierarchy found a tiny loophole in the papal encyclical of 1930, and two years later came forward with a Catholic "birth-control" formula sponsored by the very prelate who had directed the New York City police to break up a Margaret Sanger meeting (Courke and Walsh, "The Sterile Period in Family Life," imprimatur Cardinal Hayes). The hierarchy's "discovery" was the "rhythm method," a formula based upon the theory that conception takes place during eight days a month, mid-

way between menstrual periods, and that if intercourse is carefully limited to the sterile periods, pregnancy is avoided. This method is without sin because it is a "natural" method. Whether it is "natural" or not, it is certainly an unreliable method of birth control. Moreover, the "rhythm" theory puts the church in a ludicrously paradoxical position, with the priests in one breath condemning the arguments for child spacing and in the next using those arguments to support planned intercourse in the Catholic pattern.

But reason and logic now play a decidedly secondary role in the Catholic war against birth control. The Pope has spoken, and the political prestige of the hierarchy is at stake. The specious distinction between scientific and "natural" birth control must be defended as divine and eternal because the Holy See has indicated that it is a doctrine in the field of "faith and morals." Who would venture to suggest that it was only an unfortunate mistake by an old man who had never been married and had never studied medicine?

The front-line trenches in the birth-control battle are in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the only two states in the union which make it illegal for a doctor to give birth-control information to his own married patients. Although only about 40 per cent of the people of Massachusetts are Catholics, the hierarchy has so terrorized the legislators by threats of pulpit pressure on voters that men who practice birth control themselves are afraid to stand on their feet and fight for a revision of the antiquated law.

In 1942, when the Massachusetts birth-control forces proposed a referendum on a revision of the law which would permit doctors to give contraceptive advice to their patients, they encountered one of the most fantastic campaigns of misrepresentation in the history of American politics. For many Sundays, from almost every Catholic pulpit in the state, priests fulminated against birth control as murder, and on the Sunday morning before election circulars were distributed at church doors saying that the proposed revision of the law would legalize abortion.

The referendum was defeated, but by a margin of only about seven to five in spite of this campaign, and the liberals have now started a new drive for revision which will probably lead to a vote in the fall of 1948. The opening gun was fired in the church's counter-offensive when four leading Protestant and Jewish gynecologists were discharged from the courtesy staff of the Catholic hospital in Springfield because they favored a revision of the state law. In Connecticut six doctors were similarly discharged, and the hierarchy temporarily defeated the drive for revision by holding the state senate in line after the birth-control forces had captured the house.

Venereal Disease

THE church's position on venereal disease is somewhat less dogmatic than on birth control, but its unrealistic attitude has been for years a major obstacle to the development of a sound national program of education. Only last June it was the Catholic War Veterans who blocked the continued distribution by the army of match-books which contained printed information on the control of venereal disease. Last November the *American Ecclesiastical Review* published the following official statement in its question-and-answer column for priests (p. 389):

Question. Would a husband ever be justified in using a condom when having relations with his wife—namely, if his only purpose is to protect his wife from a disease with which he is afflicted, and there is absolutely no possibility that she will ever again become pregnant? Could he argue in such a case that what he is doing is no sin inasmuch as he is not preventing conception?

Answer. . . . Even if his only purpose in performing the act in this manner is to protect his wife from disease, he would still commit a grave sin, for a good end does not justify the commission of an intrinsically evil act.

The hierarchy, of course, officially combats venereal disease, but in practice it still acts on the assumption that the whole subject is a nasty one, not suitable for general public discussion. So it consents to health examinations before marriage but opposes any "teeth" in health-examination laws. "The formal prohibition of marriage which would inevitably follow in such a law from the fact of an unfavorable certificate . . . must be rejected on grounds of principle as well as opportunism," says Raoul de Guchteneere in his "Judgment on Birth Control" (imprimatur of Cardinal Hayes, p. 99). Only the church has the right to say that people shall or shall not marry. "The legal obligation to obtain a certificate of good health before marriage . . . implies a disguised form of the abuse of civil power, of its intrusion into a territory of which it is not the sole arbiter."

Dr. de Guchteneere reveals the Catholic philosophy which lies behind this part of the sexual code by saying:

The value of progeny is not to be measured by physical qualities but lies entirely in the high dignity of that supernatural destiny which is common to all. Even the marriage of the feeble-minded is forbidden only on the ground of their inability to make a valid contract and not on account of the possible quality of the offspring.

This same philosophy explains the Catholic opposition to sterilization laws. The hierarchy says that the state can hang or sterilize a man if he has committed a crime but that it cannot morally cooperate even in voluntary sterilization of the insane or feeble-minded in order to protect society against unfit progeny. In the twenty-seven states which now permit some sterilization of the unfit the

church's moral manuals instruct Catholic judges flatly to defy the law. Father Francis J. Connell, associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America, says in his 1946 textbook, "Morals in Politics and Professions" (imprimatur, Archbishop of Baltimore-Washington, p. 33), after declaring that no Catholic judge could ever approve mercy killings, "Similarly, in those states which now prescribe or permit eugenic sterilization for certain types of defectives and criminals no circumstances can justify a judge in giving a decision that the law should be put in operation."

It would be interesting to bring a test case in some American court some day to determine whether a Catholic judge, sworn to enforce the law of his state without reservation, could obey this ecclesiastical edict and still observe his judicial oath.

Marriage and Divorce

THE marriage and divorce codes of the hierarchy are well known to most Americans, but they deserve some mention because many persons do not realize how sweeping and dogmatic they are. To the hundreds of thousands of young Catholics throughout the world who married hastily and not too wisely during the war period the church says in effect: you may never remarry and start life over again. The prohibition against the marriage of divorced persons is carried so far that a Catholic social worker may not, under threat of excommunication, advise a divorced Catholic woman to marry her lover even when she is living in sin with him openly and both are eligible for marriage under the civil law. Father Connell, in a chapter on Catholic social work in his book cited above, puts it this way (p. 169):

For even though her position is at stake, the social worker may not give advice that will directly induce her client to violate the law of God. Similarly, when the social worker finds a couple living together unmarried and incapable of entering marriage because of some impediment of divine law (but permitted to marry by civil law) she may not suggest a civil marriage, even as a mere formality to obtain civil effects. Indeed, in the United States, where the Third Council of Baltimore inflicts a censure of excommunication on a Catholic who attempts remarriage after a civil divorce, a social worker might so concur in the commission of this sin by her counsel as to incur herself the same penalty.

This edict is handed down by a hierarchy which permits nullification of marriages in its own courts on grounds which would be regarded as too flimsy for consideration in the courts of any state of the Union.

Probably the most offensive item in the Catholic sexual code for non-Catholics is the rule on mixed marriage. Although the church belongs to a number of "tolerance fronts," the hierarchy declares that in all ordinary cases it is a sin for a Catholic to marry a Protes-

tant or a Jew and that such a marriage is null and void unless a special dispensation is granted, and even then the non-Catholic party must sign the following oath or its equivalent:

I, the undersigned, not a member of the Catholic church, wishing to contract marriage with N. N., a member of the Catholic church, intend to do so with the understanding that the marriage tie cannot be dissolved except by death, and promise her on my word of honor that she shall enjoy free exercise of her Catholic religion, and that all the children of either sex born of this marriage shall be baptized and educated in the faith and according to the teachings of the Roman Catholic church (Father John A. O'Brien, "The Faith of Millions," Preface by Cardinal O'Connell, p. 290).

Father O'Brien adds that "the Church forbids her children to attempt [*sic*] to contract matrimony before the minister of a heretical sect. Those unworthy members who deliberately and wilfully violate that solemn law the Church punishes with excommunication."

For most Americans there is something distinctly unsporting in taking advantage of the high exaltation of young love to impose upon one of the parties in marriage a proselyting agreement. It is not surprising that young Catholics are rebelling against this use of marriage to obtain "converts" and to establish Catholics as a separate class in a tolerant American community. Recent studies by priests show that mixed marriages are increasing at a startling rate in spite of ecclesiastical pressure, and that a very large proportion of mixed families are permanently lost to the church.

Nor is it surprising that increasing numbers of Catholics regard the narrow sexual code of the church with horror and disgust, and refuse to believe that it has any necessary place in their faith. The Catholic author Harry Sylvester, in his recent novel "Moon Gaffney," has a liberal Catholic say: "I think what I mind is the relish with which the clergy, many of whom do not understand the meaning of their own chastity, tell their people they must fill three-room flats with children on their \$28 a week." Mr. Sylvester has probably put his finger on the core of the problem. But the solution is another matter. Catholic laymen have no control over doctrinal matters in the church today.

Many laymen believe that a married priesthood might help the situation, and the abolition of celibacy has often been suggested. Such a reform is not unthinkable. Celibacy is a disciplinary requirement, not a dogma, and it does not apply now to the Oriental section of the Roman priesthood. But this natural remedy for sexual fanaticism encounters one great economic obstacle: how much would it cost? Catholic education is based upon the celibacy of its teaching nuns, and the whole educational system of the church might collapse if its teachers were allowed to live a normal life.

Liberation, Limited

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, November 1

THERE'S an interesting figure around the corridors, lounges, and committee rooms at Lake Success these days. He's a thin, lanky individual in clerical collar and the robes of a priest of the Church of England. He has an ascetic, scholar's face but more than an academic fire in his eye. He looks a bit lonely in the cheerful group that inevitably gathers in the delegates' lounge after the rancorous committee debates. I've heard him described as a crackpot. But the Reverend Michael Scott, who has lived in South Africa since 1926, strikes me as being one of those too infrequent crackpots who take seriously the Sermon on the Mount, the Bill of Rights, and the Charter of the United Nations.

You see, he has come all this way to present a petition from a tribe of natives, the Hereros, in Southwest Africa who claim they don't want to be annexed to the Union of South Africa but instead want the territory brought under the United Nations Trusteeship Council. They claim their lands have been forcibly taken away from them. They don't like the Union government's native policy. And they would like the United Nations to send out an inquiry commission to see for itself. Scott is not greatly impressed by South Africa's claim that the majority of the native peoples just can't wait to be annexed. Nor does he appear moved by the erudite legal arguments which attempt to prove that there is nothing in the Charter compelling South Africa to convert its old mandate into a trusteeship. He has a regrettable habit of slipping back to that phrase of the Charter which declares that in territories which have not yet attained a full measure of self-government the interests of the inhabitants are paramount.

It cannot be said, however, that the natives whom the Reverend Michael Scott represents have been without their effective spokesmen. India has been valiantly fighting their battle—as it has fought the battle of colonial peoples everywhere against those imperial powers whose penitence for past sins and yearning for reform have been encased in a hard shell of vested interest. The Soviet Union, perhaps for other reasons, has also taken up their fight. And in committee, at least, the Indian resolution, which stated that the last Assembly's request to South Africa to bring its mandate under the Trusteeship Council conformed to "the clear intention of the Charter," was carried. But it received only a small majority, and in the plenary session, where a two-thirds' majority was required, the watered-down Danish version was the best that could be put through. So it is hoped that the Union of South Africa—without any legal or moral pressure from the United Nations—will

accede to the Assembly's twice-repeated request. But it is doubtful whether Michael Scott's Hereros will see hide or hair of a U. N. commission for a while.

In Indonesia the story is slightly different. Here India, the Philippines, Australia, the U. S. S. R., and Poland have been leading the fight. Last week Colonel Hodgson of Australia made the surprising admission that perhaps Russia was right and the two sides should get back to their original ante-bellum lines. Of course, the thing that punctured the apparently impeccable case of that brilliant persuader, Van Kleffens, was the report of the consuls on the spot. Obviously slanted to favor the Dutch, the report, nevertheless, recorded the fact that the cease-fire order given by the Security Council had been interpreted in different senses by the two parties. The Indonesians had thought it meant to stop firing. And they had stopped. The Dutch believed it permitted mopping-up operations. And they had mopped up. But even this evidence was not sufficient to break old-school-tie solidarity, and gentlemen imperialists don't tick off one another. The American resolution, concealing its reprimand in the politest phrase, again urged everybody to stop shooting and called attention to the Council's committee of good offices now on the spot. Even Colonels Hodgson and Romulo thought it was the best possible under the circumstances. But Mr. Gromyko and the Indonesian representative were hardly satisfied.

ANOTHER former colonial people, the Koreans, who have suffered under a tougher brand of empire, will apparently have to whistle for their independence for some time to come. For the Thirty-eighth Parallel, dividing the Soviet world from the Western world, cuts their peninsula in two. The Soviet proposal for immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces would probably guarantee a Soviet Korea—which, thanks to American ineptitude in the south, may come anyway. Mr. Manu-ilski's boast that 99.2 per cent of the people in the Soviet zone support the provisional government provides a fairly clear definition of the kind of democracy that prevails north of Thirty-eight. And the north is apparently well equipped with fighting forces. The American proposal, which by the end of the week had been carried in principle, that a U. N. temporary commission supervise free elections before March 31, 1948, has been rejected by Russia. If it is pressed to the Security Council another veto seems certain.

Perhaps that phrase in the Charter should be slightly revised. The rights of the inhabitants of territories which have not yet attained a full measure of self-government should be paramount except where such rights interfere with the internal political problems of interested states, or where existing imperial claims are not yet liquidated, or where the big-power struggle entails holding a line.

What Rome's Election Meant

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, October 20

NEWS of the formation of the Belgrade bureau linking the Communist parties of nine European nations, Italy included, reached this country in time to play a big role in Rome's municipal election. Although the ostensible issues were purely local—to elect, from lists of candidates presented by thirteen parties, eighty municipal councilmen, who in turn would proceed to choose a mayor—the contest was really fought, as is usually the case in Western European elections, over a political ideology rather than a platform: its focus was the most burning question in Italian politics today—communism versus anti-communism. Popular feeling was polarized toward the two extremes, practically nullifying all political parties in between. On one side was the Popular Front (*Blocco del Popolo*) of the Socialist, Communist, Actionist, and Demo-Labor parties, claiming the support of the masses; on the other, the Christian Democratic Party, claiming leadership in the defense of “Christian civilization” against the “red peril.”

There is no doubt that the Christian Democrats won. De Gasperi's party polled about 100,000 more votes than in last year's municipal election, while the Popular Front declined somewhat in strength. A comparison of the two elections may be useful for a better understanding of the present political alignment. A year ago the issues were not much different. Then, too, the chief problem was communism, but the position of the Christian Democratic Party was less clear. While collaborating in the government with the parties of the left, the Christian Democrats were then trying to establish their connections with the right. But De Gasperi was fearful of the repercussions that might follow a break with the left, and the bourgeoisie—according to reliable information, the Vatican too—expressed its discontent with him by showing a preference for a more extreme anti-leftist party. Thus Giannini's Uomo Qualunque front received more votes than the Christian Democrats. De Gasperi learned the lesson of that election, and understood that he could not stand ideologically with the right and still collaborate with the left: the moment would come when both right and left would let him down. By playing up the Communist bogey and taking advantage of the split within the Socialist Party, he was able to make an about-face and form a Cabinet whose life depended on Uomo Qualunque support in Parliament.

The right was better pleased with De Gasperi when this year he found it profitable to become the champion

of anti-communism in Italy. The Uomo Qualunque front, moreover, had been weakened by a split in its ranks, which led to the formation of two new ultra-nationalist parties, the Italian Social Movement and Patrissi's Nationalist Movement for Social Democracy. Both are made up of former Fascists most of whom were freed from jail by a much too lenient amnesty; their propaganda follows closely the Fascist slogans of the period preceding the March on Rome. Benedetto Croce's Liberty Party has been practically wiped out, and severe losses were suffered by the Monarchists. Other losers were Pacciardi's Republicans and Saragat's Social Democrats. The parties right of center won forty-five seats in the Municipal Council as against thirty-five for those left of center. Saragat's followers are counted as left, but they might very well go along with the Christian Democrats or weaken the left by abstaining from voting.

THE election took place in an atmosphere of fear—fear of reaction and fear of communism. It is truly tragic that the influence of international power politics prevented the rise of a party democratic enough to assure independence of foreign interests and progressive enough to satisfy the masses' craving for social justice. *Risorgimento Liberale*, organ of the conservative Liberal Party, was right when it said: “Italians cannot be satisfied with a choice between red totalitarianism and what sooner or later would become black [clerical] totalitarianism. A non-clerical democracy should be a third alternative . . . and this undoubtedly represents the deepest aspiration of the majority of the Italian people.”

Only the atmosphere of fear explains the success of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement. “There is no doubt,” commented the Socialist deputy Calosso, in Saragat's *Umanità*, “that from an electoral point of view fascism is stronger today than in 1919 and could again find the proper ground for violence and propaganda. . . . The present election reveals a situation that might easily lead to fascism and reaction.” De Gasperi, however, is much too busy fighting the left to be disturbed by neo-fascism. And his attitude is understandable if one remembers that the first aim of Christian Democracy is to defend the position of the church, which always managed to get along with fascism. To the Christian Democrats anti-communism is not a matter of expediency but of religious principle. In this election they again found inspiration in the Vatican's official organ, *Osservatore Romano*, which described the formation of the new Comintern as a long step toward war. *Osservatore Ro-*

miano has been conducting a subtle and unrelenting campaign against Russia and Russian satellite countries, especially Yugoslavia, in connection with the recent trials of Catholic clergymen. The Vatican argues that while the Pope is trying to do everything in his power to bring peace, the Communists, under orders from Moscow, are building up the material and spiritual conditions that lead to war.

IT WOULD be difficult to say to what extent the Rome vote is a preview of next spring's general election. It must not be forgotten that Rome is traditionally very conservative. Its inhabitants include about 70,000 priests, monks, and nuns, whom the *Osservatore Romano* had reminded for weeks of their duty to vote; and about 100,000 civil servants, always inclined to cast their ballot for whoever is in power.

The victory of the Christian Democrats, in which they received as many votes as the four parties of the left combined, will undoubtedly be followed by an all-out anti-left drive. And the left, unless it changes its tactics radically, may find itself in trouble next spring. The recent wave of strikes was a political blunder, identifying it with disorders and lawlessness. Another blunder of major proportions was Nenni's motion of "no con-

fidence" in the De Gasperi Cabinet, when it was clear that one way or another the Premier would manage to obtain a majority. It simply allowed De Gasperi to make a show of strength from which he greatly profited.

A serious crisis in the Socialist Party was caused by the party executive's approval of the Warsaw declaration, which was taken as a further proof of acceptance of Communist leadership. After the ensuing dispute the party secretary, Lelio Basso, backed down and declared to the *Corriere di Milano* that there existed areas of disagreement with the Communist declaration. He said that Socialists do not identify the Truman Doctrine with the Marshall Plan. Nor do they share the Communist intention of causing the Marshall Plan to fail; on the contrary, they believe that Italy can contribute to the success of the plan by remaining independent of both the United States and Russia. A series of articles in *Avanti*, unsigned but in Nenni's style, tried to explain why the American people cannot possibly want war and advocated that Italy, instead of taking sides in the struggle between the great powers, should seek a basis of agreement with both. Obviously the Socialists are embarrassed and will be obliged to clarify their position. On their decisions may depend the outcome of the next general election and thus the fate of Italian democracy.

Sidney Webb and the Fabians

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

London, October 25

THE 1880's were a watershed—a period from which many social movements flowed. Victorian complacency had been effectively broken down, and with the beginning of big business and the imperialist search for new markets, socialism began to emerge. The particular form which British socialism took was in no small measure due to the work of the little group of Fabians of whom Sidney and Beatrice Webb became the energizing center. Together with Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Lord Olivier, and others scarcely less distinguished, they read Karl Marx's "Kapital" and rejected Communist theory. They also parted company with the moral and religious branch of the Socialist movement which, mainly through the influence of the Independent Labor Party, formed its other wing.

They were an extraordinary little body of intellectuals. Webb, like Jeremy Bentham, examined all the tangle of British institutions of his day—legal, political, economic,

and social—explained how they worked, tested them all by the standard of utility, and proposed constructive remedies. The Webb partnership carried out an immense body of solid research into British institutions. One of the most famous of their books, the "History of Trade Unionism," was later acknowledged by Lenin as a classic. The other side of their work was practical. They were unashamedly opportunistic: that was what Fabianism meant. They thought the old ruling class of England hopelessly inefficient, and they sought to substitute a responsible and scientifically trained body of elected persons. They hoped to penetrate the middle classes, not to rouse working-class passions. They trusted to persuasion, reason, and permeation. They believed that socialism would come, but that it must be evolutionary; their motto was the "inevitability of gradualness."

If gradualness was inevitable, they had to find its instruments where they could. At their house in Grosvenor Road they entertained and weighed up promising young Liberals like Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. They were friends of Haldane and Balfour, and it was Webb who drafted the Balfour Education Act of 1902. A few years later Mrs. Webb was appointed a member of the

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Other incidental activities were the founding of the London School of Economics and of the *New Statesman* in 1913. The Webbs also played an important part in bringing about that fusion of the Socialist and trade-union movements which is now the Labor Party, and having created the Labor Party, they proceeded, by their methods of writing, organizing, lecturing, and exerting personal influence, to give it the body of doctrine which is still today the orthodoxy of British socialism.

By 1924 enough of the middle classes had been permeated with socialism to enable Labor to take office, though in a minority position. Webb was president of the Board of Trade. In 1929 in Labor's second minority government Webb became Colonial Secretary. He had begun his career nearly forty years before as a civil-service clerk at the Colonial Office! He went to the House of Lords as Lord Passfield. He was not a successful minister. He had given innumerable effective lectures in his life, but his voice was insufficiently audible in that august chamber, and he had compiled so many admirable memoranda for other people that he was not accustomed to the job of final decision and policy-making which falls to the minister rather than to the civil servant.

After 1931 he was greatly disillusioned by the Labor split and disaster, and he and Mrs. Webb retired to Passfield Corners to spend the rest of their crowded lives completing their researches and in particular studying the Soviet Union. They were determined to study socialism in action. "Old people," they remarked, "are always absorbed in something, usually themselves; we prefer to be absorbed in the Soviet Union." They visited the Soviet Union; with the help of translators they read innumerable documents and books; they interrogated visitors to Russia of any nationality who could be induced to visit them in their home. At this period it was a remarkable and somewhat exhausting experience to spend the weekend at Passfield Corner. The visitor returned to London feeling that he had enjoyed an intellectual feast of the highest possible quality; given a strong digestion, the stimulus and nourishment would last for many days.

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Del Vayo—Inter-American Reaction

A STRONG wind of reaction is blowing across Latin America. As World War II drew to a close, everybody hoped that the hour had struck for the economic and political liberation of that great area of the Western Hemisphere where the Four Freedoms are just a rhetorical expression. Many of these countries needed only new capital and the reform of their oligarchic structures to release tremendous potentialities and create new, prosperous economies. Millions of poor devils, euphemistically classified as workers and farmers, looked to the Allied victory as the beginning of a new era; in 1944 freedom seemed close at hand. Today fascism is rapidly reconquering in Latin America part of the power it lost in Europe. A careful study of developments in the countries to the south over the past two years reveals—with a few honorable exceptions—a steady retrogression.

It is unnecessary to review the familiar cases of Paraguay and the Dominican Republic—little comic-opera dictatorships set against a backdrop of blood and buffoonery. No one is surprised at the frauds and repressions perpetrated by the second-rate *caudillos* of these countries, for theirs is an old story dating from before the war.

But what about a country like Chile, whose liberal tradition has been the pride of the Americas and where only a year ago the election of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla seemed to have brought to power—as I said at the time—a man capable of producing a presidential record comparable with that of the Mexican Lázaro Cárdenas? In a strike against the mining companies, whether Chilean or American, I would have expected Gonzalez Videla to nationalize the mines—not to declare war on thousands of workers whose average wage is less than a dollar for an unbroken eight-hour day. He has sent an army to protect the United States-owned copper mines at Chuquibambilla and Potrerillos in northern Chile; he has set up military tribunals to try strikers throughout the mining region; he has exiled strike leaders to remote regions; and according to latest reports, he is preparing to ask Congress to lift the parliamentary immunity of deputies and senators of the Communist Party, which only a year ago participated in the government. A special cable to the *New York Times* on October 23 reported that "activity against suspected Communists has been intensified since the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia."

The latest word is that the President has asked the other Latin American countries to follow Chile's example and break with Russia. One would have expected such a move from Perón—but never from Gabriel Gonzalez. I am sorry to have to write these words, for he has been a most devoted supporter of the Spanish Republican cause and an excellent friend of mine for years. The only explanation I can find is that the temporary insanity that has seized so many public men here and in Latin America has caught even such a militant radical as Gonzalez Videla.

Brazil, at least, was able to find a plausible pretext—an

unfriendly article about President Dutra in the *Moscow Literary Gazette*—for breaking with the Soviet Union. But the Chilean government did not even wait for a pretext; it simply severed diplomatic relations with Russia, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, charging that certain labor groups in Chile were acting on orders from Moscow. Why Czechoslovakia was included remains a mystery; the only possible explanation lies in the theory of puppet states so dear to the typewriters of North American journalists. One of these days some ill-tempered editorial writer for *Pravda* will apply the theory in reverse and affront the dignity of the Latin Americans by describing the agility with which some of them adapt themselves to the political moods of Washington.

The coincidence between the policies of the United States and its good neighbors cannot be ignored. The anti-Soviet trend existed, it is true, in a number of countries, but it did not become official policy until the Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro. There, according to reliable sources, plans for an anti-Communist offensive throughout the Western Hemisphere were thoroughly discussed at a meeting behind closed doors that was not reported in the press. This was logical enough. The military coordination of the Western Hemisphere for an eventual third world war would naturally be complemented by the political organization of a new "anti-Comintern" south of the Rio Grande. But it is disturbing that two countries of the importance of Brazil and Chile should have initiated the break with Russia. In spite of greater tension between the United States and Russia, in spite of the Truman Doctrine and the whole policy of containment, Washington has not gone to such drastic lengths. It would be ironical if one day the situation should improve and the Latin American states be forced to a sudden undignified scramble to restore relations. (I happen to be one of those who believe that at the coming Foreign Ministers' Conference in London the tension will relax.)

It is even more disquieting that leaders like Gonzalez Videla, Haya de la Torre, whose Aprista Party in Peru approved Chile's action, Grau San Martín, now bitterly hostile to the Cuban Communists with whom he had until recently excellent relations, and other leaders of Socialist or progressive middle-class parties have succumbed to the hysteria of the right. For in the end, if the present epidemic spreads, it will not be these men but rather such colonel-dictators as Rafael L. Trujillo and Juan Perón who will assume dominance in Latin America. The mistake of the European democrats who accepted Franco out of fear of Stalin will be repeated all over again in this hemisphere. It is the old mistake of believing that Socialists, liberals, and conservatives can together forge a coalition against communism which will result in a democratic victory. Such a plan would make sense only if liberal and Socialist forces could play a decisive role. But the experience of the last two decades proves that in such an alliance the crystallization of power is always around the extreme right, and the victor is always reaction.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Too Much Money

THE basic cause of an inflationary rise in prices, such as we are now experiencing, is an increase in the supply of money without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods. Consequently, while inflation may be curbed by price controls, provided that there is widespread public cooperation in their enforcement, a real cure can be effected only by reducing the supply of money or by increasing the supply of goods or both.

For the past year we have, as a nation, been pinning our hopes on the second alternative. In the summer of 1946, when the debate over OPA was raging, the N. A. M. told us in full-page advertisements that the sole obstacle to a great expansion in production was the price-control system. Once free markets were restored, so the argument ran, production would zoom and competition would take care of prices. It is now a year since the OPA was junked, and the cost of living is 23 per cent higher than it was in mid-1946 and still climbing rapidly. Along with the rise in prices there has been a tremendous increase in profits for most industries but nothing like a commensurate increase in output. This is clearly shown by the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production (1935/39=100), which stood at 189 in January and reached a peak of 190 in March. In September it was 185, only 5 points above September, 1946.

We cannot blame labor troubles for this lag in production, for there have been few of importance in the past nine months. And while there is much talk about low labor productivity, such evidence as exists on this subject indicates that output per man-hour is on the up grade. We are forced to assume therefore that some industries, at least, have about reached output limits on the basis of present plant and available supplies of man-power and raw materials. The last of these factors seems to be a particularly troublesome bottleneck. For instance, numerous plants using steel as a raw material are unable to get large enough supplies for full-time operations, and their lag in output slows down production elsewhere. Thus the freight-car industry in recent months has been delivering less than half the units it is equipped to turn out, and lack of freight cars is forcing many coal mines to shut down two or three days a week.

While the supply of goods has been limping, the supply of money has bounded forward. This is not, as Senator Taft implied recently, mainly the result of high wages; it is due largely to a rapid growth in private borrowing. A report recently issued by the Institute of Life Insurance shows that personal indebtedness now stands at \$45 billion compared to \$32.7 billion in 1944. Of this increase \$7.5 billion is accounted for by non-farm home mortgages—a reflection of the acute housing shortage. The remainder is represented by a rise in consumer credit, which at \$10.9

billion has practically doubled. This jump has occurred despite the fact that until now the Federal Reserve Board has imposed checks on instalment selling. Its authority to do so expired on November 1, another victim of the Republican drive to abolish all controls. That undoubtedly means added fuel for the inflationary fires.

Still more serious in its implications is the rapidly mounting volume of credit which the banks are extending to industry. "Since the middle of the year," Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board declared a few weeks ago, "total loans and investments of commercial banks have been expanding at a rate equivalent to \$10 billion a year. If this should continue it would provide an inflationary force more than double the anti-inflationary effect of the prospective surplus in the federal budget." The traditional means by which a central bank combats credit inflation is raising interest rates, and in the past few months there have been cautious moves in this direction. The Reserve Banks have stopped buying ninety-day Treasury bills at $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent—the rate at which they were pegged throughout the war—and this has led to a slight hardening of short-term money rates and to a modest fall in the price of long-term government bonds. But the manipulation of interest rates is a two-edged weapon. Encouraging them to rise far enough and fast enough to exert a real influence on credit would mean additions to the already heavy cost of carrying the national debt. And, more immediately, it would force a sharp fall in quotations of outstanding government bonds and so impair the financial position of the banks, which have a large part of their assets invested in such securities.

In their last annual report the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board asked Congress to provide it with greater powers over the investment and loan policies of member banks. They wished to be able to limit the amount of investments and longer-term loans which each bank may make and to check the sale of short-term governments—the device used by the banks to swell reserve deposits and so increase their basis for making longer-term private loans.

At the time the report came out Congress was busy depriving the Federal Reserve Board of its limited power over consumer credit; so it is hardly surprising it ignored this new request. Moreover, the banking community lost no time in making it clear that it was hotly opposed to quantitative controls of bank portfolios.

We have now reached an inflationary stage when the refusal of this medicine may lead to an operation of a painful nature. The authorities have the power to raise reserve requirements in the New York and Chicago districts to 26 per cent, or by some \$1.2 billion in New York alone. Since the New York banks have no excess reserves at this time, such an increase would force a large-scale realization of investments, causing a wide break in government-security prices. A further result would be the calling of many commercial loans, which would force the borrowers to dump inventories on the market as a means of raising cash. Obviously the authorities will be reluctant to take a step of this kind, which might easily swing us from violent inflation to violent deflation. But if Congress refuses to provide them with other tools to limit credit expansion, they may be compelled to use dynamite.

BOOKS and the ARTS

SEARS ROEBUCK

"A passing cyclist winks; well, let her, let her!
If even my baked, cream blinds are alloy,
Slatted to bare me to these lambs of Satan—
My cotton nainsook union suit, my shoes
Elk-tanned, with woodsman's heels and safety toes,
Will sheathe me through the wilds of this bad world.
I write once more for a pronouncing Bible.

"But thumbing these leaves, I light upon a plasterer's hawk,
A wilderness of Women's Intimate Apparel.
A girl slides to me in ribbed flannel panties. . . .
Ah, gauds of earth! My heart catches in my throat:
Beware! the rockets poised above the world!
How even my oilskins, in the evil hour,
Blaze up around me! Ah, the fire, the fire!"

—So John Doe, Don Juan—ah, poor Honest John,
Mailing your endless orders west from Patmos!

RANDALL JARRELL

The Intimate Robinson

UNTRIANGULATED STARS. The Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson to Harry de Forest Smith (1890-1905). Edited by Denham Sutcliffe. Harvard University Press. \$5.

ALREADY at twenty-eight," says Robinson's distinguished French critic Charles Cestre, "he was in full possession of the qualities of content and of form which put him in the first rank of American poets." This early maturity has hitherto been a mystery only slightly dispelled by Robinson's brief account of his apprenticeship, "The First Seven Years," and by passages from his letters to Gledhill printed in the "Selected Letters" and in Mr. Hagedorn's biography. Now we have abundant information in this first major collection of Robinson's early letters. To the most intimate friend of his youth, later an inspiring teacher of Greek at Amherst, the poet unlocks his mind and heart. He permits us to date the composition of many poems appearing in his first three volumes and to watch the development of his craftsmanship through early drafts. Better still, we observe how the major themes of the poetry grew out of the ordeals of the poet's life.

These 158 letters to Harry de Forest Smith have been fortunate in their editor. Reared in a Kennebec River town near Robinson's Gardiner and formerly a teacher at Harvard, where Robinson passed two student years which were the greatest experience of his youth, Mr. Sutcliffe has been admirably prepared to explore allusions in ample notes and to provide an introduction that promotes sympathetic understanding of the poet and the poetry. Only in one respect does his interpretation seem to stray from the evidence of the letters. He represents Robinson's young manhood as too somber, disregarding the unfailing play of boyish humor and the moods of exaltation when his writing was going well. It is not common to find a scrupulous annotator of a text in difficult handwriting so sensitive to the large issues of biography and of social and literary criticism. These letters, Mr. Sutcliffe observes, fail to support the conception of the young Robinson as a self-conscious rebel in literature, in religion, in economics and politics. Charles Eliot Norton seemed to him the only great man at Harvard; and Norton's vivid illustrations of how the America of the nineties was stifling art started his gradual movement toward social criticism.

In the years after college his instinct was to escape into the Bohemia described in the alluring pages of "Pendennis" and "Tribly," or even to become an expatriate like Henry James, whom he greatly admired; yet the family and material ties that bound him to uncomprehending Maine made him a poet, as Mr. Sutcliffe acutely observes. The clash of his ambition with his environment is the dramatic core of these letters.

Written for his friend's eyes only, sometimes with injunctions that they be burned, they are a faithful, often week-by-week report of the state of Robinson's mind and heart from the bewildered years between high school and college through a period of growth and frustration until Theodore Roosevelt directs national attention to his neglected verse. Printed in their entirety, mingling the trivial with the important, they take on accents of unconscious nobility in crises. There is a cry from the depths of the poet's soul when his disappointment in love is followed immediately by news of Smith's approaching marriage, which threatens the only intimacy upon which he could lean in moments of discouragement. But he surmounts this trial by catching a vision of his uniqueness as an artist, born for a purpose transcending personal passion. Two years later the tragic death of his mother puts to a severer test the belief in the spiritual meaning of the universe which he had been building up as a protection of his art against the largely unconscious materialism of the time. The letter beginning in a matter-of-fact tone with, "How long do you think a man can live in hell?" and moving through an utterly convincing description of that hell to renewed spiritual affirmation may find a place in American literature comparable to that of Carlyle's Everlasting Nay and Everlasting Yea in English.

These letters illuminate Robinson's literary apprenticeship. They tell who his models were, including Frenchmen and Greeks who have hitherto only been guessed at. We follow the gradual shift of his taste from romancers like Black-

more, Black, and F. Marion Crawford, in whom he found escape from an uncongenial environment, to the realists and naturalists, who taught him that there was "poetry in all types of humanity—even in lawyers and horse jockeys—if we are willing to search it out." The letters do not support the theory that Robinson was a prose writer who strayed into verse. The short stories over which he toiled immediately after Harvard were a compromise with the pressure to prove that there was money in writing. Poems kept interrupting them until he surrendered himself to poetry. His poems were so much a visitation from outside himself that he casts aside false modesty in speaking of them. He avows that he has originality and "the Hellenic spirit"; he appraises the qualities of his style and indulges in minute self-analysis which prepares us for his later psychological poems. The pride of the young genius comes out in disparagement of popular taste. But pride is tempered by humility before the ideal of perfection: "I may never get it, but I can climb and make myself believe that I shall." EMERY NEFF

New Business for Business

OR FORFEIT FREEDOM. By Robert Wood Johnson. Doubleday and Company. \$2.50.

THE alternative implied in the title of this pleadingly earnest book is suggested on the fly-leaf: "People must live and work together. . . ." It is spelled out in detail in a volume that is keenly intelligent in its analysis of the American economy, somewhat wishful in its recommendations, and probably obnoxious to most of the industrialists it is intended to reach. For although Mr. Johnson has some critical and convincing things to say about certain trade-union practices, it is on business that this prominent industrialist places the chief blame for the probability that our whole economic system is now "staggering" toward collapse." Indeed, he writes, "most basic ills of our business system stem from business itself; labor's power has developed too recently to have much historical importance."

With a record as chairman of the board of Johnson and Johnson, vice-chairman of the War Production Board, chairman of the Smaller War Plants

Corporation, and a brigadier general in army ordnance, Mr. Johnson cannot even remotely be charged with cherishing hopes for socialism. On the contrary, his overriding concern is to "get the system of private enterprise going, and get it going now," before "some other system is forced upon us—not by revolutionaries from Europe [Thomas committee, please note] but by popular demand." Salvation, he thinks, will not come from government—he does not believe that "bureaucrats will do what free men have not done"—but can come only from business itself, and only when business is ready to "discard some long-held and deeply cherished doctrines that violate present-day facts."

Chief among these offending doctrines is Adam Smith's principle of "Laissez faire, laissez passer," out of which grew a "code of business freedom that bordered on nihilism." When Herbert Spencer "welded Smith's economics to Darwin's theory of natural selection," the new industrial barons received philosophical "authority for competition as ruthless and impersonal as that waged by weeds and wild beasts." Greed, exploitation, strike-breaking, lockouts, injunctions, the perversion of government, and all the other sordid aspects of a rampant capitalism followed naturally. The great depression of the thirties and the popularly supported measures of the New Deal brought this era to an end, Mr. Johnson believes, though a few rugged individualists continued "to make themselves offensive as well as ridiculous."

But now business is committed to an error far greater than the social immorality of rugged individualism. It has failed to realize that "the laws of scarcity have been repealed." The preservation of the free-enterprise system, Mr. Johnson says, depends on the recognition of two premises: "that people can have the things they need, and that people intend to get them." This leads to an examination of America's potential production, the plight of the underpaid, the present anarchic method of determining prices, and the causes of labor dissatisfaction that go beyond the question of wages and hours.

Mr. Johnson sets up as his goal a nation of voluntary full production, with business preserving its independence by the mature rendering of

"full service" to the community, with a pricing system that starts with the customer's ability to pay, with labor-management relations that rest not on suspicion and belligerence but on a generous acceptance of the workers' need for dignity, security, and "satisfaction in the job beyond the pay for doing it." In all these matters Mr. Johnson is specific, and his book, though of less than 300 pages, is filled with concrete proposals and suggested techniques, all informed with the knowledge of a man to whom meeting a pay roll is no novelty.

Nevertheless, there is a trusting quality about the volume that suggests Utopia rather than reality. While Mr. Johnson's voice of sweet reason calls for abundance, the steel industry wilfully curtails production in anticipation of a crash which its very conduct can only hasten; while he talks of a sane voluntary pricing system, the cost of living staggers the nation; while he cogently demonstrates the evils of underpaying millions of Americans, the business lobbyists maintain a steady pressure against

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any significant change even in the minimum-wage laws. As Mr. Johnson says, his proposals will either come voluntarily or they will be forced. It is well for him and other enlightened business men to plead for the voluntary method. And it is just as well for those of lesser faith in the social conscience of industry to turn to what seems to me the deeper problem of the times: how to impose government controls that achieve Mr. Johnson's objectives and still do not forfeit the freedoms that make life worth living.

ROBERT BENDNER

Still Life

PORTRAIT OF EDITH WHARTON.

By Percy Lubbock. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$3.

IT IS probably not the happiest combination of circumstances that brings a real gentleman to depict a real lady, and if there is anything that stands out very clearly from Percy Lubbock's delineation of Mrs. Wharton, it is that the subject and the author answer very well to that description. With what infinite grace and elegance the author stalks his prey, like a pedigreed pussycat glutted with cream and so well cared for that it can afford to pity the victim, to play with it, and let it escape with hardly as much as a scratch on its sleek surface! Not that there is much excuse for comparing Mrs. Wharton to a mouse. Even all Mr. Lubbock's wonderful circumlocution cannot disguise the fact that if he had really caught up with her, and if she had been in a position to do so, she could have fought back and almost certainly have won.

And the circumlocution is wonderful: what magnificent rumbling periods—though they are, on occasion, inclined to die away with an arch little wheeze—what soft and glancing blows, and what provocative hints at a loving and deep understanding of a woman it must have been very difficult to love! But why must he have been so circumspect, and why did the contributors whose impressions he has collected in this book re-

spond with almost the same degree of reticence that the author shows? Surely because a bolder portrait would have revealed something of a dictatorial and demanding snob, a cold and calculating social climber, and a heart buried under the thickest layers of egocentricity, only to be partly revealed when, in old age, so many of the defenses she had so carefully constructed against the world were to be cruelly torn down. Neither the author nor the contributors were the kind of people ever to put anything so vulgar on canvas: that was certainly one advantage that Mrs. Wharton gained by choosing her friends almost exclusively from among the really well-bred.

There are so many questions that remain unanswered: why, in the first place, did she ever become a writer? She adored social life, her position in American society was unassailable, and surely nothing that she encountered at Newport, Lenox, or New York could have pushed her very far in that direction. Why did her marriage with Teddy Wharton collapse? Why did she loathe America, and why did she choose France as her place of permanent exile—where even her most sympathetic friend, Mme de Taillandier, claims that she was never completely at home? And what, above all things, was exactly her relationship with her desiccated love-object, Walter Berry, whom, rumor has it, she jilted in youth, only to be jilted by him in later life? Answers to these questions need not come under the heading of idle gossip: they must be pertinent to her development as an author and a woman, and it would seem that the reader is entitled to a little more plain speaking when not too many people remain who are in a position ever to answer them.

The book, on its own polite level, does of course do some judicious and delightful unveiling. Daniel Berkeley Updike, the founder of the Merrymount Press at Boston, contributes a nice sketch of the American years and of Teddy Wharton; Lady Abercrombie discloses Edith's pretty feet and shoes in London, thus lifting her skirts a few centimeters higher than Mr. Lubbock ever dares to do; Charles du Bos, Mme de Taillandier, Robert Norton, and Mrs. Gerald Goschen, among others, show her in various more or less becoming lights in France. Mr. Lubbock

tellingly reveals her reserve and her agonizing shyness, her intrepid interest in travel and love of new places, her passion for gardening and for good talk, her wonderful sense of the ridiculous, her great capacity for charity, and her pity for the unfortunate. However, one cannot help feeling all this to be, without greater clarification of her motivations than one is given, only the outer aspect of a much deeper and more humane character than is here revealed. For caginess and omission this book is only equaled by André Gide's "Journal," and one is forced to remark that it is very hard indeed to see Mrs. Wharton clearly for all the profusion of politeness and good prose.

ANTHONY BOWER

Barrie's Letters

LETTERS OF J. M. BARRIE. Edited by Viola Meynell. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

BARRIE's famous shyness apparently affected his pen as well as his tongue, and the result is that this collection of letters is strangely colorless—even astonishingly so coming from a writer whose professional personality was his stock in trade. The letters do, if you like, afford convincing evidence that Barrie, unlike so many preachers of sweetness and light, was almost abnormally gentle, polite, and generous in private life. In the whole three hundred pages of them there is scarcely a line unfavorable to any person or writer. Stevenson and, somewhat surprisingly, Thomas Hardy were his library heroes, but he professes to admire nearly everyone he mentions. Yet even when he is writing to the persons whom he seems to have known best and liked best there is no sense of ease in his communications, whether they are cast, as they most often are, in the form of rather matter-of-fact notes or attempt, as is sometimes the case, the kind of whimsy one expects from him.

Barrie certainly did not want to be a cold man, and he was capable of such substantial generosity as the transfer of perpetual rights to "Peter Pan" to a hospital for children at a time when those rights were worth two thousand pounds a year. Yet the effect of the letters, for all their politeness, is not warm. The editor says that none

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survive to the mother who so obsessed his emotional life, and it is perhaps significant that, in this collection at least, there are none to his wife either before or after the estrangement.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Same Record

LINCOLN THE LIBERAL STATES-MAN. By J. G. Randall. Dood, Mead and Company. \$4.50.

THIS volume of essays on various aspects of Lincoln is clearly a collection of chips from Professor Randall's workshop, where his multi-volume biography is still in progress. It contains the solid virtues we have come to expect from Randall—the unremitting industry in collating differing versions of the same episode, the meticulous analysis of evidence, the careful weighing of alternative theories. Moot Points in the Lincoln Story is a good summary of the questions still open for the biographer; and Lincoln's Sumter Dilemma is an exhaustive reexamination of the old charge that Lincoln provoked the attack on Sumter. But on the larger is-

ssues of judgment Professor Randall continues in his same free-wheeling way, apparently unperturbed by the detailed critiques of the positions set forth in "Lincoln the President." The cults of Douglas and McClellan continue unabated; the Radicals are treated somewhat worse than the rebels; and the whole theory that the war might have been avoided is trotted out again as if it had never been subjected to a searching review by Bernard DeVoto in two numbers of *Harper's* and by other critics. Surely one function of such a volume as this would be to enable Professor Randall to answer his serious critics instead of playing the same old record as if everyone thought it was wonderful. The word "liberal" as used in the title is hardly given enough concrete meaning to serve more than a rhetorical purpose.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

In an Early Issue of The Nation
THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST
BY RANDALL JARRELL

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

EURIPIDES, they say, was probably the most popular playwright who ever lived and has been performed a great many more times than even Shakespeare. For a good five hundred years he was the chief standby in a dozen cities of the ancient world, and now, after a lapse of nearly two millennia, he has come into his own again with the production of "Medea" at the National Theater. When the curtain went down after the performance I saw, spectators rose to their feet to shout "bravo" very much as if a new tenor were being welcomed at the Metropolitan, and though most of them no doubt thought that they were paying tribute chiefly to Judith Anderson's tempestuous acting, the total effect could not have been achieved without the contributions of both Robinson Jeffers, who made the new English version, and the original playwright. Euripides was wowing them—I choose my word with care—

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on Broadway as he had wowed them in Athens.

Even in his own day, we are told, literary conservatives regarded him as impudent and thought his clever modern versions of the old tales just a little bit vulgar. Here also, I suspect, history is about to repeat itself, and my guess is that the intellectuals rather than the populace will be inclined to make reservations concerning the current production. Already certain of my friends have expressed the opinion that Judith Anderson's performance lacks subtlety and that Gilbert Murray's version of the play should have been used instead of the new one. Concerning the first of these judgments I can only say that I was too powerfully held by the confident vigor of Miss Anderson's acting ever to ask whether or not it was good, and concerning the second only that no one who will actually compare the two versions can very well fail to see that, for stage purposes at least, that of Jeffers is vastly superior. Murray's translation is stilted and fuzzy. Its awkwardly "poetic" phrasing can hardly be spoken except in a poetical singsong fatal to any attempt at dramatic expressiveness, and its faded archaisms, though highbrows may put up with them, hang like a fog between an ordinary audience and the dramatist who is trying to reach them. Jeffers is, on the other hand, simple, perfectly clear, almost prosaic, and if he does not always succeed in avoiding clichés, even the clichés can be transformed—as Murray's poetical stereotypes could not—by Miss Anderson's acting. "Medea" is a play about a barbarian hell-cat who differed from the Greeks in nothing more conspicuously than in the fact that she saw no reason why she should not let herself go, and it is as such that she is played. I do not know whether or not anyone before me has noted how much Miss Anderson looks like the pictures of Mrs. Siddons, but she is a tragedy queen in the good old-fashioned way. John Gielgud, who directed the performance, is all but extinguished by her vehemence, and so, for that matter, is

everyone else in the cast except Florence Reed, who manages to keep the nurse visible and effective. But the pallor of Jason and the rest is not anyone's fault. It is Medea's play, and Miss Anderson knows how to make it just that.

The Jeffers version omits entirely the last scene, in which Medea is carried away in a magic chariot, but that scene, so a classical friend informs me, is obviously intended in the original to be taken with tongue in cheek. In all other important respects Jeffers follows very closely not only Euripides's story but also the order of events and the general conduct of the plot. The actual words, on the other hand, he treats with the greatest freedom. He expands or cuts as he thinks fit and permits himself even greater liberties. When an image or a turn of speech seems to him ineffectual in English he quite boldly uses another for which there is apparently no warrant whatever in the text, and even that is not all, for whenever an implication of the original strikes him as likely to be interesting to a present-day audience but in need of clarification he does not hesitate to dot an i or cross a t. When, for instance, near the beginning, the nurse comments on the wilfulness of her mistress, Gilbert Murray makes her say: "Rude are the wills of princes; yea,/ Prevailing alway, seldom crossed,/ On fitful winds their moods are tossed:/ Aye, not with glory but with peace/ May the long summers find me crowned." In Jeffers she says: "Oh, it's a bad thing/ To be born of high race, and brought up wilful and powerful in a great house, unruled/ And ruling many: for then if misfortune comes it is unendurable, it drives you mad. I say that, poor people/ Are happier: the little commoners and humble people, the poor in spirit: they can lie low/ Under the wind and live: while the tall oaks and cloud-raking mountain pines go mad in the storm."

Many other crucial passages differ in the same way, but nearly always, I think, even the Murray version gives evidence of the fact that there is warrant in the original for the sentiment if not always for either the words or the emphasis. And even in the one instance where there does not seem to be warrant for even the sentiment, Jeffers's bold-

ness may, it seems to me, be justified on the ground that he is only modernizing still further a playwright who was himself notoriously a modernizer. When Euripides makes Jason protest that he has adequately rewarded Medea for her services by bringing her from barbarous Asia to civilized Greece, there does not seem to be any hint of the possible irony which Jeffers makes perfectly explicit by allowing Jason to talk a little like a rotary-club president congratulating a refugee who has got at last to God's country. Yet even this, I confess, does not offend me. As a popular playwright Euripides would like to be made accessible again to a large public. Miss Anderson, Mr. Jeffers, and Mr. Gielgud are making him exactly that, and I do not think he would be inclined to blame them for doing precisely what he himself always did—namely, bring an old story up to date.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

NIGHTMARE ALLEY" is the story of a cold young criminal (Tyrone Power) who starts as a carnival "mentalists," moves on to a Chicago night club, and is on the verge of the big time (pseudo-religion, with prospects of a personal "temple" and radio station), when two of the women he has used gum up his act. The picture goes careful just short of all that might have made it very interesting; I gather from the handed-out synopsis that a temple sequence was made which does not appear in the show. Even so, two or three sharply comic and cynical scenes make it worth seeing—Power's wrangle over "God" with his wonderfully stupid but not-that-stupid wife (Coleen Gray), a scene which has some of the hard, gay audacity of "Monsieur Verdoux"; and every scene in which Taylor Holmes impersonates a skeptical but vulnerable industrialist. In any mature movie context these scenes would be no better than all right, and an intelligently trashy level of all right, at that; but this kind of wit and meanness is so rare in movies today that I had the added special pleasure of thinking, "Oh, no; they won't have the guts to do *that*." But they

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do; as long as they have any nerve at all, they have quite a lot. The rest of the show is scarcely better than average. Lee Garmes's camera work is lush but vigorous.

"Body and Soul," which gets very bitter and discreetly leftist about commercialism in prize fighting, is really nothing much, I suppose, when you get right down to it. But it was almost continuously interesting and exhilarating while I watched it, mainly because everyone had clearly decided to do every scene to a finish and because, barring a few letdowns, scene after scene came off that way. It is never as nervy as the best of "Nightmare Alley," but of its own kind it is more solidly made. I like both pictures because in both there is quick satirical observation, a sense of meanness to match the meanness of the worlds they are showing, a correct assumption of cynical knowledge in the audience which relieves them of the now almost universal practice of drawing diagrams for the retarded, and a general quality of tension and of pleasure in good workmanship, which now all seem to me to have been commonplace of American movies of the early thirties and which rarely appear now without looking like cautious museum copies.

"Song of Love" takes the Liberty of Showing Johannes Brahms declare his love for Clara Schumann; but at least things aren't made easy for them by showing Robert having a petulant shindy with Lola Montez, Franz Liszt, or a bottle. In fact, Schumann reacts to the news like a gentleman, rather than a stallion disputing a question of overtime; thereby giving the movies practically their unique maturely intended scene on that subject. Liberties are also taken with the music; even so short a piece as Brahms's G-Minor Rhapsody is haggled to bits. I don't like these kinds of license even when they are excusable, or unavoidable. But very much to my surprise I did rather like "Song of Love." All such inaccuracies and mutilations, and some clumsy casting, and some wrongly styled acting, were in my feeling more than counterbalanced by the real tenderness and quiet in which the picture was obviously undertaken. About Arthur Rubenstein's back-screen performances, in the manners of the various musicians, I don't feel com-

petent to judge. But whether or not it was in fact appropriate to Clara Schumann, I liked the contained, splintering-crystal style that was given her; thought Brahms gave a surprisingly subdued performance of his Rhapsody; and I think they would have been wise to call in Horowitz to double for Liszt's playing.

"Ride the Pink Horse" is practically revolutionary for a West Coast picture; it obviously intends to show that Mexicans and Indians are capable of great courage and loyalty, even to a white American, and can help him out of a hole if they like him. In a particularly gratifying scene the star-director, Robert Montgomery, escorts a young Indian girl, Wanda Hendrix, into the dining-room of the best hotel in a small New Mexico town, and the reactions of the diners and hired help are recorded with simplicity, accuracy, and courage. But she is shown also to be no serious threat in any traditional movie sense—a mere child with a crush on the white hero, not a possible sweetheart, and something of a little savage at that; and in spite of good intentions the chief Mexican, Thomas Gomez, is just a character actor. As for the central quarrel of the story, it is so carefully vague you can hardly follow it. Montgomery, for so many motives so dimly stated and so contradictory that you can believe in none of them, is trying to blackmail a war profiteer (well played by Fred Clark) whose exact crime, even whose business, we never learn. Whether it is dread of libel suits, the so-called international so-called style, or plain blind habit, few American films ever manage really to specify a character or a situation so that either can achieve personal life or general applicability; people merely dance their way, more or less ingratiatingly, through a sequence of windy generalizations. They are not by any fat chance intended to be confused with any persons living or dead or who might ever possibly have lived.

"Monsieur Verdoux" is again in circulation. Because I am leaving town for vacation, I haven't yet had a chance to check on the three "minor" cuts I hear have been made. If you can't get a vacation, by all means see it—and René Clair's "Man About Town," a mainly delightful movie which I saw too late for inclusion in this review.

I haven't seen "Variety Girl," but H. B. Darrach, of *Time*, has, and I think posterity should have the benefit of his definitive description of one of the players, Elizabeth Scott, as "a Milton Caniff version of the Mona Lisa."

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

EVEN among the best ensemble pianists Franz Rupp is outstanding. What he creates around someone's playing or singing—a progression excitingly beautiful as playing of the piano, and exciting also in its continuous musical life, the musical continuity from one sound to the next—places him among the greats of our musical world. It represents gifts of the magnitude of theirs—not only the specific gift for ensemble performance, but gifts for the piano and for music which he has devoted, all these years, to creating musical life around the playing or singing of someone else. When he has used them long enough in the creation of autonomous musical life in performances of his own, his performance of Schubert's great posthumous A Major Sonata will have not only the over-all coherence of sections that it had in Town Hall recently, but the unflinching musical continuity from every sound to the next that it did not have; and the achievement of this musical continuity will bring with it the achievement of the finer gradations of tone that were lacking in that recent performance. I feel able to predict all this because he achieved it in smaller works—in Chopin's F minor Ballade, which he played with beautiful lyricism and plasticity (but without the customary mannered

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distortion of phrase, and built up to a hair-raising climax; and in exquisitely colored performances of Debussy's "Soirée dans Grenade" and "Reflets dans l'eau."

At one of the New York City Symphony concerts at City Center I heard young Arnold Eidus, winner of the international violin competition in Europe last year, and got a lot of pleasure from the elegance of the style in which he played his instrument and produced those lovely sounds from it—a style which a friend told me was very much like Thibaud's in his young days. I also enjoyed the musicality that revealed itself in Eidus's unaffected phrasing of some passages of the Mendelssohn concerto; but he played a great deal of the work with the distortions of the traditional virtuoso performance. And the joint performance of soloist and orchestra sounded as though Leonard Bernstein had given all the rehearsal time to other works on the program. One of these, Copland's "Statements," did not seem to me worth the trouble that had been taken with it; another, Gershwin's "An American in Paris," got an over-playing of detail that destroyed the continuity and effect of the work as a whole.

But at other concerts Bernstein demonstrated the powers required to get a by no means first-rate orchestra through a work as difficult as Stravinsky's "Scènes de Ballet," and to produce with this orchestra and the brilliant Tossy Spivakovsky a superbly assured performance of Stravinsky's Violin Concerto; and there was also an excellent performance of Piston's Violin Concerto with Hugo Kolberg. I have recently begun to get some enjoyment from certain of Stravinsky's later works that I didn't use to get; and I got it from occasional details in these two; but I still didn't care for them in their entirety. As for the Piston, I found the first movement engaging for once, but the rest just the usual meaningless rattle and clatter.

What one might have expected the New York City Opera Company to do poorly it has done astonishingly well—first Strauss's "Salome," and now Mozart's "Don Giovanni." The faults are mostly in what one sees on the stage—caused partly by the inadequacies of the City Center stage, and partly, in my opinion, by the poor taste of H. A. Conde, who designed the permanent set for "Don Giovanni," and by the pretentiousness of Theodore Komisarjevsky, who thought up some of the innovations

in its staging. And it is the musical performance conducted by Laszlo Halasz that is so surprisingly good: I wasn't prepared to hear "Don Giovanni" sung as well as it was by James Pease, Norman Cordon, Brenda Lewis, Ellen Faull, Virginia Haskins, and Eugene Conley; and the only thing to criticize is the American enunciation of the Italian words, especially by Pease.

Of the rest of the repertoire I heard only Rossini's "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," which was done very badly.

Apparently Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II felt they must do something higher and nobler than merely writing some of the best musical shows we have had; and so they wrote "Allegro," a musical morality play, which—except for the periods occupied by a couple of good musical comedy songs—had me squirming with embarrassment all evening. On the other hand, "High Button Shoes," just a Broadway musical written by people I had never heard of—Jule Styne, Sammy Cahn, and Stephen Longstreet—which I went to only out of interest in Jerome Robbins's dances, turned out to be very amusing, with a Mack Sennett ballet by Robbins that is one of the most brilliant things I have ever seen.

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Letters to the Editors

A Public Radio Rather Than a Code

Dear Sirs: The radio is the single most important source of recreation and information for the overwhelming majority of the American people. *Ergo*, the proposed new code of standards for the radio industry should be of vital public interest. It is immediately apparent, however, that the code is being discussed, and will eventually be adopted, only by the radio-industry management. The result of this government by the élite in the radio industry is a culturally starved, ill-informed, and inartistic public.

The code itself actually codifies nothing but clerical bigotry and outright philistinism. All the worst features of a commercial "culture" are being officially decreed: a rigid control would tell our radio writers and artists in no uncertain terms what they are to say on such divergent subjects as religion, sex, divorce, drinking, narcotics, and matters "which are not acceptable conversational topics in mixed social groups."

Art has its own laws and can serve the public only if the artist is allowed freedom of expression. The best in the arts is not usually concerned with propaganda in any field—politics, religion, or even morality. Nevertheless, artists do have views on these subjects, and these views often become integral factors in their art. The code, as can be seen from the following direct quotations, would allow time on the air only for those artists who conform to the narrow concepts of morality which are propounded by vested institutions, chiefly the Catholic church: "The subject of religion should invariably be treated with respect"; "a priest or minister, when portrayed in his calling, should be vested with the dignity of his office"; "adultery and other infractions of moral law should not be made a vehicle for suggestive or offensive lines"; "insobriety or excessive drinking should not be portrayed as desirable or prevalent factors in American life, and reference thereto should be kept incidental to the development of plot or character"; "narcotic addiction should never be presented except as a vicious habit"; "criminals should always be punished, either specifically or by implication"; and so forth.

Crossword Puzzle No. 236

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Fired by Browning. (6)
- 4 Moor. (8)
- 10 Makes holier. (7)
- 11 Wig assessment? (4, 3)
- 12 Half this is certainly immature. (5)
- 13 Hard water? (3)
- 14 Slight. (5)
- 15 Tears are a painful subject to urbanites. (5)
- 17 Studied the lazy Dane. (8)
- 21 Rabbit-traps? (8)
- 23 French word to the wise saying. (5)
- 26 Pa's found around in the center of it. (5)
- 28 Get aboard this any way. (3)
- 29 A fast writer, obviously. (5)
- 30 To snub a maiden is usually 27. (7)
- 31 Self-announced throb? (7)
- 32 What the pin-boy must do at the game? (8)
- 33 Staple food-products are sometimes found in them. (6)
- 7 Summary at the back of the court? (7)
- 8 Might tell you how pus is formed. (6)
- 9 How Kidd sounded his aitches? (8)
- 16 Correspondingly dear. (3)
- 18 A couple of fools within. (8)
- 19 May, in an uprising, be a southern favorite ordinarily. (3)
- 20 Unavailing description of Whittier's boy? (8)
- 22 A cat's got two eyes. (7)
- 24 Short journey for more than a pair? (7)
- 25 Tip your hats to the editor. (7)
27. Accidentally raised. (5)
- 28 It's evil to a degree. (5)
- 29 A lapse of this would not be a blooming error. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 235

ACROSS—1 CANON; 4 CROSSWORD; 9 BRIGAND; 10 TANKARD; 11 IDOL; 12 GLARE; 13 FITS; 16 LEEWARD; 17 ORGANDY; 19 TANGIER; 22 BEETLES; 23 POGO; 25 SMART; 26 OGRE; 29 NIAGARA; 30 LAPLAND; 31 PEDOMETER; 32 TODAY.

DOWN—1 CABRIOLET; 2 NOISOME; 3 NOAH; 4 CODDLED; 5 ONTARIO; 6 SING; 7 ORATION; 8 DUDES; 14 PARIS; 15 EGRET; 18 YESTERDAY; 20 NIGGARD; 21 RAMPART; 22 BURGLAR; 23 LAGGARD; 24 PIN-UP; 27 PALM; 28 SPOT.

DOWN

- 1 Sounds like a double order of fruit might make one sick. (8)
- 2 One would have to be brave to have relations with the Russians! (7)
- 8 Led down, after it comes up. (5)
- 5 From Paris to Venus. (5)
- 6 Worn by the "Ladies from Hell." (5)

Implicit in all these prohibitions, of course, is the assumption that all moral problems have already been solved for eternity, and the solutions must be imposed upon all. Those who think differently, the heretics, must not be given a public hearing. Creeping into our public life here is the neo-Thomist mistrust of the democratic process.

As James T. Farrell has ably demonstrated in his booklet "The Fate of Writing in America," this tyranny has its roots in the completely commercial soil of Hollywood and the radio industry. For this reason, I believe that Americans would do well to study the policies of the government-operated British Broadcasting Corporation and New York's municipal station, WNYC—enterprises in which commercialism has been reduced to a minimum. The products of both experiments, in my opinion, are most refreshing to a listener accustomed only to the unspeakable trash of the commercial networks.

Radio's sole defense is one of inability: advertisers simply cannot afford to gamble with anything that does not guarantee an immediate audience of gigantic proportions. What democracy and art require, obviously, is elimination of the commercial factor.

Traditionally, government operation on the BBC pattern has been the only alternative posed in discussions of this kind. But government operation, the advocates of free enterprise point out with some validity, is objectionable for a number of reasons: the danger of propaganda utilization, and the fact that a bureaucratic censorship might develop which would be even more odious than the present commercial censorship.

However, it is a fallacy to assume that public ownership and control necessarily imply government management. In our Western states many communities have publicly owned power companies administered by elected committees and completely independent of all governmental bodies. Similarly, it is possible to elect independent public bodies, composed of recognized artists and scholars, to manage a publicly owned, non-commercial system of radio stations.

But a venture of this kind must be financed. The most desirable method, I believe, would be a special tax on surplus incomes, or, even better, a capital levy. And there are other possible methods: in many countries of Europe the radio is financed by a special tax levied upon all owners of radio sets, either as a sales tax at the time of pur-

chase, or else through the sale of regularly renewable permits.

WERNER COHN

New York, October 25

Communists Must Have Been Right Sometimes

Dear Sirs: I hope you will allow me to explain to your correspondent, J. Hayden Moore, Sr., that those of us who are genuine liberals, and have determined that it is essential to have nothing to do with the Communists, do not believe that Communists are always wrong; nor, as I read his letter, did Alfred Baker Lewis, whom Mr. Moore attempts to refute, make any such claim.

Communists have been at various times on exactly opposite sides of important labor and international questions. They were in favor of collective security against Nazi aggression, and then made a pact with Hitler. They are anti-imperialists so far as Indo-China, Indonesia, and India are concerned, and supporters of Russian imperialism in the Baltic states, Poland, and Rumania. They have appealed to the principle of national sovereignty against the alleged evils of the Marshall Plan and denied that principle when Czechoslovakia and Finland wanted to go along with the Marshall Plan.

In the labor movement they first favored and then denounced dual unionism. They have supported and opposed John L. Lewis. They supported strikes in America against national defense when Stalin and Hitler were allies, and later supported the no-strike pledge and even, alone among the ranks of organized labor, the move to conscript labor. They defend the Civil Rights Congress in the United States—in an effort to undermine the American Civil Liberties Union—and deny civil rights in countries which they control.

With such a record they must have been right at least sometimes.

JACK ALTMAN,

International Vice-President,
Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union

New York, October 25

The Importance of Libraries

Dear Sirs: Dr. Gumpert in his article Books and Bookkeeping in America, in *The Nation* of October 11, has overlooked the most important and characteristic feature of books in America—the public library.

It is possible that publishing, retail-

ing, and personal ownership of books suffer somewhat from this free access to reading matter, but it is the very essence of our democratic tradition that no one should be deprived of the means of education. The American public library is known as "an integral part of public education." If Dr. Gumpert will visit the public libraries scattered all over the United States, he will meet the "bookish people" in every community.

The idea Dr. Gumpert presents of owning "sets" and building up a large private library seems to me undemocratic and wasteful. Aside from Shakespeare and other books of reference value, and a small selection of books that one cherishes for personal reasons, the most intelligent use of books is to pass them on to others to enjoy—to the American merchant marine and the like. Books as ornamental dust collectors fail to meet the challenge of democratic education. There is nothing sacred about a book except the message between the covers. Free access to books is the very heart of our democracy.

SARAH B. BALL

Kent, Conn., October 27

Another Exchange

Dear Sirs: Would any reader of *The Nation* exchange his read copies for copies of the *New Statesman* and *Nation*? My address is 8 Harbour Road, Barry.

RONALD T. HOWELL

Glamorgan, South Wales, October 1

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The Shape of Things

THE COMPROMISE PALESTINE PROPOSAL WAS the more welcome because it came after many exhausting days of haggling and delay. It is a decent compromise, yielding just enough to American and Russian susceptibilities to prevent a breakdown. That the great rival powers could agree is itself more than two-thirds of the battle; indeed, we find it impossible to believe that any plan they jointly indorse will be lost in the Assembly. The British remain to be heard from, as we go to press; but little as they like partition, it seems probable that they will accept, however reluctantly, the limited obligations involved in the new proposal. British forces would be withdrawn by next May and meanwhile would act under the authority of the United Nations while a commission, appointed by the Assembly and responsible directly to the Security Council, carried out the partition plan. While this arrangement leaves the primary job of policing to the British, their government would no longer bear sole responsibility for the policy to be enforced. And by May 1 the militias created by the two new states would presumably take over, even though the transition period would continue until July. That this scheme involves risks, no one can deny. But at least it reduces British liabilities to a reasonable minimum. In our opinion, the plan should be amended to provide for a token U. N. enforcement body, contributed by member states, to give a truly international character to the task of implementation. Perhaps this idea can be incorporated in the subcommittee's proposal in the course of debate.

✱

THE HARRIMAN COMMITTEE, APPOINTED TO "determine the limits within which the United States could safely and wisely extend aid to Western Europe," concludes its report by asking eloquently that we apply to the making of the peace the same spirit which triumphed in war. Unfortunately, the report itself is not altogether inspired by that spirit. The committee notes correctly that the size of a "prudent program" must correspond to the availability of commodities in this country and points out that many goods urgently needed for European reconstruction are in short supply here. That being the case, we should surely put first things first, as we did in the war, and give essential European needs priority over non-essential domestic needs. Con-

veyor belts for British coal mines and steel for French power stations should have precedence over conveyor belts for Montana gold mines or steel for Florida hotels. That calls for a strong allocation system, but the committee merely suggests that "the government will probably require authority to set up priorities" if voluntary measures prove inadequate. With so cautious an approach to the key problem of allocations, it is not surprising that the committee recommends a total for the whole program of \$12 to \$17 billion and a limit of \$5¼ billion in the first year. These amounts are so much below the requirements of the stripped-down Paris program that they would necessitate drastic revision of Europe's plan for expanding its own production. Yet while recommending curtailment of American aid, the Harriman committee says sternly that, as a condition of continued assistance, participating countries must take all practicable steps to achieve the production goals they set for themselves at Paris. Does it hope for bricks without straw?

✱

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM OF AID to Europe will be supported in principle by a majority of Republicans, however much they may haggle over details and seek to whittle down the total bill. That fact has been made clear by statements of leading members of the G. O. P. in recent weeks, and Governor Dewey's speech at the *Forbes Magazine* dinner on October 5 provided the clinching proof. For Mr. Dewey, a man who never plunges into political waters until he has received a dozen expert reports on depth and temperature, came out quite strongly for the essence of the Marshall Plan. Naturally, his advocacy of aid to "freedom-loving peoples" was stated in terms of wholehearted condemnation of Russia—a safe line for any American politician these days—and was coupled with a number of sneers at the Truman Administration, including the strange accusation that it had given "aid and comfort to Communist conquest." However, New York's governor talked sense on at least one point. It would be a mistake, he said, to deny aid to countries attempting Socialist experiments. "In the free world," he added, "economic systems are not all alike. We do not share the Socialist ideas prevailing in some nations and we believe some of their programs to be affirmatively dangerous. . . . I am sure in my own mind that

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if those nations would restore initiative and free enterprise, their progress would be immediately accelerated. But we shall not achieve that result by lecturing from afar or withholding aid if they do not change their practices." We trust these views will prevail in Congress. Any attempt to barter aid against the abandonment of socialism in Europe would be an earth-shaking blunder.

★

SENATOR-ELECT JOHN C. STENNIS WILL probably never vote for an anti-lynching bill or for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but he will look good in the Senate when we think of what might have been. Mississippi voters had a choice of six candidates to replace the late Mr. Bilbo. That statesman's attorney and political heir, Forrest Jackson, offered himself to the electorate as "the outstanding champion of white supremacy." Another contender ran an anti-labor campaign with side excursions to denounce the President's Committee on Civil Rights. A third promised that if elected he would fearlessly "stand on the Senate floor and tell Joe Stalin to go to hell." Then there was John Rankin, who, promising to "out-Bilbo Bilbo," offered the world the "Rankin plan," which calls for Europeans to "go back to work" and opposes "an international WPA to feed every lazy lout from Tokyo to Timbuctoo." Stennis himself virtuously avoided all mention of race and concentrated on proposed farm improvements for the people of his rural state. Last, and certainly least, was the state Republican Party in the person of L. R. Collins. We hope the people of Mississippi, who are said to be extremely sensitive to outside pressures, will not consider it indelicate of us to express our gratitude for their choice, the Senate being, after all, a national body.

★

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION CELEBRATED ITS thirtieth anniversary in an atmosphere of world crisis not unlike that which greeted its birth. Having survived a generation marked by civil war, foreign intervention, the rise of fascism, and World War II, the Soviet state quite naturally greeted itself with expressions of congratulation and confidence. But difficult years lie ahead. Inside Russia, the Five-Year Plan progresses, as Molotov pointed out, though not at an even pace. Heavy industry is advancing; other kinds of production are lagging in varying degrees. In agriculture, the damage inflicted by the 1946 drought has been compensated for by this year's excellent harvest, giving Soviet leaders an opportunity both to raise the bread ration at home and to make favorable trade deals with neighboring countries and even with the West. In foreign affairs, on the other hand, Russia seems to be retracing the rough road traveled thirty years ago. The history of 1917-20 offers many uncomfortable parallels with to-

day's events, while some of the Soviet documents of that period—for instance, the famous letter from Chicherin to Wilson on October 24, 1918—are recalled, in all their vitriolic indignation, by Vishinsky's current recriminations at Lake Success. The tension that has developed between East and West can be relaxed only by an immense effort on both sides. The coming London conference of the foreign ministers provides a new chance for reasonable negotiation on the central issue arising out of the war—the treatment of Germany. If East and West can reach an agreement on that issue, the Soviet Union will have every reason to celebrate.

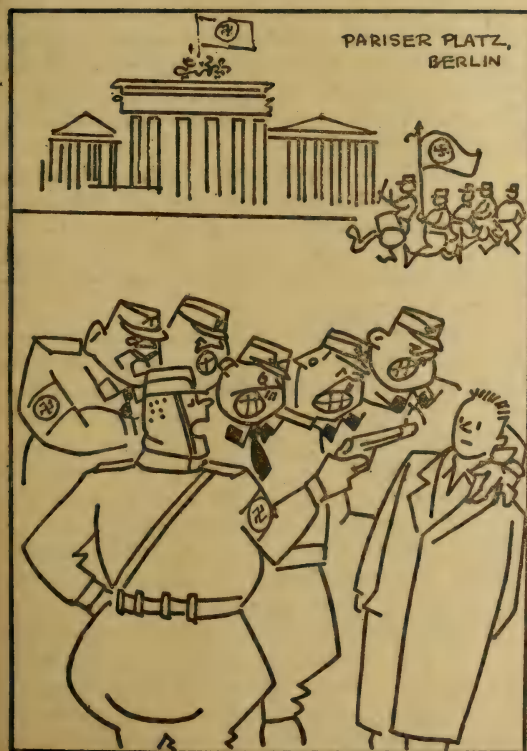
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ANY DOUBTS ABOUT THE REAL MOTIVATION of the recent Washington investigation into communism in Hollywood, have been removed by the subsequent behavior of the Hearst press. As the climax to a series of ranting articles by Rupert Hughes of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, the Hearst newspapers have now come out for federal censorship of motion pictures. In a front-page editorial appearing in the Hearst press on November 5, the argument is raised that since the film industry has refused to conduct a sweeping purge of employees, there is no recourse but to censor films. This proposal will not be

surprising to those who have followed the activities of the Motion Picture Alliance, which was sponsored and godfathered by the Hearst press. From its inception in 1944, the Alliance has raised a constant hue and cry about "communism," thus providing the Thomas committee with a pretext for an investigation aimed at imposing a rigid censorship on the industry. Although warned that this was the real purpose of the committee, the industry at first refused to believe it and tried to make its peace with Thomas by indulging in some fancy red-baiting. But the Washington hearings apparently convinced the producers, at last, that a trap was being sprung; from this trap they managed to step back just in time. Momentarily defeated, Thomas will return to the attack, after first letting the Hearst press and his other allies work up a campaign for censorship. In the meantime, of course, the hearings have already imposed a large measure of self-censorship not only on the industry but on those who write, direct, and produce motion pictures.

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IF FREDERICK H. ECKER READ THE PAPERS the day he got a medal at the Waldorf Astoria in New York, he must have noticed that the Committee on Civil Rights had just issued its brilliant report. Mr. Ecker, who is chairman of the board of Metropolitan



Life, was awarded the medal for his "achievements in the field of better housing," which means for building Stuyvesant Town and other projects. But to honor this achievement is also to honor Jim Crow, as signs carried by pickets of the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing announced to passers-by on Park Avenue. Stuyvesant Town, which is tax exempt, and its adjunct, Peter Cooper Village, which is not, accept no colored tenants. Metropolitan frankly acknowledges its discriminatory policy; in fact, when Mr. Ecker received his medal he defended the practice as "a matter of business and economics." This, on the day the President's committee had specifically cited Metropolitan Life as violating the precept that "equality of opportunity to buy or rent should exist for every American"! Yet perhaps a little apprehension was mingled with Mr. Ecker's arrogance; the ceremony at the Waldorf really called for no defensive statement. Did his morning paper and a hundred rain-drenched pickets disturb him? We hope so. It is time Metropolitan Life began to worry about the public-relations effect of its ugly doctrine.

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TWENTY-THREE NATIONS HAVE SIGNED A general trade agreement at Geneva which President Truman has hailed as "a landmark in the history of international relations." Never before, certainly, have trade barriers been attacked on so broad a front. The agreement includes a series of provisions barring or limiting such practices as discriminatory restrictions, exchange controls, internal taxes, customs methods, and so forth. Attached to it is a list of tariff concessions covering 45,000 different items which are included in 123 separate but interrelated bilateral agreements between 19 countries. Under the most-favored-nation clause, a concession made to any country applies to every other in the group. During more than six months of the Geneva conference, the toughest negotiations appear to have been those between the United States and Great Britain. We wanted substantial reductions in Empire preferences, and the British insisted on important cuts in American duties on both British and Commonwealth products. The detailed results of the bargaining will not be known until November 18, but meanwhile we note that Harold Wilson, president of the British Board of Trade, has been assuring critics that the agreement does not weaken "the economic cooperation of the Commonwealth." Simultaneously, Winthrop Brown, who signed the agreements on behalf of the United States, declared that none of the concessions made by this country will endanger the existence or seriously damage any American industry. Nevertheless, when the lists are published, we anticipate plenty of howls from interested parties in both countries, with the volume of sound in direct proportion to the value of the results achieved.

Trouble in Kashmir

A SERIES of swift and dramatic moves has brought Kashmir into an area of international significance. Events there call for a vigilant watch, since the state is today a buffer between India and Pakistan on one side, and China and the U. S. S. R. on the other.

The partition of India and the withdrawal of British authority have left Kashmir in an exceptionally difficult position. With its southern boundaries touching both India and Pakistan, a decision to join either dominion was not easy to make. The Maharajah—a Hindu prince in a predominantly Moslem state—felt encouraged by Hyderabad's example and played for time, in the hope, perhaps, that ultimately he could declare the complete independence of Kashmir.

Unfortunately, time would not wait. Internal unrest manifested itself early this summer, synchronized with the invasion of Kashmir by the Pathan tribes of the northwest through a strip of territory now under Pakistan's control. Frightened by the prospect of combined revolution and invasion, Kashmir appealed for assistance, first to Pakistan, then to the British, and finally to India. Nehru's government was under no obligation, political or moral, to rush aid to Kashmir since the state had refused to join the Indian dominion and the administration was reactionary, corrupt and oppressive. Moreover, Sheik Abdullah, the acknowledged Moslem leader of the national movement and a man of wide influence, was in prison as a political offender for demanding popular government.

With the crisis deepening every hour, the Maharajah hastily concluded a provisional agreement with India. First, he released Sheik Abdullah and installed him as Prime Minister. Second, he agreed that Kashmir should join the Indian union temporarily in return for military assistance to prevent invasion.

In agreeing to this course, Nehru's Cabinet seems to have been influenced by considerations of security. India could not afford to take any chances of Kashmir sinking into chaos and passing under foreign control. A second reason for intervention was the fear of serious repercussions in Hyderabad, largest of the princely territories, with a population of sixteen million, of which less than two million are Moslem. Had Kashmir been overrun by looting frontier tribesmen, Hindus might have taken retaliatory measures in Hyderabad, setting off civil war in a region of India hitherto comparatively free from strife.

For these reasons, intervention appeared to New Delhi to be necessary. It is a heartening sign that Hindu, Sikh, and Moslem volunteers have been parading the streets of Srinagar, the capital, calling for unity against the common enemy. Whatever may happen hereafter in Kashmir, autocracy will not be reestablished. Sheik Abdul-

lah has been an intimate colleague of Nehru's for many years and may be expected to cooperate with the Indian government in strengthening the democratic basis of the new administration.

Accession to the union is only provisional. When the present emergency has passed, a plebiscite will be held to decide whether Kashmir shall join India or Pakistan. Meanwhile, Sheik Abdullah's assumption of power has had a stabilizing influence on Kashmir's population, and elements which would otherwise have joined the tribesmen are now rallying round the government. Nevertheless, there seems to be some uncertainty about the adequacy of forces at the Prime Minister's disposal. Snow has begun to fall in the higher regions of Kashmir and will soon cover the entire valley. Flying operations from New Delhi to Srinagar, the sole method of sending troops and supplies to the threatened capital, will become increasingly difficult with the advance of winter. The immediate tasks ahead of Kashmir's government are to protect Srinagar and disperse insurgent tribesmen.

Nehru has raised questions, awkward for Jinnah to answer, about these large bands of tribesmen marching through Pakistan into Kashmir. Why were they not stopped en route and turned back? Was Pakistan unable or unwilling to do so? And the more serious question: where did the tribesmen get their arms and equipment? If reports are correct, the brother of the Moslem Premier of the Northwest Frontier Province was among the leaders of the invading bands. Pakistan's attitude toward Kashmir has for many months been suspiciously hostile. Essential supplies like wheat, sugar, oil, and cloth, which must pass through Pakistan, have been withheld on flimsy excuses, causing dislocation of transport and serious inconvenience to the population.

Jinnah has accused the Indian government of "fraud and violence." Nehru, in answer, has cited these incidents as evidence of Pakistan's complicity in the disturbances. It is, however, possible that Jinnah's government is powerless to prevent tribal aggression through Pakistan. One must not overlook the fact that these border tribes, accustomed for decades to live on British subsidies, have suddenly found themselves deprived of their normal means of livelihood. If this explanation is right, a glance at the map of Pakistan reveals other danger spots. The Pathan tribes of the Northwestern Frontier Province and Waziristan have natural affinities with Afghanistan that are stronger than physical or political barriers. Will they drop away and establish an independent state or turn toward Afghanistan? Once the process of redrawing the map of this little-known region commences, it may go far.

Nehru's proposal of a U. N. commission seems, in the circumstances, timely and wise. Its establishment, before fresh complications set in, should facilitate the speedy return of peace in Kashmir.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

G. O. P. Ebb Tide

NO OFF-YEAR election, it seems, is so sparse or so inconclusive that a politician worth his salt cannot find in it something to "hail as an augury" of fantastic successes to come. If I were in the hail-and-augur business, I would rather be a Democrat this November than a Republican. Carroll Reece, who is in charge of such matters for the G. O. P., must have wriggled painfully to find in last week's results the inevitable "conclusive proof" that the American people approve his party's record in Congress.

Consider some of the material Mr. Reece had to work with. In Kentucky Democratic Representative Earle C. Clements was swept into the governorship in a landslide that ended four years of Republican control. Reece might have had an easier time minimizing the national implications of this overthrow if his own party had not pilloried Representative Clements throughout the campaign for having voted against the Taft-Hartley bill. Prices, too, were a major issue. When the returns were in, poor Reece was reduced to pointing out that Kentucky is usually Democratic after all, and that his party wasn't beaten as badly in 1947 as it had been in 1939 and 1935.

Indiana, which should logically be well up front in any visible Republican trend, must have disappointed the party chairman even more sorely. In spite of active support from Senator Capehart and House Majority Leader Halleck, local campaigns in that state went badly for the Republicans. They lost city-hall control in Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Evansville, Muncie, and Terre Haute, and failed to wrest it from Democratic incumbents in South Bend and Gary. Hammond was the only sizable town in which they were successful. In Pennsylvania they lost mayors in such industrial centers as Allentown, Reading, and Erie, making their lone capture in Wilkes-Barre. They held on to Philadelphia's city machine, but since they have had a strangle-hold on that institution since 1884, their victory there was roughly comparable to a Roman Catholic sweep of the College of Cardinals.

It is in New York, however, that the Republicans appear to have had their sharpest setbacks. Upstate party strongholds like Niagara Falls and Schenectady elected Democratic mayors, and Erie County, apparently incensed over Governor Dewey's policy of permissive local taxation, ousted nine Republicans from the board of supervisors and gave Buffalo a Democratic City Council. The Republican boss of Erie County, unwilling

to go through the expected gyrations, merely remarked to reporters, "There is nothing I have to say." In New York City the G. O. P. candidate for the Supreme Court, running with American Labor Party support, drew only half the G. O. P. votes that were given to a Republican candidate for the same office last year. And in the sole Congressional fight in the state the Republican contender not only lost, which was natural enough in a Democratic district, but trailed even the A. L. P. candidate. While I would not go so far as to characterize all this as a preview of 1948, or even as a definite Democratic trend, it is clear at the very least that last year's Republican rip tide is no longer running.

As for the election's effect on the chances of major candidates, it seems to me that only Dewey has lost ground. His chief claim to the Presidential nomination was the prospect that he would carry his own crucial state. To the extent that this prospect has been clouded by last week's spotty Republican performance, especially upstate, his chances have been weakened. And they are perhaps further diminished by the failure of Capehart and Halleck to produce victories in Indiana, both gentlemen being acknowledged backers of the Dewey campaign.

It is one of those entertaining little ironies of politics that to balance these setbacks in New York the Republicans are counting on the services of the American Labor Party, which they admire only slightly less than they do the Kremlin. Seizing on the successful effort to abolish proportional representation in New York's City Council, the Labor Party people have served solemn notice on the Democrats, who led what was in fact an unprincipled fight for P. R.'s repeal. "Tammany Hall and its allies," an A. L. P. spokesman warned, "have at long last succeeded in destroying the coalition between labor and the Democratic Party, so carefully nurtured and built by Franklin D. Roosevelt." No music could be sweeter to Republican ears, which detect in these words the promise that the G. O. P. will carry the state next year even if it should nominate J. Parnell Thomas for President. After all, the city's largest minority party, which has always gone Democratic in national elections, drew approximately 19 per cent of the city's vote last week.

The Liberal Party, gaining 57 per cent over its 1945 vote and accounting for 11 per cent of the city vote, is equally incensed over the abolition of P. R. But the story here is somewhat different. For the Liberals, as for most independent voters, a progressive Democratic platform in 1948, plus a vice-presidential candidate of stature, will doubtless wipe out the bitterness of the fight over P. R., although Liberal Party Chairman A. A. Berle has announced that his organization will press for another referendum next year. There is no breach between these two parties that cannot be healed for the purposes of a national election, especially since outstand-

ing Democrats like Mayor O'Dwyer are known to have been privately sour on the anti-P. R. campaign. O'Dwyer's silence on the issue was as far as he could go without clashing head-on with his five county chairmen. Ed Flynn, the Bronx party boss, is fully aware of the dangers of a lasting strain, and has privately indicated that conciliatory gestures may be expected. The size of the independent vote, in Chicago as well as New York, should produce the necessary impetus. The A. L. P., however, with its strong Communist core, is probably beyond all wooing.

Political Void in Oregon

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon, November 3

MOUNTAINS and mesas rise out of the uplands of the Fremont National Forest. The high plateaus are pocked with gorges. Few men would want to be over these wild solitudes in an airplane on a moonless night, with the ceiling closing down inexorably on the snowy summits. Yet the pilot thought he could make it and that by sun-up next morning they would be frying bacon and looking through the sights of their shotguns at geese from Canada in Warner Valley.

So the accident that people had speculated about ever since men in high office had taken to traveling by airplane actually happened. Forest rangers struggling through the timbered fastnesses for a day and a night on foot found the three highest public officials of their state dead at the base of a gnarled old Ponderosa pine, where the fluttering Beechcraft had finally crumpled between clouds and mountain.

Never before had the lives of the first three public men of a state been snuffed out at one stroke. The public was benumbed. It had not thought of any of the three dead men as great, but it had come to accept them and their personalities: Earl Snell, who had been twice elected governor by the most decisive margins in Oregon's annals; forty-one-year-old Bob Farrell, for five years the secretary of state; Marshall Cornet, big, jolly, and self-assured, the president of the state senate.

By a curious irony, the new governor, John H. Hall, the former speaker of the house, is one of the most unpopular men in the state, even with the Republican politicians, whose titular leader he has suddenly become. Try to imagine the complete unpreparedness among national politicians if death should reach so far into the United States government as to project John Snyder,

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER has written a number of articles for The Nation on the political and economic problems of the Northwest. Last summer he contributed a series on Alaska.

overnight, into the Presidency. When the state's Republican leaders were attacking Hall for his alleged night-club, gambling-hall and race-track legal clients, they never thought that in a few weeks he would be occupying the gubernatorial chair. If any man seemed unlikely on his record to reach high office, it was Hall. In the legislature his pet bill had proposed to remove the double-recovery provision from an 1876 Oregon statute against gambling. The United States referee in bankruptcy characterized this measure as a gift to "the boys who run the gambling houses."

Hall was sworn in by his legal associate, Jay Bowerman, chief lobbyist for the dog-racing interests, which this year had a \$12,438,416 "handle" at the greyhound tracks. This in itself was such an affront to the state Supreme Court that many of the justices, themselves

ardent Republicans, fear their party is southbound in a hand-basket. Republican newspapers which had been denouncing Hall's legislative maneuvers are now called on to recognize him as head of the Republican Party in Oregon.

On the other side of the ledger, the political pressure is definitely off Oregon's famous liberal Republican, Senator Wayne L. Morse. Republican conservatives planned to oppose Morse in 1950 with Governor Snell. This threat was known to Morse, and it was not of small proportions. Snell never had been defeated in a political race. He had been elected secretary of state three times, governor twice. In 1942 he defeated the Democratic nominee by a five-to-one margin, a victory without duplicate in the history of the state. Now that Snell is dead, Morse has no dangerous adversary.

John G. Winant

BY LARUE BROWN

ON JUNE 12, 1945, a great crowd assembled under the temporary roof of the Guildhall in London to witness the presentation of the freedom of the city to General Eisenhower. One by one the chief men of Britain came up the narrow aisle between the banks of less distinguished spectators to be received by the Lord Mayor and sheriffs waiting in the splendor of their traditional robes. They came in inverse order of rank—aldermen, masters of the City Companies, great figures of Parliament, ranking army and naval commanders, the Archbishop of Canterbury, members of the Cabinet, Clement Attlee, Winston Churchill. Well toward the end came the call, "the American Ambassador." There had been applause in various degrees for the others, but now there was a storm surpassed only by the greetings to the Prime Minister and to the General himself. The few Americans who were there were moved, as they had been moved before, by the demonstration of the deep affection of the English people for John G. Winant.

That affection stemmed from many causes. He had come to the island fortress at the hour when Britain stood alone. He had brought the promise, soon to be translated into acts, of the good-will and material assistance of the United States. He was the official representative of the great ally. All this made for warm cordiality toward the Ambassador. But the love for the

man had deeper roots. He had shared the ordeal and the perils of the English people. Along with them he had defied the bombs and the rockets. He had, like so many, had the news that his son was "missing in action" and the later anxiety of knowing him to be a prisoner, and indeed a hostage, in the hands of vindictive captors, and had refused to bargain unworthily for his release. Beyond all this he had become a symbol of the hope of men for a better-ordered world.

More significant than his close friendship with Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill was his relation to the clerks and the drivers and the doormen of the embassy staff. It is said that he was shy and diffident. It may be so. But no one who witnessed his chance meetings with these men and women in the corridors of the embassy, who saw the warm greeting and the friendly smile, who heard the word of interest and encouragement could fail to understand why he was loved.

He had much in common with Franklin Roosevelt, to whom he was so deeply devoted that he fled the celebration of V-E Day in London to spend the evening quietly with associates who were also friends of the dead President and to talk of what the day would have meant to F. D. R. had he been permitted to see it. Like Roosevelt, Winant did not achieve his great position by accident. Coming to New Hampshire a stranger, a rich man, a teacher in a fashionable boys' school, he became three times governor of that conservative state. To do so he overthrew the long invincible Moses machine and defeated no less formidable an opponent than the late Frank Knox. He succeeded because beneath his somewhat shy and simple bearing there lay courage and sincerity

LARUE BROWN served for several years during the war as special representative in London of the Department of Justice and as assistant to the Ambassador.

and an inflexible purpose to do his part toward achieving justice and security for the common man. He was always ready to risk and he did risk his career, when personal prudence would have dictated compromise, to lead in the struggle for these ends.

Few realized the burden he carried as ambassador. It included, in addition to such incidents of normal international relations as survived the impact of the war, intimate contact with practically every phase of the all-embracing conflict. Even those close to him in London had only glimpses of the complications and difficulties which filled his long and arduous days. As a single example, the mere presence in Britain of our huge army brought a series of trying problems which arose largely out of the relation of our military forces to the civilian public among whom they were stationed. To the solution of these problems, some of which assumed the status of substantial crises, the army itself and particularly the War Department lent only qualified assistance. That they were solved was chiefly due to the firmness and good sense of Mr. Winant and to his steadfast support of those under him charged with the actual working out of acceptable arrangements with the British government.

Only when his correspondence with Franklin Roosevelt is some day published shall we know how great was his responsibility and how great his contribution to victory. He alone knew the cost to himself.

Throughout the war there was ever in his mind what lay beyond victory. In his speech of June 6, 1942, to the miners at Durham, only now published in this country, he put into words much of the outlook on life which guided his whole career. In that speech he said: "We must solemnly resolve that in the future we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war. . . . We are committed to a common objective tomorrow. We are committed to the establishment of service to democracy . . . We must keep it wide and vigorous, alive to need of whatever kind, always remembering that it is the things of the spirit that in the end prevail, that caring counts, that hope and faith count, and that without charity there can be nothing good. That daring to live dangerously, we are learning to live generously, and believing in the inherent goodness of man, we may meet the call to 'stride forward into the unknown with growing confidence'."

This was the faith of a great American.

Why I Broke with Chiang

BY GENERAL FENG YU-HSIANG

AS A plain Chinese soldier risen from the ranks, I have always cherished admiration for the great tradition of democracy in which the United States was established and in which it is now assuming world leadership. I am grateful therefore for this opportunity to speak to the American people through the pages of *The Nation*. As usual I will be frank. I hope the traditional American generosity of spirit will not take offense at a soldier's bluntness.

I wish first to make it clear that over 90 per cent of the Chinese people, all except a few reactionaries in the Kuomintang camp, are whole-heartedly for peace, democracy, and liberalism. Over 95 per cent of China's intellectuals are against the status quo in China. They have faith in the Three People's Principles enunciated by

Dr. Sun Yat-sen and want to put them into practice. In full accord with General Marshall, I believe that China's hope lies in these liberal and democratic elements.

To foreign observers these elements appear weak and unorganized, for Chiang Kai-shek's brutal terrorism is driving all opposition underground. Since I must protect my progressive Kuomintang comrades and other democratic groups, including the influential Democratic League, I cannot disclose their numbers or organization, but I can say that they are active in almost all the large cities of China. The people's forces, non-Communist, have been building up their power in more than forty counties in Southwest China. It is a shameless lie for Chiang to brand those whom he has persecuted as Communists. They are no more Communists than I am. As the terrorism, corruption, and inflation in China grow worse, which they are destined to do despite any amount of money Chiang may receive from abroad, the democratic forces will eventually break out into the open and bring about Chiang's downfall, just as the momentous political impact of the Three People's Principles overthrew the northern war lords in 1928. It is with Dr. Sun's spirit, therefore, that I face the task of fighting resolutely for peace and democracy in China.

FENG YU-HSIANG, the "Christian General," has been for many years the second most important military figure in China. He is also a leader of the progressive forces in the Kuomintang and last year broke with Chiang Kai-shek over the terrorism and corruption of the regime. He is now in the United States as chief of the Water Conservation Mission of the Chinese Republic, making a study of the TVA in order to draw up similar plans for the Yangtze.

OUR two peoples, the Americans and the Chinese, have had a real, historical friendship. During our war of resistance against Japan the material help and moral encouragement we received from the United States aroused our deep gratitude. After V-J Day President Truman's statement on China and General Marshall's subsequent mission further convinced the Chinese people of America's good-will and democratic ideals. I realize that when the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference were violated by the reactionaries in my party,* the American people as well as the Chinese suffered great disillusionment. At this time full-fledged civil war had not started. It might have been prevented if the United States, instead of pouring billions of dollars into China, had then used its good offices to bring about a new agreement; if the United States had stayed out entirely—maintained absolute neutrality—the war would have petered out for lack of means. Weapons supplied to Chiang Kai-shek usually fell into the hands of the Communists. In effect, the United States armed both sides.

It is a matter of serious regret that more than three billion American dollars have been used in China to spread the fire of national destruction. And now a new effort to drive the United States into further intervention is reported in the American press. If it succeeds, both our nations will be plunged into an even sadder situation. A political loan of \$1,350,000,000 to finance a three-year plan for China is suggested by William C. Bullitt in a recent article in *Life* magazine. The conditions of such a loan, which would include American control of China's financial, political, and military policies, have been widely discussed. But history shows that foreign money spent in intervention in Chinese political struggles is wasted; such intervention merely arouses the hatred of the Chinese people.

In 1918 the Japanese lent 500,000,000 yen to Tuan Chi-jui, leader of the northern war lords, to bolster the regime of his puppet, Hsu Shih-chang, then President of China, against the growing national movement led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thousands of Japanese military advisers were sent to Tuan's armies. Other advisers tried to bring efficiency to government departments. But the only result was a gigantic wave of Chinese protests and demonstrations, the first signals of the awakening National Revolution. In a few years the northern regime was overturned, and the money of the Japanese was lost.

To be quite frank, ever since V-J Day anti-American sentiment has been growing in China. My people have never ceased to struggle against their own "bad government." The people's movements in 1916 against Yuan

Shih-kai and the Japanese and from 1918 on against Tuan Chi-jui, Chang Tso-lin, and the Japanese are fresh memories. Such nationalist upsurges are never manufactured by any one person or group. And no amount of force, from any quarter, can stop them.

MR. BULLITT'S proposal assumes that with American assistance the size of Chiang's army could be reduced and its efficiency increased. This has long been one of the reforms recommended by the Chinese. During the resistance war, in the summer of 1944, General Tang En-po was routed by the Japanese in Honan. His quick defeat and the deadly enmity his vanquished troops encountered among the local peasants, who disarmed them, alarmed the government. The people everywhere demanded army reforms. As a result, two decrees were issued—one announcing a reduction in the size of the army and the other increasing the pay of officers and men. Neither of these actually came to anything.

The strength of the army depends first of all upon the morale of the rank and file: they must be willing to fight. Chiang's soldiers are peasants who hate the civil war. They are collected by the village officials charged with enforcing the conscription order, and sent to the training centers roped and chained and half starved so that they will not be able to run away. Frequently new recruits are thrown into battle after hardly any training at all. Of course they make frantic attempts to desert. Passengers between Nanking and Shanghai often see them jump from the windows of fast-moving trains. No amount of money can make the Chinese peasant die for something he considers directly against his own interest.

Mr. Bullitt also shows his ignorance of China in suggesting the conscription of rich young men. The village officials are all and sundry in the service of the landlords, who control the countryside, and every rich young man who can be enticed into the army is immediately made an officer and seldom gets near the fighting. It would be idle to suggest that an American adviser could supervise recruiting in every Chinese village. The only way to win over the peasants is to carry out Dr. Sun's policy of "land to the tillers." But to all my suggestions on that subject Chiang has always turned a deaf ear.

In 1920, when I was commander of a brigade in Hunan, I saw with my own eyes the behavior of Tuan Chi-jui's troops, newly armed with rifles from Japan. They literally threw away their arms and ran when the revolutionary forces inspired by Dr. Sun Yat-sen advanced against them. I moved my forces south in 1926 to join Chiang, for I and all my officers and men were convinced that the government of the northern war lords must be destroyed. We were in a very bad situation. Often we had nothing to eat but plain rice soaked in salt water. But the zeal and high morale of the revolutionary army made possible the success of the northern campaign.

* Convocation of the National Assembly last winter was in contravention of agreements reached at the all-party Political Consultative Conference in the previous spring and caused the negotiations between the government and the Communists to be broken off.—
EDITORS THE NATION.

THROUGHOUT his years in power Chiang has never understood the secret of popular support. Like any northern war lord he believes in building up his own power. This is not the casual charge of an outsider but the conviction of one who has worked with him for twenty years. My close contact with him started in 1926. During the next three years he was the commander of the First Group Army and I the commander of the Second Group Army. Some grievance motivated him to order the execution of a general in his own Group Army. A mutiny followed, and he had to resign. As commander of the Second Group Army I was obliged to support him in order to insure the success of the revolution. I circulated a telegram upholding him, and he got back his command. I have worked at his side in the party and the government as well as in the army and know perfectly well his blind egoism and insistence on dictatorial power. He allows no criticism, no dissident idea. To my suggestions and advice, frequently carefully camouflaged in stories from old Chinese history, he has usually given outward approval in order to save my face. But he has never put them into practice.

Take, for instance, the army. It is a well-known fact that Chiang makes a distinction between his own troops in the Central Army and troops under other generals, the so-called "miscellaneous" armies. His criterion is not the quality of the soldiers but their commanders' personal loyalty to him. Troops which he does not consider his own loyal supporters, no matter how patriotic and well-disciplined, have received few supplies or replacements, while the Central Army has been steadily expanded and given the best equipment Chiang can afford.

During the war against Japan General Tang En-po, one of Chiang's most loyal henchmen, lost thousands of square miles in three weeks as the result of his corruption and his plundering of the villages. Instead of being punished, he continued to be favored. On the other hand, General Chang Chih-chung, one of the best of the nation's commanders, was always poorly supplied. In May, 1940, he held superior Japanese forces at bay in northern Hupeh, waiting for reinforcements which never came. He died in battle, a martyr to his country, on May 16, 1940. His forces were allowed to be destroyed simply because they were part of the miscellaneous armies. The pay in the miscellaneous armies was sometimes one-fifth that in the Central Army. The difference was deliberate—a method of building up personal power at the expense of the nation.

Mr. Bullitt imagines that American money will moderate the greed of Chiang Kai-shek's officials. Without repeating all the charges of

deep-rooted corruption printed in both the Chinese and the American press, I will tell one simple story. In 1942 the official in charge of communications on the all-powerful Military Affairs Commission, a relative of Chiang's and like him a native of Feng Hwa, Chekiang Province, was proved to have sold about \$17,000,000 (Chinese) worth of military rice and \$10,000,000 (Chinese) worth of gasoline for his personal profit. American lend-lease supplies were involved, and the public cried for drastic action. Chiang Kai-shek thereupon used all his tactical talent to fool the public without hurting his underling. First, he ordered that the criminal be executed. Then telegrams from important military quarters demanded that the Generalissimo's order be annulled and the sentence changed to thirteen years' imprisonment. This evidently was still too much, for the thirteen years was changed to seven. The criminal was then invited to live in the mountain villa of another high official for his seven years of imprisonment. But this also was too uncomfortable; so two months later a telegram from the front brought the criminal to Chekiang Province, where he became the vice-commander of the Provincial Peace Preservation Corps. This public disgrace was countenanced by Chiang Kai-shek not only out of nepotism. The dominant reason was that Chiang himself has a number of expenses which cannot be put in the budget. The maintenance of the power of the secret police is one. Insuring the loyalty of his henchmen is another.

MORE American aid will simply increase Chiang's dictatorial power. At present all opposition to him within and outside the Kuomintang is trembling under his terrorism. Marshal Li Chi-shen, who wanted to reform the Kuomintang so that it could assume legitimate leadership in the country's affairs, was forced into exile and expelled from the party. General Yu Hsin-chin and his colleagues, who were of like mind, suffered a worse fate. Mme Sun Yat-sen is now living in Shanghai under close surveillance, not allowed to receive mail or friends freely. Members of the Democratic League are regarded as rebels: twenty Democratic League leaders

were executed on October 7. Famous scholars like the economist, Ma Yin-chu, a Columbia man, and the archaeologist, Ku Mo-jo, are on the black list. About 30,000 men and women in three groups are slated to be wiped out.

Meanwhile ever since last spring, when nation-wide demonstrations against the civil war took place, professors and students have been dismissed from educational institutions. At the same time the reactionary San



Min Chu I Youth Corps and the C. C. local party machines have maneuvered to get their members admitted into schools and colleges. During the recent autumn entrance examinations, for example, party officials who had been planted some time ago in four Peiping universities stole the examination questions and passed them on to their comrades so that a block of them could get into the student bodies and control them. The theft, however, was discovered by other little functionaries, who proceeded to sell the questions for money. The scandal raged in Peking for some weeks and was only quieted by pressure from high quarters. This systematic eradica-

tion of the liberal democratic movement is driving China into the fold of the Communists.

Chiang's regime is the culmination of all bad governments in China. No amount of foreign money can save it from downfall. The United States should stop all aid to Chiang, and exert its power for peace by giving support to the middle groups—both the Democratic League and the opposition within the Kuomintang. I know definitely that such aid would be effective now, but it will be unavailing later. The United States should realize that a corrupt minority, dependent on foreign support to maintain itself in power, is a poor ally.

The Catholic Church and Education

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

BIGOTRY once again is eating its way into the vital organs of the greatest nation on the face of the earth, our own beloved America," said Francis Cardinal Spellman at the last Fordham commencement. "Once again a crusade is being preached against the Catholic church in the United States . . . now it is the growth and expansion of Catholic education which is claimed to be a constant threat to the supremacy of public education in the United States."

It is true that there has been a tremendous revival of anti-Catholic feeling in the United States in recent months, and its focal point is unquestionably the educational policy of the church. But as Protestant leaders have been quick to point out in reply to Cardinal Spellman, the new anti-Catholic sentiment is not an offensive against the church as such but a broad defensive movement against a growing educational aggressiveness on the part of the hierarchy. The new opposition is not based upon the kind of bigotry which disgraced the country during the Al Smith campaign for the Presidency. It is strongest among the liberals who have always stood most courageously for personal tolerance.

What has caused this new opposition to Roman Catholic educational policy? The immediate occasion has been the extension of bus transportation at public expense to pupils of parochial schools in nineteen states and the

fight of various Catholic lobbies in Washington against any federal aid to education in which parochial schools do not share. The federal-aid fight, particularly, has raised certain basic questions about Catholic education which most Americans had never faced before. Are the Roman Catholic schools worthy of national support? Are they democratic? Do they teach responsible freedom? Do they teach tolerance and national solidarity? Non-Catholics have a right to ask these questions not only because the Catholic schools are training some 3,000,000 future citizens in more than 8,000 tax-exempt institutions but because the people have accepted the Catholic schools as substitutes for public education under state compulsory-education laws.

Public schools in the United States are controlled democratically by local school boards whose members are either elected or appointed by elected officials. Public school buildings belong to the people of each district, and the people as voters have the final say as to their use. This democratic control of education is so well established in our tradition that it is taken for granted.

The Roman Catholic parochial school, however, is owned by a priest or bishop or by a corporation or board controlled by a priest or bishop. The Catholic people of a parish do not own a single brick in their churches or schools; they do not determine whether a school shall be built, and they have nothing to say about its continuation or its policies. All control of education is in the hands of the parish priest and his bishop, subject only to the veto of the Pope.

Nuns as Teachers

THE parish priest and the bishop may hire or fire any teacher in the Catholic school system with or without reason, throw out any textbook or course of study, and shut any building. "The pastor," says the Right Reverend

PAUL BLANSHARD attracted nation-wide attention by his exposure of Tammany graft while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia. During the war he was a State Department official assigned to the Caribbean, and he has recently brought out a book on that region, "Democracy and Unrest in the Caribbean." This is the last of three articles on the Roman Catholic church in medicine, sex, and education.

John R. Hagan in "Vital Problems of Catholic Education" (Catholic University of America, p. 70), "is responsible by ecclesiastical law for the existence, maintenance, and conduct of the parish school. The religious superior [of the nuns and brothers] appoints the teaching staff and principal, and exercises over them a supervision which is at once religious and educational. The school board or the superintendent represents a third authority, namely, the bishop."

Below these priests and bishops in the Roman Catholic school system come the 77,000 teaching nuns who form more than 90 per cent of the teaching force in Catholic elementary schools in America. They are recruited as girls in their teens, largely by priests in the classrooms of the Catholic high schools, and are pledged to poverty, celibacy, and obedience for life. They live in the convents of their orders while they teach in the church's schools.

In the public schools teachers are reasonably free to marry and to live a life of intellectual freedom. The nuns of the Catholic schools never know the meaning of this type of freedom. Their thoughts, activities, and amusements are controlled by superiors who in turn are cut off from the cultural life of the non-Catholic community by the rules of their orders. Ordinarily the nuns are not free to read books, newspapers, or magazines of their own choice, to attend theaters or motion pictures, or to participate in any public amusements. Their carefully guided courses of training are pursued so far as possible within the Catholic educational system.

No matter how competent and devoted these nuns may be—and no one questions their industry—they do not acquire occupational tenure. They can be instantly removed as teachers or expelled from their religious orders for reasons which have no bearing on their competence as classroom teachers. Their superiors, in fact, in the convent and in the school are almost always the same persons, empowered to exercise discipline in any case of personal or intellectual insubordination. Nominal "teacher-training" courses are given in the convents, but even the shorter courses consist largely of theological indoctrination, and prospective teachers are never allowed to forget that their primary purpose in the classroom is the inculcation of the Roman Catholic faith.

This whole system of segregated schools under costumed religious teachers who are subject to the priests is almost ignored by the educational authorities of the various states. Because of the compulsory-education laws, "approving" agencies exist on the statute books in each state, but supervision of Roman Catholic schools scarcely goes beyond a perfunctory check on attendance. The most bizarre inequalities in teaching requirements exist within the closed Catholic system. Only fifteen states have any requirement whatever for certification of Catholic teachers, and only four enforce the same teaching

requirements for parochial-school as for public-school teachers.

Parochial-school education is the cheapest in America, much cheaper even than Negro education in Mississippi. In 1944 Mississippi spent \$42.25 per pupil; in 1937 the diocese of Indianapolis spent an average of \$15.53 per pupil in five of its typical parochial schools, at a time when the corresponding expenditure in the public schools was \$76.51. Roman Catholic parents who send their children to parochial schools frequently contribute only \$1 a month per child to the school fund. The schools are able to operate on this financial level because the average teaching nun gets only \$300 to \$500 a year, paid in a lump sum to her religious order for her "keep," as against the \$1,900 a year received by the average American teacher. Even the few male lay teachers in the Catholic school system are paid far below the average wage of the public schools for corresponding work.

No Intellectual Freedom

IN THESE Roman Catholic schools there is no academic freedom as non-Catholics understand the term, and no teaching of genuine religious freedom. The word "freedom" is constantly used, of course, but examination discloses it to be a semantic artifice meaning readiness to receive divine, that is, Catholic, revelation. Redden and Ryan in their standard Catholic work for teachers, "Freedom Through Education" (imprimatur Cardinal Spellman, p. 23), define the Catholic conception of freedom in unmistakable terms:

Freedom to worship God implies in its correct meaning and application that every man should acknowledge God as his creator, submit to His divine rule and will, and through the proper use of faith and reason embrace the eternal truths which alone insure salvation. This is true freedom. It is opposed to that so-called "liberty of conscience" which a "seditious and rebellious mind," dominated by man's lower nature and blinded to truth and goodness, employs to undermine, overthrow, or destroy the infallible authority of religion to guide and direct all the individual's conduct in terms of the moral law.

Under this interpretation of "freedom" no teacher in a Roman Catholic school is free to disagree with the hierarchy on any social or religious policy which the hierarchy cares to include in its modicum of "eternal truths." As Father Wilfred M. Mallon, S. J., put it in his attack on the American Association of University Professors before the National Catholic Education Association in 1942 (*Bulletin*, p. 193):

Freedom to teach what is true is without practical applicability unless we have a norm . . . the Catholic college norm must be not only natural knowledge but the deposit of divinely revealed truths immeasurably more certain than any truth arrived at by mere human

deduction or experiment, because we have for them the guaranty of the infinite knowledge and veracity of God.

In view of the very nature and fundamental purpose of Catholic education, violations of Catholic doctrine, or of Catholic moral principles, or of the essential properties of Catholic life, on the campus or off the campus, render a man unfit for service in a Catholic college.

What does this priestly control of education mean in terms of intellectual freedom? The best answer is to list sample doctrines of the hierarchy which no teacher in the Catholic school system is free to challenge publicly without incurring penalties. I do not have the space to quote chapter and verse for each statement, but if a Catholic authority cares to challenge any one of them, I shall be glad to give my sources.

1. Franco is an eminent Christian statesman.
2. The Pope is the infallible leader of mankind, and when he speaks for the church in matters of faith and morals, he cannot make a mistake.
3. The Virgin Mary returned to the earth six times in one year and told three peasant children of Fatima, Portugal, how the Western world should handle Soviet Russia.
4. It is a grave sin for an American Catholic deliberately to join the Masons or Odd Fellows.
5. No good Catholic may positively and unconditionally approve of the policy of separation of church and state.
6. With a bow to Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas is the greatest philosopher of all time.
7. It is a sin to teach the evolution of man as a whole from animal life.
8. No Catholic has a moral right to secure a divorce even from a spouse who is syphilitic, insane, or an adulterous murderer; and any Catholic who separates from such a spouse and remarries is guilty of adultery.
9. The Reformation was a backward step in human history, and many of the worst evils of fascism and communism flow from it.
10. It is a grave sin for a Catholic to own or use a Protestant Bible.
11. The Pope is the head of a sovereign temporal power which has coequal rights with that of the government of the United States.
12. The rights of the church as educator are prior to and superior to the rights of the state as educator, and no government has the legal right to infringe upon this divine prerogative.

Campaign Against the Public Schools

IN FAIRNESS to the Roman Catholic people of the United States it should be pointed out that they have never approved of the doctrinal narrowness of Catholic education or of the idea of a segregated school system. The parochial-school system has been imposed upon them

by the hierarchy at the point of a theological gun. When about a hundred years ago public schools replaced denominational schools for most American children, many Catholic parents wished to join the American community as equals in the public-school system. But Rome sharply rebuked them and laid down the flat rule that American Catholics must boycott American public schools wherever possible. This rule is now part of the canon law of the church. Although the hierarchy makes a great show of its official doctrine that the family has a primary right in educating the child, in practice no Catholic parent has a right to disagree with his priest on the subject of his child's education, on pain of the denial of absolution. The statutes of the diocese of Indianapolis on this subject are typical:

Where a Catholic parochial school exists, parents ordinarily violate the general canon law of the church (Canon 1374) if they send their children to public or non-Catholic schools. If they persist in this violation, they sin gravely and cannot be absolved until they make proper adjustment with the ordinary through the pastor (Statute 117).

In spite of these drastic penalties the majority of Catholic parents in the United States have never sent their children to Catholic schools, and since 1930 the proportion in attendance has not kept pace with the Catholic population. Catholic authorities are disturbed by this fact, and they are even more alarmed at the sharp decline of recruits for the teaching orders of sisters. The whole economic structure of Roman Catholic education would collapse if young Catholic girls could no longer be persuaded to take the veil. (Lay teachers, of course, would demand a decent living wage.) Recently a leading Catholic layman of Chicago declared that the Catholic schools can be saved from extinction only by a subsidy.

Naturally, there has been much grumbling among Roman Catholics about the separatism of a dual school system and its extra financial burden. In order to hold the people in line the hierarchy has felt obliged to conduct a continuous and bitter campaign against the public school. "Godless" is the mildest of the epithets which the anxious priests have used. Here are some quotations from a pamphlet issued by the America Press under the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Hayes—"May an American Oppose the Public School?" by Father Paul L. Blakely, S. J.

Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. We pay that tax under protest; not because we admit an obligation in justice. Justice cannot oblige the support of a system which we are forbidden in conscience to use or a system which we conscientiously hold to be bad in its ultimate consequences. . . .

The first duty of every Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it. . . . For the man

who sends his children to the public school when he could obtain for them the blessings of a Catholic education is not a practicing Catholic, even though he goes to Mass every morning. . . .

Is a Catholic free to attend a non-Catholic college or university? The answer is that he is not free, since the only school, whether it be a kindergarten or a university, which is fit for a Catholic is the school that is Catholic in its principles, its aims, its programs, its teachers, and in its submission to the direction and supervision of the church. . . .

Efforts to Censor All Education

THE Roman Catholic hierarchy, in addition to controlling its own schools and colleges completely, also claims the right to censor all general education, and to effect this object encourages Catholics to control local boards of education where possible and to place Catholics in key positions as teachers and officials in the public-school system. For these Catholics in the public-school system the hierarchy lays down rules in the moral manuals almost as detailed as the rules for parochial teachers. They are directed to stand for the superiority of the church school even while they are teaching in the public school, and in discussing civic affairs with pupils they are "expected to make a statement on such matters as divorce, euthanasia, birth control," and kindred subjects. "She [the Catholic teacher in the public school] must not speak in such wise as to give the impression that all forms of religious belief possess a natural right to exist and to propagate. Only the true religion possesses such a natural right" (Father Francis J. Connell, "Morals in Politics and Professions," imprimatur Archbishop of Baltimore-Washington, p. 156). Father Connell, who is associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America, adds that a Catholic teacher in a public school may start the Lord's Prayer for the little Protestant children when it is customary, but she must stop with the phrase "Deliver us from evil" and not say "For thine is the kingdom" etc. If she adds this latter phrase, it is a sin, for "in practice these words have taken on a Protestant connotation" (ibid, p. 158).

The hierarchy has not been successful in capturing many parts of the American public-school system. It is true that three states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin—have Catholic directors of state education, and in many cities, such as Boston, Providence, Buffalo, and San Francisco, the city superintendents are Catholics. But the majority of Catholic public-school teachers in the National Education Association refuse to follow the dictates of the hierarchy in educational matters, and when Catholics attempt to make taxpayers support parochial schools as part of the public-school system, as they did in the famous North College Hill battle near Cincinnati last spring, they usually meet prompt defeat.

When the Supreme Court by a five-to-four vote last

February allowed the state of New Jersey to charge the costs of parochial-school transportation to the taxpayers, the battle lines were drawn for a much larger conflict, of which the bus fight was only a preliminary skirmish. In the hierarchy's briefs and the public discussions of this New Jersey bus situation, and of federal aid, it became evident that the Catholic plan for educational expansion in this country consists of three steps: (1) immediate appropriations for auxiliary services for parochial schools, (2) complete support of all parochial schools by public funds, as in Ontario, England, and the Netherlands, (3) eventual establishment of Catholicism in all public classrooms, as in Spain and Italy.

But the New Jersey bus decision was actually a major defeat for this plan in spite of its temporary financial gain. Both the majority and the minority of the court made ringing declarations in favor of the doctrine of the separation of church and state. It was clear that in the eyes of the court this particular exception of bus service was a very special exception to a general principle, and that there was no hope of *direct* support for parochial schools under the First Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits any "establishment of religion."

Accordingly, the church's only hope for securing desperately needed federal funds for its schools is the development of some device for *indirect* appropriations which would by-pass the provisions in most state constitutions and statutes prohibiting public expenditures for parochial schools. The precedent for such a device is the Louisiana textbook (Cochran) case, in which the Supreme Court permitted textbooks to be given by the state to parochial students not as contributions to the Catholic school system but as personal awards of service to students.

Meanwhile the conflict in the coming session of Congress will center about the Aiken bill for federal aid, which would open the door for direct federal appropriations to parochial schools in states where such aid is now refused, and the Taft bill, which would permit parochial schools to get federal funds only in the proportion in which they now receive public money from the states. For once liberal educators of the country are solidly backing Mr. Taft. Their reasons have never been summarized more pointedly than by John Dewey:

It is essential that this basic issue be seen for what it is—namely, as the encouragement of a powerful reactionary world organization in the most vital realm of democratic life with the resulting promulgation of principles inimical to democracy. We cannot deny that public education needs federal aid in order to equalize opportunity between state and state and between individual and individual. But it would be a poor bargain indeed to gain material aid at the expense of losing our greatest intellectual and moral heritage.

Pattern for Union-Busting

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, November 8

IN THE wintry Taft-Hartley months which lie ahead there is likely to be a wake whenever two or three union organizers are gathered together. They will be mourning not only Johnny Green and his shipyard workers but the United States labor movement, which didn't know what was hitting it until all was over this week.

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, standing virtually alone, had staked nineteen strike weeks and nearly \$300,000 in a gamble for peace-time survival. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation took almost the whole pot in this cruelly uneven industrial contest.

The shipyard strike, the longest major walkout since the war, cut into an industry which presumably is vital to reconstruction. It took place during the first test months of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, which was supposed to resolve such domestic troubles with peace and justice for all. The issue was basic—the right of a union to stay alive. Yet, curiously, the strike got few headlines, and these were usually mixed with arrival-and-departure shipping news on the next to the last page of the *New York Times*. Perhaps the subdued despair of strikers in East and West Coast yards did not make lively copy. More curiously still, the mass of labor itself, not to mention the White House and Administration agencies, seemed indifferent; perhaps the proper wording of resolutions lamenting the Taft-Hartley act took precedence over such dreary union business as picket lines and soup kitchens.

At any rate, a key chapter in labor-management history was ready for the book when Bethlehem and the groggy shipbuilders' union prepared to initial it in the daily and sometimes nightly negotiations which started in Washington on October 27. The union's surrender was nearly unconditional. The terms were dictated by Bethlehem, whose Eugene Gifford Grace is the spiritual as well as managerial heir of the late Charles M. Schwab, famed for his part in the Battle of Homestead in 1892. The company was represented in the conference room by D. C. Mills, manager of industrial relations, who sat with a copy of the Taft-Hartley act before him. John Green, the president of the Shipbuilding Workers, came out of the room alive and cocky but limping from the merciless kicking around. It had long been apparent

to him that there was going to be no triumph for the union, that a decent settlement was the best it could expect. This was worse; this was close to disaster for a union which had been 500,000 strong during the war, and it was ominous for all of organized labor.

After 135 days—the 117-day General Motors strike in 1945-46 set the previous post-war record—on picket lines and meager relief rations, what were left of some 30,000 strikers at ten Bethlehem shipyards would now go back to work under a contract which in many important respects was worse than the one they had before the company precipitated the walkout at midnight of June 25. They had lost hard-won and valued over-time, grievance, and seniority rights, which were among the chief issues of the strike. There was a general 12-cent wage raise in the contract package scornfully tossed to the strikers, and this did represent a grudging concession. Bethlehem at first confined the raise to hourly-paid workers, cutting off incentive and peace workers, the core of the union.

The intermediary in this situation was the Conciliation Service, facing its first challenging assignment since it set up business as an independent pacifying agency under the Taft-Hartley act. If anything, its representative, Assistant Director William N. Margolis, contributed to the pacification of the union by Bethlehem. But at least it took an interest, however belated, in the strike, which at its peak tied up some 67,000 men and over 70 ships.

At the outset, after Bethlehem had made it plain that its post-war concept of collective bargaining was the unilateral imposition of conditions of employment on the union, the Shipbuilding Workers hoped for intervention by President Truman, the Maritime Commission, and the navy. The President failed to acknowledge letters in July and August from John Green, who argued that "the responsibility for the occurrence of this uncalled-for and tragic strike rested, first, with the employers and, second, with the various governmental agencies concerned with this industry." The White House let it be understood that Mr. Truman didn't want to get mixed up with the strike; nor did the agencies.

THE strike was essentially for the continuation of war-time conditions, plus a nominal cost-of-living wage adjustment. At first it took in nineteen yards on the East and Gulf coasts. Relatively favorable agreements were quickly worked out with fringe companies. Bethlehem, however, stood fast for depressive settlements with the union at Baltimore, where it has three yards; at Quincy and East Boston; at New York, where it has

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four yards in a wide harbor area, and at Terminal Island, San Pedro, California. United States Steel's shipyard at Kearny, New Jersey, also held out, waiting for Bethlehem's pitch. And still unsettled were fringe issues at San Pedro and the Patapsco yard at Baltimore.

Bethlehem lost shipside money in the contest, but it could easily afford it in view of the end gains it expected. Not even in war time, when it set a record in 1945 of 857,511 tons of steel production, had its business been so good. In October, running its steel mills 102 per cent of capacity, Bethlehem smashed all delivery records with 879,285 net tons of rolled steel and other finished products. Net Bethlehem income for the first nine months of 1947 was \$38,710,728. In the similar period of 1946 it was \$29,794,650. Ship construction, conversion, repair, and scrapping—much of it under government contract—could wait while Bethlehem trimmed the C. I. O. down to a pliable size.

As a result of its success Eugene Grace will unquestionably be a large factor, next spring, in pattern-making wage negotiations with C. I. O. President Philip Murray's United Steelworkers. In the past Benjamin F. Fairless of United States Steel has told the industry how to appease the C. I. O. Now Grace has won the right to show the industry how to defeat the C. I. O.

Murray finally woke up to this prospect, but very late. He reported to the Boston convention of the C. I. O. in October, when a strong resolution of support for the shipyard strikers was adopted, that the Steelworkers had kicked in \$25,000 for Johnny Green's men. In varying amounts from \$2,000 to \$5,000 the United Automobile Workers, the Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers also came through. But even this help didn't go far in a struggle which was costing the suffering union at least \$40,000 a week.

In Baltimore the city C. I. O. council gave a remarkable demonstration of lack of interest. The anti-Communist leadership of the Shipbuilding Workers had been in ideological disagreement with the council, which in return virtually ignored the shipyard fight. Harry Lundenberg's A. F. of L. Seafarers and Joe Curran's sailors, however, worked for the strike in off hours.

The corporation naturally swings a lot of economic and social weight in Baltimore, which perversely prides itself on its gas street lamps, cobblestone streets, and white marble doorsteps in front of slum houses where many shipyard workers live. Thus there was no relief aid from most community-fund agencies. Nor was there any state unemployment compensation. Many strikers who tried to get part-time jobs while waiting out the walkout found they had been blacklisted. Medical fees in maternity cases were demanded in advance until the Baltimore chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, under Dr. Frank F. Furstenberg, organized a pool of fifty-seven physicians for emergency help.

BETHLEHEM opened up its active strike-breaking campaign about two months after the walkout started. By-passing the union, which had been unable to get management to sit down with it at a bargaining table, Vice-President W. H. Collins mailed out letters to some 8,500 strikers denying that the company was "out to break the union" and suggesting that hourly paid workers come back and pick up a 12-cent raise. In September printed copies of company contract proposals—concealing various jokers—were circulated to make the union leaders look unreasonable. At about the same time a tide of arrests swept through the picket lines. It was disorderly conduct, for instance, for a striker to loiter with a cup of coffee on the steps of a diner across the street from a yard gate. (At the Sparrows Point yard, seven miles outside the city, Bethlehem operates a company town, complete with two-family privies and a private constabulary organized along the lines of Pennsylvania's old-time coal-and-iron police. There the police magistrate doubles as a yard foreman.)

"Wanted at Once" employment ads blossomed out in the Baltimore *Sun*. The Personnel Center in the Tower Building sought marine pipefitters and electricians, and no agency fee was required of applicants. The union sent men around to find out about these jobs. Sure enough, the Personnel Center gave them cards to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at its Key Highway yard. Bethlehem scoured the city, rounding up men who had never seen a shipyard before but could be enticed into the gates by assurances that they would be paid—with time and a half for week-ends on a seven-day schedule—whether they were able to do any yard work or not. Many of these recruits were Negroes—a circumstance which couldn't have been better calculated by the company to create and store up racial resentments for many years to come.

Persuasive foremen methodically started dropping in at the homes of their striking union friends to talk with the wife and kids after supper on Sundays. Their topic was that the strike couldn't go on forever, times certainly were tough, a lot of other guys were going back while the going was good, and it wasn't smart to play a sucker when there was plenty of time and a half to be had. By the end of October strike ranks had been cracked by this back-to-work maneuver. It only took a few thousand men, pouring in and out of the gates at shift-change time, to kick picket-line morale to pieces.

It will be a long time before the Shipbuilding Workers recover from all this. They remember with pride that they set records building liberty ships during the war, and they will remember with bitterness that a grateful government stood by while the company forced them to set another kind of record in peace time. Other groups in organized labor are likely to taste that bitterness, too: the loss of a major strike has a spreading tendency.

Notes from Lake Success

By J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, November 8

PERHAPS the high point of United Nations achievement to date was registered at a press conference last Wednesday at Lake Success. Dr. Brock Chisholm, executive secretary of the World Health Organization, gave an account of how the world's medical resources had been mobilized by his organization to combat the cholera outbreak in Egypt. More than four million cubic centimeters of anti-cholera vaccine—enough to inoculate one in every six persons in Egypt—had been shipped in and a million more sent to Saudi Arabia and Syria as a preventive measure. Other urgently needed medical supplies had also been sent and vast quantities of vaccine set aside for future use.

It is astonishing to see how technically advanced we are, how efficient is our cooperation, when the plague is in men's bodies and not in their minds. Perhaps we had better give the W. H. O. a greater role in the battle for peace as well as in the battle for health.

THE adoption of the modified Little Assembly proposal—with the subsequent announcement of a Slav-state boycott—emphasizes a trend which is becoming increasingly well defined. The original Marshall statement made it quite clear that the United States was determined that the Assembly's prestige should be built up to compensate for the impotence of the Security Council. The Balkan, Korean, and Little Assembly proposals must therefore be taken together as means for accomplishing this objective. In at least two of these American proposals small-nation pressure produced revisions which in the opinion of the majority brought them within the scope of the Charter.

All who followed the strenuous debates in the sub-committee hammering out the terms of reference of the Little Assembly and who noted the tougher line being urged by the delegates from Australia and Argentina were aware that the forces of moderation had won a substantial victory. The Little Assembly, placed firmly in subordination to the General Assembly and seriously limited as to the matters it may discuss or investigate, is now a very little assembly indeed.

To the Russians, however—and this was brought out clearly in Mr. Vishinsky's speech just before the vote was taken—these modifications added up to nothing. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan—no distinction is made in regard to their capitalist-imperialist objectives—are the political realities reflected in but not changed by Assembly decisions. Mr. Vishinsky, using picturesque metaphors of wolves and sheep, boa

constrictors and rabbits, said explicitly that the Soviet Union would not in such cases yield to the majority vote of the Assembly. The Russian boycott has had the effect of consolidating the small-nation vote on the side of the West. If, as I believe is the case, the Russians still want to influence world opinion through the United Nations forum, they should reflect upon that 43-to-6 vote on the Little Assembly.

BY THE week's end the main issues in the Palestine discussion had become clarified. The majority report of UNSCOP has now been generally accepted as the basis of discussion. The central problem is that of enforcement. Here three lines have emerged—an American, a Russian, and a British.

The Americans, accepting the end of the British mandate, have wanted the British forces to carry the responsibility for law and order until the two new states are constituted. Acknowledging limitations of Assembly authority, they have suggested that an Assembly commission advise—or supervise—the organization of the Arab and Jewish states.

The Russians want the British out at the earliest possible date—April 30, 1948, is set—and propose that during the transition period, which they suggest should last until the end of next year, a small commission directly under the Security Council should supervise the administration of Palestine and carry through the partition plan.

The British, up to the week-end, had said little. But it was fairly clear that they were standing by their original declaration that they would not accept sole responsibility for enforcement of a settlement to which both Arabs and Jews did not agree.

The Canadian delegate, Lester B. Pearson, worked strenuously to bring together these conflicting points of view. He proposed that the British mandate should terminate on January 1, 1948, and that Palestine should then be brought directly under United Nations sovereignty. A High Commissioner for Palestine with the necessary technical assistants should be named by the Assembly but be responsible to the Security Council. The target date for establishing the two states should be set at July 1, 1948. In the meantime the British forces in Palestine should be responsible to the United Nations for the enforcement of law and order until they were replaced by the national militia and constabulary of the two states. They would be withdrawn as quickly as they could be replaced by national forces.

At the week-end the major delegations involved were consulting their governments to discover whether such a proposal was acceptable. One hopeful note was struck in the announcement by Dr. Evatt that he had canceled his sailing to attend the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and would keep the ad hoc committee in constant session until a solution was reached.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Up, and Up, and Up!

WAGES have outrun prices," Senator Taft asserted in a speech at Boston on October 28. The cost-of-living index, he pointed out, has risen 65 per cent since 1939, while the average income of factory workers has jumped 110 per cent and that of all non-agricultural employees 85 per cent. It is this discrepancy, according to the Senator, that is the primary source of inflationary pressures.

As I understand this argument, its implication is that any rise in wages greater than necessary to offset the rise in prices is unjustifiable and dangerous. If that is so, surely other forms of income ought to be measured by the same yardstick. Yet the Senator in this major pronouncement on inflation neglected to mention the tripling of farm income since 1939 or the fact that corporation profits after taxes are running this year at a rate more than four times the 1936-39 average of \$3,900,000,000.

This last omission is all the more strange since it has been impossible to open a paper in recent weeks without reading of sensational advances in profits. A survey published by the *Wall Street Journal* on October 31 showed that 149 major concerns in 15 industries had earned \$446,147,382 in the 3 months ending September 30. This represented a dip of 0.6 per cent compared with the second quarter of the year—a normal seasonal variation—but a rise of 42 per cent above the third quarter of 1946, which had been an exceptionally profitable period. "Earnings for all 1947 up to the end of last month," the paper reported, "unquestionably added up to the highest ever recorded for such a period."

Here are some group percentage gains over the third quarter of 1946 tabulated by the *Wall Street Journal*:

7 auto and auto equipment companies . . .	127
6 coal companies	63
9 electrical-equipment companies	165
13 petroleum companies	70
10 pulp and paper companies	80

The picture is not entirely uniform. The air lines have gone deeply into the red this year, and food, liquor, department-store, and moving-picture concerns, while still doing quite well, have in general earned less than in 1946. But by and large there are few shadows to dim the brightness of the profits outlook. Nor, judging by the readiness of corporate boards to raise dividends, are present high earnings a mere flash in the pan. When United States Steel, which is notoriously conservative in distributing profits, recently declared its first extra dividend since 1929 and lifted its common stock from a \$4 to a \$5 annual rate, Chairman Irving S. Olds emphasized the move's significance as an expression of confidence in continued prosperity for the company.

Similar dividend action has been and is being taken by

numerous other concerns. Up to October 31, 530 leading companies had increased their rates this year, and many have announced extras in addition. On the other hand, only 70 companies reduced or omitted dividends in the same period. Publicly reported cash dividends in the third quarter, according to the Department of Commerce, were 17 per cent higher in the aggregate than in the third quarter of 1946.

The upward climb of profits, while certainly gratifying to corporations and their stockholders, has also its embarrassing aspects. So much corporate prosperity may be ignored by Senator Taft, but it suggests possibilities of higher wages to trade unions and of lower prices to harassed consumers. To combat such dangerous thoughts, the financial press is plugging the theme that current profits are largely illusory. "True profits," the *Journal of Commerce* asserted editorially on October 28, "are being grossly exaggerated for large numbers of business enterprises by two factors. First, altogether inadequate provision is being made for the cost of replacement of fixed assets. Secondly, higher unit prices which boost the value of year-end inventories temporarily inflate profits." Discussing the first of these factors, the editorial cited the case of a manufacturer with plant and equipment costing \$10,000,000 before the war which he now cannot replace for less than twice that sum. "Merely to maintain the integrity of his investment, therefore, he must find \$10,000,000 over and above his depreciation reserves."

In practice, however, I note that many corporations—United States Steel, du Pont, and General Motors are examples—are reporting profits *after* making provision for extra depreciation. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that a 100 per cent rise in replacement costs is the general experience: much of the plant and equipment now being installed takes the place of facilities acquired in the twenties when prices were much higher than in 1939 and in some cases nearly as high as today. Finally, new machinery purchased today is not usually identical with that which is being discarded; much of it presumably is a great deal more efficient and more profitable to operate even allowing for greater first costs.

The suggestion that rising inventory valuations create an illusion of profits also bears further analysis. Actually, many corporations have largely eliminated inventory profits and losses by adopting the "Lifo" (last in, first out) system of costing. Others, notably the big retailers, have set aside, before striking profits, large reserves against possible inventory losses. Corporations which have not taken such precautions may be hit by sharp price declines. In that case they will, I prophesy, indignantly deny the unreality of inventory losses, however much they now protest that inventory gains are a mirage.

The more I read alibis for mounting profits, the more respect I have for the candid textile producer who, asked by a *Wall Street Journal* reporter why he didn't cut prices in view of his large earnings, replied: "Demand is so high we'd probably be alone if we were to pioneer a price-cutting drive. And the public wouldn't benefit anyway. Intermediate processors and retailers would grab the profit; they'd mark up our goods to the level of our competitors." The point is that it is useless to abuse individual private enterprisers for profiteering; they cannot help it, for it is inherent in the system.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Reviewers' Choice

ALTHOUGH up to his death a few months ago, C-F Ramuz, the Swiss author, was almost wholly unknown in this country, the recent publication of his novel "When the Mountain Fell" (Pantheon, \$2.50) has brought him a large posthumous success: it is a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and is being hailed by the reviewers as a classic and a masterpiece. I do not agree with this judgment; indeed, I find Mr. Ramuz's new book only slightly less tiresome than his previous "The End of All Men," which appeared in English translation in 1945. The acclaim it is receiving must be recognized, I think, as the latest instance of the swing of the critical pendulum from the one extreme of false reality to the other extreme of false spirituality. We should not be surprised at the fact that the same opinion which supposes that the truth of modern life is conveyed in such books as "The Hucksters" or "The Story of Mrs. Murphy" now thinks that the ideality of modern life is conveyed by Mr. Ramuz's pious and banal little fable.

Set in Switzerland, "When the Mountain Fell" tells of a landslide which falls upon the high pastures where a group of peasants graze their cattle each summer. All the group is killed except a young man named Antoine, who manages to tunnel his way back to life. He returns to his village, worn and deranged by his long ordeal; the other peasants think he is a ghost until the priest confronts him with the cross. But terror revives once more among the villagers when Antoine insists upon going back to the mountain to dig for the friend who he imagines still survives there; none of them will accompany him into this haunted territory. Only his pregnant wife, Theresa, has sufficient faith and love to follow her husband. Her devotion restores Antoine to sanity, and he returns home with her.

This is the content of Mr. Ramuz's novel. Its style is the crooning Biblical prose long sanctified as the proper way to write about peasants, idiots, and other of God's innocent children—the kind

that swells the heart with virtue while it lulls the mind to rest. In other words, "When the Mountain Fell" is barbiturate literature for what the publishing trade proudly refers to as the discriminating reader. Alongside it our more lurid historical romances are good clean adolescent fact-facing.

The insidious thing, of course, about a book of this sort is that although it is a straight religious document and a profoundly anti-intellectual one, it takes no open theological or anti-rational position; so that even people who might be stopped by a formulated faith are available to its seductions. Its appeal to non-reason is entirely implicit in its nostalgic exaltation of the primitive: there is no paraphernalia of ideas; there are no concessions to the immediate problems of civilized living such as always intrude themselves into the work of our American "spiritual" writers. When one of our domestic myth-makers, a Saroyan or a Steinbeck, for example, goes primitive on us he invariably feels that he must deal with that most primitive of earthly forces, sex. But Mr. Ramuz makes no such mistake; his is the churchly view of man which understands that in order for the divine laws to operate in fullest purity all earthly considerations must be dissolved.

I suppose the most significant aspect of the success that has greeted "When the Mountain Fell" is the way in which it points up the fact that the only alternatives our formers of literary opinion can manage are, on the one hand, a bewildered, formless receptivity to the most debased manifestations of contemporary confusion and, on the other hand, a serene faith momentarily maintained in a world empty of anything but the most elementary moral precepts. In view of their power it is surely small wonder that we suffer such a dearth of any fiction which would try to cope with the modern reality in at least some part of its moral complexities.

It is with genuine reluctance that I report my disappointment in Gladys Schmitt's latest novel, "Alexandra" (Dial, \$3), the story of a young woman whose fierce idealism both in love and

in art makes life insupportable for her, is certainly not without the qualities that distinguished Miss Schmitt's previous work. Here, as in "David the King," Miss Schmitt is still impelled by a remarkable intensity of affection for human beings; the new book demonstrates, as well, the high standards that guide her in her writing career. But whereas in treating a historical subject a highly emotional author had sufficient distance from her material to permit her characters a free life of their own, in treating a modern subject she lives so close to her characters that inevitably there is a loss of emotional clarity. Subjective and objective intensity of feeling merge—especially since the story is told in the first person. A rather uterine atmosphere pervades the narrative. In high compliment to Miss Schmitt, it can be said that "Alexandra" often suggests the best work of Willa Cather: the resemblance lies not only in the choice of an artistically dedicated heroine but in the very pure handling of the American background. One could wish, then, that Miss Schmitt might have achieved in proper degree the quality that Miss Cather had perhaps in excess—the ability to put some cool space between herself and her passion-driven people.

Elizabeth Taylor's "A View of the Harbour" (Knopf, \$3) can be recommended as excellent light reading for an intelligent female audience. If I do not think it is robust enough for the male taste, the reservation is not to be taken as an invidious comment on Miss Taylor's performance: at least in our moments of relaxation let us accept the happy disparity. "A View of the Harbour" sketches the doings, in a single short summer, of the inhabitants of an English seaside town; it is a book of humor and conscience and gentle skill, making no very great demands on the reader but also never falling into either the emotional or stylistic laxity of "easy" fiction. Only the English seem to be able to walk this pleasant literary road. It is, of course, a by-path of the best traditional literature, not to be reached except one has gone the length of the main highway.

DIANA TRILLING

The Mexican War

REHEARSAL FOR CONFLICT. By Alfred Hoyt Bill. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.50.

THIS book on the war with Mexico of 1846 to 1848 is aptly titled. It proved indeed a rehearsal in two senses for the much longer and bloodier conflict into which the United States plunged just fifteen years after hostilities opened on the Rio Grande. The majority of the officers who led the Union and Confederate armies served their apprenticeship to war in Mexico. More

important, it was this struggle and the bitter domestic controversies engendered by it that fanned the smoldering embers of irrepressible conflict to an unquenchable flame.

Mr. Bill is not one of those historians who regard the Mexican War as the first outbreak of American imperialism. He lays great stress on the scandalous nature of successive Mexican governments and on their brutalities, bad faith, provocations, and outrages. Such accusations are true, but do they offer *moral* justification for the grab of half a continent? Actually an administration of

angels in Mexico City would not have been able to check the onward roll of manifest destiny. "Little Jimmy Polk" entered the White House determined to annex California, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary; and if his expansionist policies outraged many of his countrymen, they had the tacit support of the majority. Mr. Bill complains that critics of the war have not appreciated the fact that "Mexico was paid for the territories she surrendered five-sixths of the sum that had been offered her on the eve of hostilities." But surely the function of conscience money is to atone for sin, not to transform it into virtue.

However, while disagreeing with some of Mr. Bill's interpretations, I am ready to testify that he plays fair in giving the facts which tell against him as well as those which support his thesis. His book is one that deserves to be taken seriously even if it aims at the general reader and is not studded with footnotes. My one criticism in regard to its style is that the first chapter shows signs of being written down to the supposed public taste. It provides an impressionistic picture of Washington in the 1840's, contrasting the city's squalor and magnificence and touching lightly on its scandals, gossip, fashions, frivolities, and feuds. An amusing enough job but of doubtful relevance and done in a manner that has become rather stereotyped.

When Mr. Bill gets away from Washington to the front line, he is much better. In particular his battle scenes are both clear and exciting, and he portrays such leading characters in the drama as Polk, Taylor, Scott, and Santa Ana in the round, omitting neither faults nor virtues. The value of the book is enhanced by a number of excellent pictures and maps and a modest-sized but useful bibliography.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Tour of Europe

CONTINENT IN LIMBO. By Edith Sulkin. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

THE careful reader of the human interest stories from Europe in our daily and periodical press will find nothing new—in approach, content, or conclusions—in this montage of journalistic snapshots from a year's tour of England and Northern and Central

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Europe. The not so careful reader will find the book an entertaining means of repairing past omissions at one go, and of furnishing a—slightly dated—background for his appreciation of the Marshall Plan.

BJARNE BRAATØY

"A Hurricane of Culture"

CUBAN COUNTERPOINT: TO-BACCO AND SUGAR. By Fernando Ortiz. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

THIS is a very unusual book. It is possible to discuss it as a sociological study, as a historical investigation, as an anthropological treatise, as an economic analysis, and as a literary effort. It is all of these, but it is not the usual monograph; rather it contains choice cullings from the notebooks of its erudite and distinguished author, Dr. Fernando Ortiz, lawyer and diplomat, sociologist and editor.

"Cuban Counterpoint" is a complex study. Or perhaps it would be better to say that it is a study of a complex problem in which the author uses all the social-science disciplines that are generally applied separately. Looking at Cuba, Dr. Ortiz must focus on sugar and tobacco, the two crops basic to its economy. Thus he is led immediately into the strikingly different histories behind each plant, into a consideration of how each plant determined the economic structure of its exploitation. In turn this imperceptibly and inevitably enlarges into an investigation of the superstructures created by tobacco and sugar.

From the anthropological view the book is valuable for its informed analysis of the extraordinary way in which tobacco was integrated into the life of the Indians of the Antilles. Even more important is Dr. Ortiz's employment of the concept of *transculturation*—a word of his own coining—to arrive at an understanding of Cuba today. Transculturation, replacing the older word acculturation, is a sounder concept and expresses the reciprocal give and take that occurs when cultures meet. In Cuba the paleolithic Ciboney had yielded to the neolithic Taino; then with Columbus came "a hurricane of culture: Europe. There arrived together and in mass gunpowder, the horse, the wheel,

the sail, the compass, money, wages, writing, the printing-press, books, the master, the King, the Church, the banker . . . various types of economy came in, confused with each other and in transition [feudal economy arrived with mercantile and even industrial capitalism]. . . . With the whites came the Negroes . . . of different regions, races, languages, cultures, classes, ages, sexes, thrown promiscuously together into the slave ships, and socially equalized by the same system of slavery." The savage story of Europe's first beachhead in the

New World begins to have realistic content as well as romantic color.

In its own way the book traces Cuba's history from those early desperate years down to the present, not systematically, not chronologically, not completely, and yet, because Dr. Ortiz considers the capricious fortunes of sugar and tobacco, the fragmentary outlines are there: the long period of colonialism, the brief hopeful years of independence before Cuba's economic life came under the control of the United States. History here is but an expression in time of the

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fate of the two crops; the differences—agricultural, social, economic, and international—between the crops is the heart of the book.

With great felicity of style Dr. Ortiz presents his findings and boldly asserts his conclusions, his theories, his counterpoint. Tobacco, native to Cuba, demanded skill and devotion in its growing and processing and supported small, independent farmers who formed a sturdy, independent rural community. Without slaves, without large invested capital, without government aid or favor, Cuban tobacco spread over the world and became, along with tea and coffee—all alkaloids, "solace for the senses and subtle nervous stimulants"—a comfort and a bracer for the common man, while Havana cigars became the mark and pleasure of the gentleman in the capitals of Europe. The goal of the tobacco grower was the *best*, that of the sugar grower the *most*. Sugar, brought to Cuba, enslaved the Indians and, when they soon died out, provided a market for Negro slaves. Favored by and dominating the government, sugar created

a class of pampered and imperious planters. As sugar plantations grew in size and the refining process became increasingly mechanized, the planter class was replaced by corporations representing foreign capital. The ramifications of this counterpoint are fear-reaching.

In the economy of Cuba there are also striking contrasts in the cultivation, the processing, and the human connotations of the two products. Tobacco requires delicate care, sugar can look after itself; the one requires continual attention, the other involves seasonal work; intensive versus extensive cultivation; steady work on the part of a few, intermittent jobs for many; the immigration of whites on the one hand, the slave trade on the other; liberty and slavery; skilled and unskilled labor; hand versus arms; men versus machines; delicacy versus brute force. The cultivation of tobacco gave rise to the small holdings; that of sugar brought about the great land grants. In their industrial aspects tobacco belongs to the city, sugar to the country. Commercially the whole world is the market for our tobacco, while our sugar has only a single market. Centripetence and centrifugence. The native versus the foreigner. National sovereignty as against colonial status. The proud cigar band as against the lowly sack.

Since the turn of the century organizing capitalism has been successfully invading the tobacco industry, and soon, it would seem, the counterpoint will have ceased to exist. The independence implicit in the pattern evolved by the tobacco culture is disappearing before large-scale capitalism. This change is stated bitterly, but the process is not described; we are merely told that "in the last fifteen years the number of landowning tobacco growers has dropped from 11,200 to 3,000. The landowner . . . is joining the ranks of the proletariat, becoming undernourished, poverty-stricken, preyed upon by intestinal and social parasites. The economic system of tobacco is gradually approaching that typical of the sugar industry, and both are being strangled by heartless foreign and native tentacles." Cuba's problem now becomes one with that of Puerto Rico and our own "factories in the field."

The interested reader who is stimulated by the brilliant musings of a mind stocked by rich and rare reading will find here a perfect guide to many

records left by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans who reported with happy excitement all that they saw and were told about tobacco and smoking. For those who cannot be convinced, even by the blindfold test, that there is any difference among the branded cigarettes, this story will be an absorbing excursion into an exotic past.

To the present reviewer, who has long been interested in explorers' accounts, this study has a special appeal. Here is the explorer not as a romantic figure but as an agent of European civilization. We are apt to consider Columbus, for example, in simple, one-dimensional terms—as the daring mariner who sailed farther and discovered more than anyone else of his time. This book shows him as the beginner of transculturative processes, as a man who deliberately took tobacco home to Spain and brought sugar to the New World, transplantings that initiated profound changes which have operated continuously throughout our history.

JEANNETTE MIRSKY

American Fortune

THE MARSHALL FIELDS: A STUDY IN WEALTH. By John Tebbel. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.75.

GREAT fortunes are more often inherited than made in the twentieth century. And as the days of the American robber barons become more remote, it is perhaps natural that they should be treated with increasing tolerance. John Tebbel is not uncritical of his subject, but he is a long way from the muckracking tradition.

As a matter of fact, the first Marshall Field was considerably less of a buccaner than most of his wealthy contemporaries. In the store which provided the basis of his fortune he pursued a policy of strict honesty as a matter of good business, and his paternalistic treatment of his employees was considered generous in his time. However, he apparently found nothing to be ashamed of in a close financial association with the notorious Charles T. Yerkes, Jr., or the Chicago City Railway Company, of which Field was one of the large stockholders, when the company tried to buy a ninety-nine-year franchise with half a million dollars in bribes.

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Tebbel states the facts and says charitably that Field's attitude toward civic virtue was "negative"—there is no evidence that Field himself initiated any shady dealings, but he exerted all the pressure he could to prevent exposures by the Chicago *Daily News*. He was a firm believer in the rights of wealth and the maintenance of the established order.

His grandson, Marshall Field III, is another story, occupying the second half of the book. Most of the space is devoted to reasonably objective histories of *PM* and the Chicago *Sun*. The author emphasizes the fact that the contemporary Marshall Field has strictly lived up to his agreement to keep his hands off the editorial policy of *PM*, while he has steadily assumed more responsibility as publisher of the *Sun*. And the book ends on the optimistic note that the heir to one of America's largest fortunes is now embarked on a useful career in his own right.

This contrast between grandfather and grandson is a significant bit of American history, and Tebbel has recounted the salient facts. The book is well worth reading for these facts. But

it fails to live up to its subtitle: "A Study in Wealth." Neither the peculiar moneymaking genius of Marshall Field I nor the social conscience of his heir is satisfactorily explained.

Biographical treatment of a living man necessarily has limitations, especially when he has supplied a good deal of the material, which seems to be the case here. And while the author attaches considerable significance to the fact that Field had two unsuccessful marriages, and was psychoanalyzed, it is scarcely surprising that he reveals nothing about the psychoanalysis which has any bearing on Field's subsequent career. The dissimilarity between the publisher of the *Sun* and his wealthy friends is stated; it is not interpreted as much more than an isolated case.

As a study in wealth, therefore, the book cannot stand comparison with Dreiser's fictionalization of Yerkes in "The Financier" and "The Titan," or with the story of the founder of another Chicago department store in Lester Cohen's "Sweepings." It is, however, a good straightforward account of the careers of two wealthy men.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Drama

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WOOD
KRUTCH

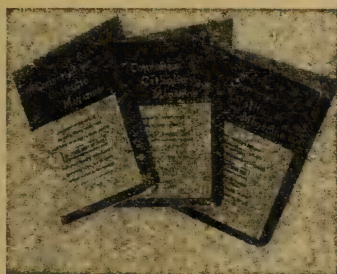
THE WINSLOW BOY (Empire Theater) is based on a *cause célèbre* already well known to those who read the popular literature of courts and crimes. A young adolescent was expelled from a British naval school on the charge that he had forged a fifteen-shilling postal order, and his upper-middle-class father demanded that the case be reopened. When the school authorities refused he got before the House of Commons a demand that the Admiralty consent to be sued. The Admiralty at first refused but was finally compelled by parliamentary pressure and the force of public opinion to yield. In the course of the long fight the father was financially ruined, but in the end the boy, who was almost certainly innocent, won his vindication. The famous British sense of fair play had gained a victory over the equally famous British entanglement in the red tape which entrenched bureaucrats do not want either to cut or untie. The moral, if you hap-

The Catholic Church--Its Nature and Purpose

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pen to be a genuine left-winger, is of course that justice in a class society is ruinously expensive when it is not unattainable. Equally obviously, if you happen, like the author of the present play, to be merely a traditional liberal, the moral is, on the contrary, that the concept of fair play provides the basis for an ultimate appeal which the concept of "class justice" will not admit.

No one is likely to maintain that Terence Rattigan's prize-winning play is tremendous drama. Whether or not the individual spectator regards it, nevertheless, as genuinely interesting and rewarding will depend pretty largely on the extent to which he can accept the current English preference for dramatic understatement. Almost any American playwright who had chosen this subject would undoubtedly have attempted to make it "big." Whether he happened to be Communist or liberal, he would have argued all his points with vociferous vigor and would have attempted to keep his audience wrought up to a high pitch of excitement by putting on stage all the climactic moments,

including, certainly, the big scene of the parliamentary debate itself. He would probably have considered that he had failed unless he had harrowed our feelings almost unendurably and unless he had proved again to his satisfaction that there is no real paying audience for what he would call "adult" drama. In Mr. Rattigan's play the scene is continuously the pleasant, mildly stuffy Winslow home, presided over by the amiable martinet of a father, a "little man" redeemed from insignificance by his courage and his belief that such a thing as justice does exist. In the first act there is one brief harrowing scene when the frightened boy returns home to confess his disgrace; in the middle of the play there is a thumping theatrical climax when the famous advocate who is deciding whether or not to take the case puts the victim through a cruel, bullying cross-examination and then, when the boy has been reduced to hysteria, turns to the family and says, "Obviously he is innocent." But during most of its running time "The Winslow Boy" is a domestic comedy-drama presenting the home life of a middle-class family passionately concerned over the injustice of which it has happened to be the victim but not quite able to believe that it has become a center of national interest.

Probably no American cast could catch the spirit of the play, and wisely the Theater Guild and its associate sponsors for this particular production have imported an excellent English cast, which includes the attractive ingenue Valerie White; Allan Webb, who, though unspectacular, gives a really notable performance as the father who would be ridiculous if he were not so noble and brave; and Frank Allenby as Sir Robert Morton, the redoubtable courtroom performer. For him Mr. Rattigan has written a part which is an actor's dream. Theatrically it has everything—the grand preliminary buildup, the haughty, commanding presence, the air of cold mastery, the big demonstration of forensic virtuosity, and even, finally, the brief revelation of the good heart hidden beneath the forbidding exterior. For Mr. Allenby, moreover, it must be said that he plays it as such parts ought to be played—up to the hilt. The subdued manner of all the other principal characters, who are, after all, quietly decorous as only middle-class

Englishmen and Englishwomen can be, provides him with the perfect contrasting background for Mephistophelian theatricality, and he takes full advantage of it.

Obviously I enjoyed—but without, I think, overestimating it—"The Winslow Boy." Nevertheless, it is all, I suppose, a matter of taste. What makes the play seem to me an example of agreeable underemphasis will certainly make it appear to some more robustious spectator merely tepid, both dramatically and ideologically. Mr. Rattigan's sermon is plainly intended for those of his contemporaries who still have faith in compromise. When one of his characters says something to the effect that all parties believe in justice for the individual, his heroine replies, "No, only some people in all parties."

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE total impression made by the centenary exhibition of Albert Pinkham Ryder's paintings at the Whitney Museum (through November 30) is that of an unrealized vision. The vision itself, had it been more completely precipitated, would have sufficed to establish the artist beyond dispute as the greatest American painter. As it is, taking the evidence of this show into account, I would find it uncomfortable to argue his case against Bakins's and Homer's.

The evidence is unsatisfactory because of its scantness and because of the bad physical condition of many of the canvases themselves. As Lloyd Goodrich explains in a well-written catalogue note, Ryder "ströve, half-consciously and without adequate training, for the richness of the old masters. His pictures were built up with underpainting and layer on layer of pigment and glazes. . . . Unfortunately he had little knowledge of traditional techniques, and in trying to secure his effects he used dangerously unsound methods. He painted over pictures when they were still wet, thereby locking the under surface in before it had dried and hardened, so that the different surfaces dried at different rates of speed, causing serious cracking. He used

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strange mediums—wax, candle grease, alcohol; and he made much too free use of varnish. In showing visitors his paintings he would wipe them with a wet cloth or literally pour varnish over them." Among the most unhappy effects of these procedures, aside from cracking, has been the radical obliteration of gradations of value by excessive darkening, so that one color mass merges into another. Given Ryder's fondness for heavy greens, blues, and browns, the result is sometimes altogether disastrous, making it impossible, as in "Moonlit Cove" and "Macbeth and the Witches," to tell what the picture was meant to look like when it left the artist's hand.

Ryder was beyond question one of the most original and affecting painters of his time, whether in Europe or this country. In the task of stating his originality he seems to have had no help at all from his contemporaries. Taking his departure from the academicism that dominated his age—he mentioned Corot and Maris as his favorite painters—he had to cut his art out of the whole cloth and search in isolation for a means to convey the surprisingly new things he had to say. He knew little or nothing of those of his early and late contemporaries—Daumier, Monticelli, and Munch—who in their various ways were exploring some of the same realms of pictorial sensation.

The loneliness of his effort condemned Ryder to aesthetic as well as personal eccentricity. We can understand why he took so long to finish pictures to his own satisfaction: in his endeavor to make concrete the dramatic, visionary nature of his idea he had nothing he could use to guide him at least part of the way—as Cézanne, for instance, had impressionism. He was on his own almost from start to finish. What we miss in his work, as a result of this, is amplitude of realization, pictures that come off conclusively because the painter has created himself a style, with the aid of his time and milieu, secure enough to contain and redeem his inevitable mistakes. The few masterpieces in the present exhibition—"The Forest of Arden," "Moonlight on the Sea," "Sunset Hour," perhaps "Under a Cloud"—seem happy accidents unsupported by sufficient testimony from the pictures surrounding them. It is as if the artist exhausted himself in these rare completely successful

pictures and had each time to begin all over again.

Ryder's main impulse was to simplify nature into silhouetted masses of darks and lights; color was a matter of dark and light modulations within these masses. The primary effect is of simple, blocked-out pattern, startling because of the emotion discharged by the novelty of a relatively few shapes, novel in their contours and in their placing. Yet his most successful canvases—I think here of "Moonlight on the Sea" and "The Forest of Arden"—owe more of their final effect to a subtle, rhythmic weaving together of color and value tones. Where the picture did not stand or fall entirely by the placing of three or four large shapes, the artist was able to retrieve his uncertainty and clumsiness by imposing a general, all-inclusive tonal harmony. Here Ryder resorted to more conservative means and renounced in effect such complete correspondence between his vision and its embodiment as he attempted in his more startling but less successful pictures—where he attempted to qualify the solid simplicity of the silhouette by building up a thick, enamel-like surface that by reflected light would intensify the few color tones.

The moral is that one should never go too fast in art. It is the tragedy of Ryder that he attempted to go too far too fast—alone. I say tragedy, because Ryder had, obviously, gifts enough to have made him a major artist in a better place and time. Once again it is necessary to register another casualty of American provincialism.

Ryder left behind a manner rather than a style. This made him a plausible victim of forgers, who could by diluting his invention, in one instance at least, contrive a painting more harmonious than many of his: I mean "A Spanking Breeze," which is included in the present show as an example of a faked Ryder—with a placard underneath, pointing out the "weak drawing," "unpleasant color," and "crude, direct handling." One wonders more than ever whether museum people ever see things with their own eyes. Forgery that it is, "A Spanking Breeze," manages to be a rather good picture precisely because it takes nothing from Ryder except his manner, leaving out the difficult intensity and originality of emotion he could not realize often

enough in his own work. While Ryder could not always meet the high terms he set himself, the forger, even though he was only a hack, could meet them when reduced.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the great events of the year is RCA Victor's recording of excerpts from Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" played by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony and issued both on vinylite (Set V-7; \$7) and on shellac records (Set 1160; \$4). They comprise the movement with the sections Romeo Alone, Sadness (with one of the great Berlioz sustained melodies, whose unexpected turns and exquisite inflections I have described in the past, about one-third in on side 1), Concert and Ball, Great Festivity at the Capulets'; and the movement with Capulet's Garden and Love Scene (the wonderful intervening section with the singing of the young Capulets is, regrettably, omitted, but the movement is a succession of details that overwhelm one with their intense musical loveliness and poetic expressiveness, including another great melody about 1¼ inches in on side 5). The magical Queen Mab movement is still to be done and will be issued

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separately. The performances are among Toscanini's greatest achievements, and are reproduced on my vinylite copy with spaciousness, brightness, and sharp distinctness, but without the expressive sensuous warmth and sumptuousness of the best present-day orchestral recordings—like the English Decca Ravel "Daphnis and Chloë," or the English Columbia Tchaikovsky Fifth that I will discuss in a moment.

Another of the year's important events is RCA Victor's recording of last year's performance of Bach's B minor Mass by Robert Shaw and his Collegiate Chorale (Sets 1145/6; \$19). This is merely a first report on the few sides I have had time to listen to: the *Kyrie*, *Qui tollis*, and *Cum sancto spiritu*. On these I have noted the rich over-all sonority, its lack, however, of the clarity of texture that the performance had in Hunter College, the occasional blanketing of orchestra by chorus, the harshness of the chorus in fortissimo passages, the excessively fast tempo in which the wonderful *Qui tollis* cannot achieve the effect it has when taken more slowly, and on the other hand the exciting buoyancy of the *Cum sancto spiritu*.

What should be one of the year's great events is Columbia's recording of

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Mozart's D major Quintet for strings K. 595, played by the Budapest Quartet and Milton Katims (Set 708; \$4.60): the work is one of Mozart's greatest; the performance is perfection. But that skill in recording chamber music which Mr. Kolodin has written about has produced one of the worst of Columbia's recordings of the Budapest Quartet—one which, this time, cuts the ear like a knife when played with wide-range equipment, and is otherwise unpleasant on a machine of limited range.

Another disappointment is Columbia's imported recording of Mozart's lovely Quintet for clarinet and strings K. 581, played by Reginald Kell with the Philharmonia Quartet (Set 702; \$5.85). I had been told wonders about the Philharmonia Quartet; but in this performance there are no wonders to be heard—only coarse tone, poor integration of individual in group performance, even faulty pitch of the first violin. And Kell's phrasing is filled with fussy nuances and violent inflections that distort his beautiful tone. Nor is the recorded sound good.

The Paganini Quartet, which has recorded Beethoven's three "Razumovsky" Quartets Opus 59 for RCA Victor (Sets 1151/2/3; \$6, \$5, and \$5, respectively), is only a little more than a year old, and can hardly be expected to exhibit the subtle ensemble inflection that creates the exciting animation of texture in the Budapest Quartet's old H. M. V.-Victor performance of Opus 59 No. 3; but it

plays with musical intelligence and the necessary dramatic feeling; and the performances would also sound well if it were not for the cellist, who no longer has the beautiful tone he had in the original Pro Arte Quartet, and who also has other technical difficulties that are disturbing. The performances are well reproduced, but surfaces are poor.

A pleasant surprise is Columbia's imported recording of Mozart's Horn Concerto K. 495, the first two movements of which are largely a flow of lovely Mozartian melody beautifully played by Dennis Brain with the Hallé Orchestra (Set X-285; \$3.35). The recorded sound is not up to English Columbia's best: it is both sharp on top and heavy down below.

English Columbia's best in orchestral recording is to be heard in the set (701; \$8.35) of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony played by Paul Kletski and the Philharmonia Orchestra. It is a performance in the style that has become traditional—with much change of pace that Tchaikovsky doesn't ask for; but it avoids the excesses in that style that also have become traditional, staying within the limits of good musical taste; and the playing of the orchestra is very fine.

And excellently recorded also is the performance by Sargent and the Liverpool Philharmonic of Benjamin Britten's "The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra," an ingenious set of variations and concluding fugue on a theme of Purcell (Set 703; \$4.60).

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Letters to the Editors

In Justice to James Curry

Dear Sirs: In a letter in your November 1 issue Richard L. Neuberger, in discussing Mr. Ickes and the Alaska Indians, refers to a correspondent by reference to an association with "James Curry, a Washington lawyer . . . who is trying to collect damages for certain Indian tribes" at a 10 per cent rake-off, which could run into "several millions."

Mr. Curry is the unsalaried counsel for the National Congress of American Indians, representing most of the tribes of the United States. He is a former colleague of mine in the American Civil Liberties Union, and a man deeply devoted to the protection of minority rights. Congress has set up an Indian Claims Commission which is taking up to ten years to resolve ancient claims—to be recommended to Congress for possible payment.

Mr. Curry may get 10 per cent of something ten years hence after years of work. If any of your readers know of any other lawyers willing to tackle complicated Indian claims for 10 per cent—even 25 per cent—of a possible collection ten years from now, will they send me their names promptly? We can use a dozen of them.

ROGER BALDWIN, Director,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York, November 4

"The Unity of Europe Is Historic Realism"

Dear Sirs: As an unintentional commentary on the Marshall Plan, or some other such plan with similar intent, the following words of the well-known thinker José Ortega y Gasset should be of general interest at the present time, though they were first published in 1941, long before the Marshall Plan was announced. The quotation is from the widely read book "Toward a Philosophy of History."

I predict—somewhat boldly, in view of present appearances—a possible, a probable, unification of the states of Europe. I do not deny that the United States of Europe is one of the poorest fantasies that have ever existed, and I take no responsibility for what others have handed out under these verbal signs. But I do maintain that it is highly improbable that a society, a collectivity, as ripe as that now

formed by the peoples of Europe should not move toward the creation of a state apparatus for the exercise of the European public power which already exists. It is not, then, a weakness for fantasy nor a leaning toward "idealism," which I despise and have fought all my life, that has brought me to this conclusion. It is historic realism that has made it clear to me that the unity of Europe as society is not an "ideal" but a very ancient daily fact, and having seen this fact one cannot but confront the probability of a general European state.

Even more important than this prediction is the concept of "society" upon which Ortega y Gasset based it. This concept the following words will explain in part:

One of the worst errors of "modern" thought, leaving its stain on us even today, has been to confuse society with association, which is just about its opposite. A society is not brought about by a willed agreement. Inversely, any such agreement presupposes the existence of a society, of people living together under certain customs, and the agreement can only determine one form or another of this coexistence, of this pre-existing society. The idea of society as a contractual, and therefore juridical, union is one of the silliest attempts that have ever been made to put the cart before the horse. For law, law the reality—not the idea of law in the minds of philosophers, jurists, or demagogues—is nothing, to use a rather baroque phrase, but the spontaneous secretion of society; it can be nothing else. To expect law to govern the relations between beings not already living in effective society seems to me—if I may be pardoned for my rudeness—to have a somewhat confused and ridiculous idea of law.

Does this concept, in which the Marshall Plan obviously, I think, finds support, at the same time predict, less directly, the inevitable failure of the Western world to live peaceably with the Russians and their satellites? Or is

the United Nations organization the beginning of a "spontaneous secretion" that betokens at least the gestation of a world society? That, I should think, is the sixty-four-dollar question.

EWING ANDERSON

Miami, Fla., October 29

A Committee to Aid Convicts

Dear Sirs: Many of the conscientious objectors who served prison terms during the war, especially those who now work for various "liberal" movements and organizations, are frequently called on for help by other prisoners, not C. O.'s, with whom they "did time." Sometimes help is needed by a recently released prisoner who can't find a job or is having difficulty readjusting to "civilian" life, and the C. O. realizes poignantly that he may be the last hope for a man who otherwise will soon be on the skids back to crime and the penitentiary. Sometimes the request is for legal aid in appealing a case for a man now in prison.

At the core of such pleas is the personal, friendly relationship, the fact that any aid given will not be tied up with the frequently humiliating, report- and supervision-ridden type of professional help. The cases are rarely "good" ones involving civil liberties, or workers' rights, or race discrimination, and consequently seldom get aid from the agencies interested in such matters. Here are three recent ones of this sort:

Bob L—. A military prisoner under a long sentence, with a record of juvenile delinquency, from poor home background, twenty-six years old, released a year ago, recently lost job when employer learned of record, child still-born, wife left him. Bob went on bum, wound up in county jail "drunk and disorderly." Has had financial and other help, but need continues.

Bill M—. Released recently after five and a half years in penitentiary in morals case. Guilt doubtful. Courageous

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Bill C—. Convicted at eighteen of bank robbery, sentenced to twenty-five years, has served six years. Recent appeal denied by District Court, denial reversed by Appeals Court. Workers' Defense League attorney believes case has merit. Money needed for legal fees.

The C. O.'s called on for this kind of help have for the most part very limited incomes, and most of them have advanced all the money they can for such purposes. Accordingly, the undersigned have formed a Committee to Aid Convicts and Ex-Convicts and are appealing for contributions to set up a special fund for such emergencies. The money will not be used to help imprisoned C. O.'s or for other "celebrated" cases but exclusively for helpless, friendless men who have got entangled in the cruel net we call justice.

We shall be most grateful if some of your readers are moved to contribute. Gifts should be sent to Alfred Hassler, Treasurer, at 2929 Broadway, New York 25.

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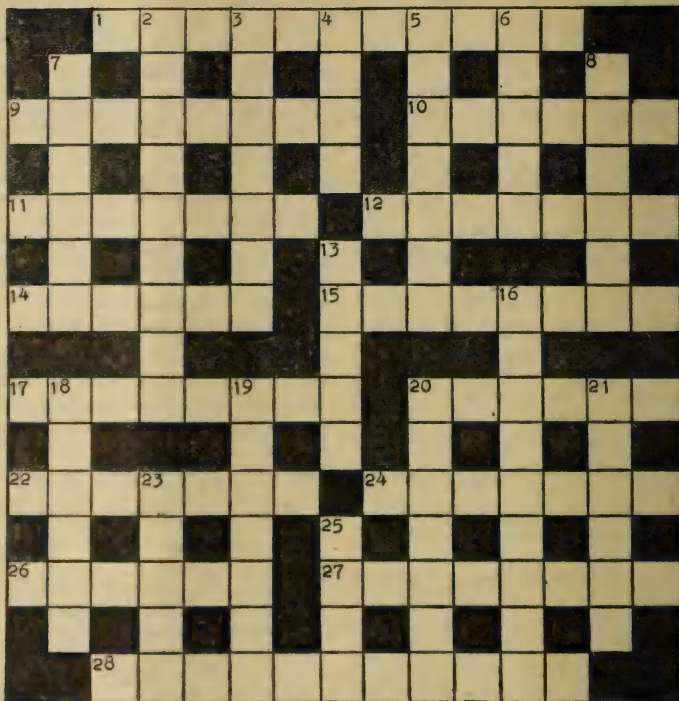
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Crossword Puzzle No. 237

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Very closely resembling, and sounds it! (11)
- 9 Price has taken a turn of the highest order. (8)
- 10 Cult for "squares." (6)
- 11 A seaport is large. (7)
- 12 Lady's maid, or Mrs. David. (7)
- 14 Express agreement as transmitted. (6)
- 15 Reissued left-overs. (8)
- 17 What each ecadysiast tries to do to her rivals? (8)
- 20 I'd seem never quick in it. (6)
- 22 Does a secretary take time to take them? (7)
- 24 Arbage-gay? (7)
- 26 River-bugs? (6)
- 27 Composed in the shop-yard? (8)
- 28 Fleet in Australia. (11)

DOWN

- 2 Remixes an anagram of explorers. (9)
- 3 Come into this to find her in it to extremes. (6)
- 4 Component part of a foot. (4)
- 5 The nightmare. (7)
- 6 and 8 The Saturday Evening Post usually is! (2, 3, 2, 4)

7 Not a fake document in short (concerning largess?). (6)

3 See 6.

- 13 Monkey doctor? Quite the opposite! (5)
- 16 A cup of coffee is steamed in it. (9)
- 18 Pure coincidence. (6)
- 19 Jackets for smoking marijuana? (7)
- 20 Feeling one gets when not praised. (7)
- 21 Small business offices, and found in small streets. (6)
- 23 City of New York. (6)
25. Upward. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 236

ACROSS:—1 BURSTS; 4 BACKROOM; 10 RIDDLES; 11 POLL TAX; 12 BAKED; 13 ICE; 14 SKIMP; 15 RENTS; 17 ANALYZED; 21 HAIRNETS; 23 MOTTO; 26 PAINS; 28 BUS; 29 SWIFT; 30 CUTLASS; 31 IMPULSE; 32 DUCKPINS; 33 PLATES.

DOWN:—1 BERIBERI; 2 REDSKIN; 3 TILED; 5 APPLE; 6 KILTS; 7 OUTLINE; 8 MIXUPS; 9 ASPIRATE; 16 SIR; 18 ASSASSIN; 19 YAM; 20 BOOTLESS; 22 ASIATIC; 24 TRIPLET; 25 SPACED; 27 SHARP; 28 BASIN; 32 SEPAL.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND THE MISERY OF the people of France and Italy have provided plenty of fuel for the strikes and riots set off by the Communists. In France, the political threat is embodied in the concentration of reactionary sentiment around De Gaulle, who, since his electoral triumph, has played up to the worst elements in his following by demanding a three-power alliance (France, Britain, and the United States) against Soviet Russia. In Italy, the rise of fascist groups little different in behavior and orientation from those which preceded Mussolini's seizure of power, has given the extreme left a good excuse for counter demonstrations. In both countries, inflation, shortage of food, and the existence of a brutally unfair black market has driven workers and small professional people close to desperation. No one believes revolution is imminent in either France or Italy. The danger is that Communist efforts to discredit the existing governments—an easy enough job, under the circumstances—may open the way for all-out reaction, especially since their bitter attacks on the Socialists have made collaboration among the parties of the left practically impossible. Yet Ramadier's attempt to strengthen his government by drawing in men like Reynault from the center-right looks like a futile gesture. The further he goes in that direction, the more completely he isolates himself from the workers and risks being forced into the role of a French Noske. His position and that of the non-Communist left in Italy might be strengthened by prompt economic help from America. But if it fails to come, or if it comes slowly and in inadequate amounts and with political conditions attached, only the extreme right and the Communists can benefit.

✱

HIS "INDISCRETION" IN TELLING BUDGET secrets to a reporter before they had been imparted to the House of Commons has cost Hugh Dalton his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and may have ended his political career. To many Americans, accustomed as they are to political "leaks," that will seem a heavy penalty for the offense. Mr. Dalton seems to have believed, when he gave a preview of his budget speech to a representative of the *London Star*, that it was too late for the last edition. Evidently he underestimated the speed and enterprise of Fleet Street—a strange miscalculation for one of his experience. At any rate, the *Star* was able to put

a special on the streets within a few minutes, and the Chancellor found that he had scooped himself and violated one of the most sacred traditions of a parliamentary body which is very jealous of its traditions. As Prime Minister Attlee said, in accepting Mr. Dalton's resignation, "The discretion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who necessarily receives many confidential communications, must be beyond question." In a dispatch to the *New York Times*, Herbert L. Matthews suggests that Mr. Attlee may have welcomed the chance to drop a colleague who had been "almost universally criticized." That theory does not make much sense when one considers that the incident must damage the Labor government's prestige. Moreover, Dalton's ability and fighting spirit in debate had won him the high regard of Laborites inside and outside Parliament. If he was unpopular, it was with the opposition, which feared his caustic tongue, and with the financial press, which, not surprisingly, objected to his acting like a Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, WHOSE CAREER IS sketched by Margaret Cole on page 555, has been appointed to succeed Dalton. Cripps had recently been made Minister of Economic Affairs, with general authority over economic planning, and there is a good deal to be said for combining this job with control of the national finances. Implementation of the "austerity" program which Cripps has drafted requires more cooperation from the Treasury than Dalton, perhaps, was always willing to afford. Now Cripps has the driver's seat to himself and is in a better position to keep production, trade, and fiscal policies in step. No man understands better the nature of Britain's economic crisis. He knows that, whatever temporary relief American aid may offer, Britain must find means to live within its physical income, that the improved living standards which are the Labor government's goal depend on an increase in total production. Cripps's insistence on cutting the British coal according to the cloth available has won him the bitter dislike of those Britons who must find a personal devil to blame for their hardships and can't or won't understand the deep-rooted causes of their country's difficulties. The newly ordered draft of "drones" and workers in parasitical trades for employment in vital industries will probably bring him a fresh crop of enemies. Those Britons, however, who realize that they are, in effect, living under siege, will applaud his efforts to insure that burdens as well as benefits are shared.

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IF THE NEW TAX PROGRAM WHICH DALTON presented last week had been framed by Cripps, it would probably have been even tougher than it was. The necessity for supplementing last spring's budget did not arise from any deficit; actually, during the first thirty-two weeks of the fiscal year, British revenue exceeded expenditure by over \$1,000,000,000. Nevertheless, this large surplus was not sufficient to absorb the excess of purchasing power in the country. As Dalton explained, recent measures to expand exports and contract imports resulted in an addition to money incomes which could not be balanced by increased supplies of goods. He proposed to mop up some of this excess purchasing power by a steep increase in the sales tax, with the rate on luxury items, such as jewelry, going to 125 per cent. Other additions to existing taxes, such as the higher rate on distributed profits, are calculated to check the growth of spendable income or to discourage the waste of scarce resources. A new tax on certain kinds of betting aims a blow at an "industry" which has attracted a huge number of workers from productive employment. Mr. Dalton has been sharply criticized for not being severe enough. In particular, his budget is under attack because it failed to eliminate or reduce food subsidies which have helped to create surplus income by keeping prices of rationed necessities at a low level. However, the Labor government has insisted that in the peace crisis, as in the war, the basic requirements of life must be made available to all, regardless of income. Removal of the food subsidies would result in a sharp rise in prices and mean that the lowest income groups would not be able to afford even the modest diet to which their ration cards entitle them. It would also inevitably lead to new wage demands and disturbance of the labor peace that is so necessary for increased production.

★

IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE THAT ONE OF the three Americans involved in the fantastic and abortive expedition to overthrow Trujillo was named Thomas Sawyer. . . . An advertisement for the Visiting Nurse Service in the New York subway has our ears burning. It shows a pretty girl in a nurse's uniform—and bears this caption: "Her phone rang 89,000 times last year." Which is 7,416¾ times a month, which is 247 times a day. The little girl should not only have a hand; she should also have a private number. . . . And speaking of telephone calls, 42,000,000,000 of 'em were completed in the United States in 1946, according to the A. T. and T.'s "Telephone Statistics of the World." The average American used the telephone 301 times in the course of the year, and there are more than 30,000,000 telephones in this country. Russia, on the other hand, has only 1,500,000. But perhaps that's enough, considering that they are all on a party line.

WALTER REUTHER'S VICTORY OVER THE George Addes—R. J. Thomas group at the C. I. O. automobile workers' convention was even more decisive than his most optimistic followers had dared expect. As a result, this young and able socialistic intellectual now firmly controls the executive board of America's most vigorous union. The Atlantic City convention was the climax of a bitter factional struggle. Reuther's victory does not, however, end his difficulties. In the coming months, he faces the following awesome questions: Can he demonstrate the capacity of a radical but anti-Stalinist group to lead a major trade union? Can he reconcile the restraining pressures from the C. I. O. top leadership with the recurrent militant urges of the U. A. W. ranks? Can he carry through a political-action program that will consolidate his support in the union without alienating him too sharply from his more conservative C. I. O. colleagues? Can he balance the divergent tendencies within his own group? And, finally, can he avoid making blunders which the opposition will be waiting eagerly to take advantage of? The first real test of his capacity will be the wage negotiations with the companies in the spring. His situation is a ticklish one, but it has tremendous possibilities, and if Reuther behaves courageously and sticks to principles he may well become the leader of a major segment of militant unionism. Shrewd observers at the convention felt that Reuther made an error in not giving George Addes a major post. In that way, they felt, he might have drawn a competent and respected leader away from the opposition and reduced it to such powerless figures as R. J. Thomas. With Addes, the opposition can be dangerous.

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PAUL BLANSHARD'S OUTSPOKEN ARTICLES on the policy of the Roman Catholic church in America, the last of which appeared a week ago, were bound to create immense interest. But some of the by-products of the public's reaction surprised us. Almost as soon as the first of the series, *The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine*, hit the newsstands, complaints began to come in that readers could not find copies on their usual stands—or anywhere else around. With each article, the complaints multiplied, though we increased the copies distributed. Readers came to the office in unheard-of numbers to buy the issue. A check of the New York area showed many stands sold out a day after the copies were delivered. Others seemed about normal. But dealers themselves may have had something to do with the odd discrepancies. One faithful reader found *The Nation* buried among several music trade papers on a Pennsylvania Station stand. A dealer on Forty-second Street sold out quickly—or said so—but refused to accept additional copies; another claimed he got no copies of the issue in question, although they had been delivered as usual. A

dealer downtown said that one person took all his copies and then bought out several neighboring stands; whether to distribute or destroy, he did not know. Odd things even happened to mailed copies. A number of subscribers have written in to say that those particular issues failed to arrive, though they have had prompt post-office delivery right along. Perhaps their postman was protecting them from dangerous facts. But the most surprising bit of censorship was reported by a Harvard subscriber who reports the issues of *The Nation* containing the Blanshard articles absent from the library of the Faculty Club. He asks for reprints. We hope he'll send them around to his more sheltered club mates.

Palestine Prospects

THE British statement delivered last week to the Palestine subcommittee meant that Mr. Bevin had not budged an inch since his Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, outlined Britain's Palestine policy in the first days of the Assembly session. This meant that, after anxious weeks of consideration by the General Assembly, during which time constructive measures for settlement had been formulated, Britain was prepared to accept no more responsibility than when it first landed Palestine on the United Nations doorstep last spring.

In view of Britain's latter-day record in India, we had a right to expect more. If Britain had failed in the mandate because the difficulties were such that no single nation could cope with them, then it was proper that Palestine should become the responsibility of the United Nations. But because of its mandate—a mandate which still continues—Britain was morally bound to give the United Nations the cooperation necessary to carry out an agreed solution of the Palestine problem. As one of the world's outstanding Jewish leaders said this week, "Britain had a magnificent opportunity of withdrawing from Palestine with honor—and she missed it."

The reasons for Britain's intransigence are not difficult to find. There is bitterness over being so long in the crossfire of Jewish-Arab antagonism. There is pique over being asked to do what other nations are unwilling to do. There is undoubtedly a rankling sense of guilt. And there is the stubbornness of Mr. Bevin, whose almost psychopathic animosity to Zionism has surged up to the surface in several outbursts at Labor Party conferences. At Lake Success, it is this last which is considered the most important factor: several British delegates and advisers are known to be much more sympathetic than their government to the solution the Palestine working committee had blocked out.

What is amazing—and encouraging—is that the setback caused by Sir Alexander Cadogan's statement is not considered fatal. If the British refuse to cooperate, other

ways will have to be found, although obstacles remain which cannot, by any means, be blamed on the British. The Americans, while they reached tentative agreement with the Russians on a broad plan of partition to be implemented by a commission responsible to the Security Council, have behaved in a negative and frequently obstructive manner. They have yet to indicate that they will support a scheme which might require force for its implementation. The Russians, rightly suspicious of British intentions, have shown great unwillingness to modify the committee's proposal to fit the vague British time-table of withdrawal. Nevertheless, of all United Nations committees, the Palestine "working party," made up of the United States, Russia, Canada, and Guatemala, has proved the one most determined to produce a settlement which will be workable and also likely to win the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly.

From the practical standpoint, it seems essential that a scheme be devised to fit the British time-table, though the British are admittedly making this as difficult as possible. One method would be to establish the date of ending the mandate by agreement with the British—say, May 1, 1948—and declare that on that day the two states shall become independent. Special arrangements might be made for the withdrawal of the last British troops after May 1 but before August 1, arrangements similar to those for the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria and Lebanon. This would avoid an interim period in which no effective authority would exist. Before the mandate ended, the United Nations commission would supervise the setting up of civil administration and law-enforcement bodies in the nascent states.

An alternative scheme would be to postpone independence until a later date and declare Palestine under United Nations sovereignty between the time the mandate ends—or the last British troops are withdrawn—and the date of full independence. In this case, the problem of keeping order and the authority of the United Nations commission would become of prime importance.

But these questions, along with the geographical and administrative details of the partition plan, will almost certainly have been settled in the subcommittee before this editorial appears. Then the real debate will begin, first in the ad hoc committee and after that in the Assembly itself. How it will come out, no one dares guess. The Arabs can not only be counted upon to fight for their own plan, but to raise every kind of objection, legal, political, and emotional, to the acceptance of partition. The success of the majority plan can be assured in just one way—by the full and energetic support of the United States. The record of our delegation up to this hour gives us little reason to expect such an effort. Once agreement has been reached and the American position fully stated, however, the government's prestige will be

committed to the plan. A defeat in the Assembly would be a defeat for the United States on an issue of first importance. For this reason if no other, there are grounds for hope that the Americans will press for a favorable vote in the Assembly.

Bundles for Europe— Without Strings

By FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE NATION has never favored secrecy in the processes of government, but it is hard not to wish the debate in Congress on emergency aid for Europe could be carried on behind sealed doors. That substantial aid will be voted, is certain; both parties are overwhelmingly committed to it. What one dreads is the exhibition to the world public of America's complex of fear, suspicion, superiority, complacency, ignorance, and genuine benevolence of which we have already had revealing previews in the statements of legislators and government officials. When even so conscientious and intelligent a Congressman as Christian Herter qualifies his support of aid by an insistence that American supervision must extend to the last step in the process of distribution and by an anxious hope that nothing will fall into the hands of reds or other unworthy elements, one shrinks from revelations still to come.

We have traveled a long way from the days, last summer, when serious political leaders, here and abroad, discussed the need of giving help to all hungry peoples and disorganized economies. Or when liberals innocently advocated carrying out the Marshall program through the United Nations. What would have happened to both the Administration's emergency and long-range plans had Russia and its satellites joined the sixteen nations is today easy to guess. Whatever Moscow's motives, Molotov's retreat from Paris was a gift of God to Secretary Marshall. It enabled him to put the issue of aid openly on the basis of fighting communism in Europe and to abandon all pretense of general relief and reconstruction. The UNRRA era is dead, and Molotov collaborated with Marshall in killing it.

Whether the Secretary of State intended to include Eastern Europe in his plan as outlined at Cambridge last June, I seriously doubt. He did so as an afterthought, in response to worried protests from political leaders in France and England. But his indorsement of the Bidault-Bevin invitation to Molotov to join their talks on the proposed plan gave the appearance of a reversal of the Truman Doctrine, and offered hope in Europe of a new effort at general reconciliation. American policy thereafter, particularly the sudden revelation

of our unilateral program of German industrial revival, together with Russia's abrupt boycott of the whole affair, soon killed that hope, and the sixteen nations settled down to their task of planning for economic revival in the West. But they did so with many misgivings, recognizing the dangers they faced in linking their whole fate to American politics and the hazards and pressures of American free enterprise; and recognizing, too, the crucial necessity, if any plan was to work, of restoring economic relations with Eastern Europe. The coming days will show what that decision implied for West and East alike, as Harold Laski says on page 548. Mr. Truman, Mr. Marshall and his aides, Mr. Harriman, Mr. Krug, the chairmen of various inquiry committees, and other prominent citizens, singly and in combination, have made their proposals; but Congress will dispose. The world awaits its action with concentrated anxiety.

ALTHOUGH the immediate matters under consideration are the emergency needs of France, Italy, and Austria, the entire Marshall Plan will dominate the debate. The special session will properly consider the urgent demands of the President and Secretary of State in the light—or darkness—of Europe's longer future. Those who describe the overall plan as Operation Rathole will be reluctant to appropriate even \$600,000,000 for stop-gap aid. Friends of the Marshall Plan will have to defend it as a whole.

So the problems discussed by Harold Laski in his notable article are upon us; they cannot be postponed. We have the formal assurance of the Administration that American aid must be offered without conditions of a political nature; and, for the moment, I am willing to take that as the official position. But two things must be said in this connection: First, Congress is not bound by Administration constraints; it can insist, if it pleases, that the postulates of the Thomas committee be applied to the recipients of American money or supplies. And, second, neither the Administration nor any Congressional leader has suggested that the aid granted should be free of economic conditions. On the contrary, it is everywhere assumed that Congress will never appropriate funds—emergency or otherwise—unless they are administered or supervised by an American authority. The question is whether the directing body shall be a government corporation, like the RFC, or an agency of the State Department.

Mr. Laski urges that American help be given on terms similar to lend-lease, by which he means, I assume, that the United States should leave control to the recipient countries, under general agreements covering terms and purposes. He doubts, however, that this is the intention, and he is right. The intention is, first, a dole, distributed under American direction, and, second, a long-range pump-priming effort administered, perhaps,

through joint European-American agencies but controlled as far as possible in Washington. As Mr. Herter said on the air the other night, if we find a country is going Communist or is squandering American money, we can always stop the funds.

It is natural and entirely proper that provisions should be made for the careful handling of funds lent or donated to European countries. The danger is that we will treat the nations receiving aid, not as parties to a transaction, but as recipients of charity, not as sovereign and equal states, but as dependencies. In this mood, even the reasonable inevitable American passion for efficiency and the economical use of funds is bound to have political results. This is made clear in a recent column by David Lawrence. Acknowledging that the Harriman committee had called for "production goals and for piecemeal aid so a check can be maintained" on what is done with the money, Mr. Lawrence criticizes the committee for "surrendering American principle" by deciding against explicit conditions requiring countries to adopt the free-enterprise system in order to qualify for American aid. Mr. Lawrence is sure that the Republican Party will not agree to a scheme which denies this government a voice in the way the money or supplies shall be used abroad; he points out that we don't appropriate \$12 billion to \$17 billion every day to bail out other countries. I am sure the Republicans he speaks for, and a good many Democrats as well, will agree with him and be ready to believe that European states or statesmen that haggle over such obviously reasonable terms are already past redemption by dollars.

IN THIS situation, the attitude of American progressive groups must be clear. Europe needs help. Only the United States can give it. Isolationist opponents of the Marshall Plan will harp on the dangers of sending goods or dollars to countries which may go Communist tomorrow or, if not, may use our dollars to build a Socialist Europe. Supporters of the plan will stress its properties as a specific against the red fever. Progressives must fight both kinds of reaction at once. Laski's insistence that Europe should get along without America, if it cannot get help without strings, is treatment only a European would have the right to prescribe. American liberals and leftists—Communists apart—cannot possibly advocate a defeat of the Marshall Plan; it is not their stomachs that would go empty. They can only expose the consequences that will follow an attempt to treat Europe like an aged and indigent relative who no longer knows how to order his affairs. Such a policy—emerging partly from our fear of Russia, partly from our fear of socialism—will defeat the small last chance of a democratic Europe. It is this that Americans who still cherish democracy must tell their representatives in Washington during these coming weeks.

Is Europe Done For?

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, November 5

EUROPE is not merely a geographical expression; it is also a great tradition and a quality of mind. It has seen stormy weather before, not unlike the tempests which now sweep across its frontiers. It saw them after the Reformation. It saw them again in the epoch of the French Revolution. There is no reason, then, for surprise that after two world wars and the immense upheaval in Russia, both the sense of crisis and the fact of crisis should seem to non-Europeans the most impressive aspects of its life. It is a Europe in which there has been massive destruction for six years. It is a Europe upon which the impact of war has left a deep sense of fatigue, and which also, because of the nature of the Nazi aggression, has lost a good deal of the habitual discipline that makes the daily routine of life seem a natural obligation. Above all, it is a Europe whose historic ruling class has lost not merely its own self-confidence but the power to impose its traditional values upon the masses except, as in Franco's Spain, by ugly methods of coercion.

Europe today presents the characteristics of a civilization of which the ultimate foundations have been called into question. The establishment of Socialist and Communist governments over so wide an area registers a general dissatisfaction with capitalist society, even with capitalism successful enough to be geared to the luxury of politically democratic institutions; and this is as real a turning-point in history as the slow transformation of feudalism into capitalism. The European crisis is more dramatic and shattering, first, because modern technology has made the pace of change ever more rapid, and, second, because the breakdown of European imperialism, not only in the Far East but, at least as significantly, in Eastern and Southeastern Europe as well, has deprived capitalism of the chance to carry on as a going concern, with the masses paying the price of maintaining their old rulers in their historic privileges.

The crisis in Europe will be a long-term crisis only if that ruling class which the European masses no longer accept is so amply supported by America that it is able either to stage a counter-revolution or to postpone the achievement of stability until, as in Nazi Germany, the masses turn to some demagogue like Hitler in the hope that he will provide the basis of a new equilibrium. For nearly all the vital elements which make for recovery are present in Europe. There is the necessary man-power; there is an abundance of technological skill; there is the productive capacity which, granted the

necessary stability, could swiftly replace the losses due to war. What is lacking is the breathing-space required to get Europe working again on the basis of the new leadership seeking to establish itself. In the present condition of the world, winning of that breathing-space means help from the United States for perhaps three or four years or the deliberate acceptance of a reduction in the standard of life. The second alternative, if American help should be withheld, might, as the prelude to Socialist reorganization, mean hard sacrifice followed by a new level of well-being. It might equally, if the rising leadership proved lacking in courage and efficiency and imagination, plunge Europe into a new dark age.

IT IS clear that America is willing to help Europe, but that there are terms upon which the help will be given. In part those terms were revealed by the American loan to Britain; they may be broadly and I think not unfairly described as terms which give the American exporter equal access to markets in which British exporters have previously established supremacy. In part they were revealed by the loans to Greece and Turkey. Stripped of the rhetoric of diplomacy, the Greek and Turkish loans were a defense of American capitalism against the danger of what is called in Washington "Russian expansionism" but may also be described as a fear that the masses in Greece and Turkey, like those in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, will abandon the capitalist way of life. The terms were revealed finally in Mr. Marshall's Harvard speech, and in the series of official pronouncements which have followed, including the Secretary of State's press conference on November 3. The American government will seek large-scale aid for Europe, over a term of years, if Europe can offer real assurance to the United States that American help will be more than a temporary plaster on a wound, will, in fact, assure permanent European recovery.

If American aid, as Mr. Marshall pictures it, were based on those principles which underlay lend-lease in the recent war—rightly described by Mr. Churchill as the most unsordid act in history—I do not think European recovery would be in doubt for one moment. Such a plan would insure the rapid attainment of political stability in Europe, since it would give the new regimes there both the time and the economic elbow-room to consolidate their authority and domesticate the new social values they seek to express. It would also, I believe, enlarge the boundaries of democratic freedom in Europe by giving those regimes, especially in the East, real con-

fidence in their security. This would also release manpower and diminish expenditure upon armaments. It would make possible a swift solution of the German problem by opening the way to the reintegration of Germany into the European economy.

It does not, however, seem likely that the war-time model of lend-lease was in Mr. Marshall's mind. This was forecast both by the withdrawal of the credits granted to Hungary and Czechoslovakia—which was a political, not economic, decision—and by America's rejection of the British plan to nationalize the heavy industries of the Ruhr. It looks, in fact, as if American aid were likely to be conditional on an agreement, not necessarily explicit, on the part of those nations which receive it to halt the process of transforming capitalist societies into socialist societies. American aid, in a word, will be geared into that market economy which is the central principle of capitalism.

IF IT be said, in reply to this, that Great Britain, which has a Labor government, and France, which is partly Socialist, as well as other countries in which Socialist parties play a vital part, are participating in the Marshall Plan, I think the answer is a simple one. Without American aid the British economic position in the next twelve months will be very serious. The Labor government is seeking insurance against the danger of a new crisis like that of 1931. Mr. Bevin's policy, therefore, is to risk the division of Europe in the hope that American aid will enable Great Britain to buy the time it needs for full recovery. The French government fears that a worsening economic position may bring to full power those reactionary forces which are now organized under the leadership of General de Gaulle. That would mean, in effect, the replacement of the nascent Fourth Republic by a new Vichy-France, with General de Gaulle playing the role formerly filled by Marshal Pétain.

Much the same result would occur in Italy: there would be a new fascism, heralded perhaps by return to a monarchy. In both France and Italy, I think, such a change would mean civil war. What it would mean in Britain is more questionable; at the very least it would so divide the Labor movement of this country that the energies now devoted to increasing production would be absorbed in fighting a revival of the classic techniques of capitalism in crisis. If that led to the coalition of which the Tories are now so eagerly talking, it would be the end of the Labor Party; such techniques could not be imposed upon the Labor government with its present majority.

If it be asked why I believe that the terms of American aid must prove unacceptable to the new Socialist leadership in Europe, my answer is that, so far as I can see, those terms would lay the foundation for capitalist revival on the Continent; that capitalist revival would

mean counter-revolution; that counter-revolution would mean civil war over half of Europe or perhaps more; and that this civil war might very easily provoke a third world conflagration. If it be urged that the American government has no such desires or purposes in mind, I agree at once. I am not concerned with the intentions of the American government; I am concerned with the far more serious question of what the American government must do if it is determined—as clearly both the Republican and Democratic parties are determined—to preserve the "American way of life," which is, after all, no more than a pseudonym for American capitalism. The grave problems confronting American capitalism can be postponed only if that inner horizontal expansion which the epoch of the frontier made possible is replaced by an outer horizontal expansion. This means that, in relation first to Asia and next to Europe and the Middle East, America must become an investing and exploiting power. That only half-conscious need, that drive to build relations which are independent of the wills even of the men who build them, lies at the root of American hostility to Russia and of its anxiety to reconstruct Germany on the basis of private enterprise. For such a Germany means not only a great field for American investment; it means that American capitalists, as Germany becomes reorganized, can dominate France—and in partnership with Germany seek to keep Russia within limits they regard as safe.

EUROPE needs a unified economy like the continental economy which permitted the vast expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century. Given that economy, all the conditions are present for European economic revival and, not less important, for a great cultural revival like that of the Renaissance. But European unity can now be achieved only on a socialist basis. Capitalism does not permit any of the conditions unity requires. It does not permit large-scale disarmament. It does not permit full employment, or the planned use of raw materials, or the coordination of reequipment in industry and agriculture. It means a competitive export policy within Europe instead of a planned export policy for the whole Continent. Above all, it prevents that reshaping of the European wage structure on which the whole problem of increased output ultimately depends. All of these are purposes compatible with a socialist Europe. But all of them involve, also, so profound a change in the relations of production, in the legal system of ownership, that they would bring to a close the history of bourgeois civilization there. To all intents, they would end the European phase of capitalist economy.

These changes are therefore fiercely opposed in Europe itself by the classes which have hitherto ruled European life. For once the market economy is transcended, society produces for use and not for profit, since price

no longer remains the clue to the market's self-regulating mechanism, the master-method to which all other institutional techniques must be subordinated. These changes mean also the rapid abrogation of privilege and, not least, of the use of national sentiment as a smoke screen behind which peoples who have no quarrel with each other are yet driven to fight in defense of privileges which simply abridge the quality of their lives. They mean, further, internal security at a far higher level than in any previous period, since much of what is now diverted to national defense could be used for the production of creative goods and services. But it is quite certain that the ruling classes in Europe will only abdicate if it is made inescapably clear that they cannot rely upon American assistance in any effort they may make to roll back the mounting wave of socialism and to reimpose upon the masses, even at the cost of conflict, that traditional discipline which maintains and safeguards their privileges.

So, in a vital sense, the question of whether Europe has a future will be answered in Washington, answered perhaps before many weeks have gone by. A united socialist Europe would of course have immense effects in America, psychological as well as economic. The economic effect would be a compulsion upon American capitalists to open their own vast internal market to European goods; this sooner or later would raise for the American economy all the questions it has been seeking to postpone for more than a generation. There would also be immense repercussions upon the party structure and so upon the political institutions of the United States. Psychologically, the effect would be to raise swiftly, and in far more dramatic form, all the issues which lurked upon the horizon in the creative period of the New Deal. One way of putting it is to say that socialist principles would be given their first real letters of credit in America; another is to say that America's influence would be exerted to bring the "century of the common man" instead of the "American century." Better, perhaps, than either formulation is to say that the American century would become the century of the common man all over the world.

Like all pre-revolutionary phases in history, this is an age of disillusion and pessimism, and I do not know whether America, especially Young America, is adventurous enough to embark upon a policy which means the self-preparation of the United States for a revolution by consent. On a short-term view this means asking the giant economic interests of America for the exercise of massive self-restraint at a time when they obviously feel that they have the world at their feet. But on a long-term view it has obvious advantages for the ordinary folk of America. For if, in their name, the American government assists in the revival of European capitalism, we shall have taken a long step on the road to war, and at

its end America, with no markets to supply, will have to make the choice between socialism and democracy on the one hand and capitalism and dictatorship on the other. For a capitalism which finds itself incapable of horizontal expansion turns quickly to the overthrow of democracy. Anyone who examines the opposition of the "economic royalists" to President Roosevelt's social reforms will have no difficulty in seeing that this is the case.

THE future of Europe depends therefore, in my view, upon its economic unification; and this can be obtained in either the hard way or the civilized way. The hard way implies a resolute refusal of American help on any terms which prevent Europe's leaders from completing the transition to a socialist economy; it will mean a generation of suffering, the possibility of civil war, the slow ascent from darkness to light. The fear of all this has led to the enthusiastic reception of Mr. Marshall's proposal. The civilized way is a revival of lend-lease for some such period as five years, with the inclusion of Eastern Europe and Russia among its beneficiaries. By that way, in my judgment, the "iron curtain" could be penetrated, the latent democratic forces of Russia could be mobilized, and we could solve the urgent problems which center in the release of atomic energy.

If what I have called the civilized way appears to the political leaders of America an impossible choice, then, for myself, I hope the political leaders of Europe will choose the hard way. I do not think it would mean the end of Europe, any more than the fall of Rome meant the end of Europe. It would impose great hardship for a long period of time. It would lower the standard of life. It would mean, almost certainly, a long winter for democracy and freedom. To ask one's leaders to make that choice is a terrible thing. But if the civilized way is not open to them, and they refuse to exact the sacrifices of the hard way, they are only postponing a decision their successors may well have to make in far more difficult circumstances.

Above all I believe it is for the government of Great Britain to take the lead. The Labor government was given its immense majority in Parliament to lay the foundations of a socialist commonwealth in this country, and it would be cowardly for it to withdraw because the task must be accomplished under a stormy sky. This is one of those supreme moments when Britain may once more save itself by its exertions, as it may save civilization by its example. It is the people who ride out the tempest who bring back their ship into harbor.

[This is the first of three articles by Mr. Laski on crucial international problems. The second, *America Astride the World*, and the third, *Russian Realities*, will appear in early issues.]

The New Chicago Fires

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, November 12

ON JULY 16 the people of Chicago read in their newspapers that James Hickman, a steel-worker, had shot and killed his former landlord. This deed was the culmination of a tragedy which began last January when four of Hickman's seven children were burned to death. Hickman had come to Chicago with his family in 1945 and searched desperately for an apartment. David Coleman promised him a second-floor apartment in a building on Chicago's southwest side, but the apartment was not ready when the Hickmans wanted to move in. So they were "temporarily" crowded into a tiny attic cubicle fourteen feet square, with only one small window and with no water, toilet, gas, light, heat, or fire escape. The Hickmans lived in this attic until January 16, 1947, when there was a fire. The four youngest children, ranging from three to fourteen years, were burned to death, and Mrs. Hickman and two other children escaped only by jumping out of the window.

The coroner's inquest revealed that Coleman had several times tried to evict all the tenants of the building so that he could convert the flats into more profitable "one-room and kitchenettes." Tenants testified that Coleman had said he would do anything to get them out, "even if it takes a fire to do it." Witnesses told of seeing a man run out of the building just before the fire was discovered. The jury was unable to decide whether the fire was of incendiary origin, although fire investigators privately believe that it was. The verdict criticized the owners of the building for "permitting such conditions to exist." To the father of the four children who had died this seemed pretty mild. Still brooding over his loss, Hickman went to Coleman's house six months after the fire and shot him. Coleman died in the hospital four days later, and Hickman was indicted for murder.

One more fact. Hickman happened to be a Negro—as was Coleman. This added a new element to the situation—the penalty Negroes pay for being Negroes under the acute housing shortage in Chicago and the nation. A Hickman Defense Committee was organized. Competent legal talent headed by Leon Despres, an attorney active in civil-liberty cases, was retained, and

a campaign was started for funds and sponsors. The trial began early this month. Hickman killed a man, assuredly, but he had accomplices—the people and government of the city of Chicago.*

ON OCTOBER 10 Chicagoans read that ten Negroes had died in a midnight tenement-house fire on West Ohio Street. A few citizens realized that this was not just another fire. And so did Chicago officialdom. By ten o'clock that morning Cook County's dapper State's Attorney William J. Touhy was poking around in the ashes and posing for pictures. By twelve o'clock Mayor Kennelly had visited the ruins and told the press he was ordering a "full and complete" investigation.

Chicago race-relations experts already knew part of the story. The apartment house was in the middle of a "tension area," where Italian Americans and others were resisting the "invasion" of Negroes. The files of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination contain a brief account of the violence that had accompanied this resistance:

7/5/44—"Molotov cocktail"; 2/10/45—brick through window; 5/9/45—building stoned; 8/45—stones through window; 9/11/45—arson and bricks; 7/10/46—arson; 10/30/46—arson; 8/12/47 and 9/15/47—vandalism.

Two years before, just as some Negro families were expected to move in, there had been an incendiary fire in the same tenement. The Negroes had moved in, however, and remained the only Negroes in the block.

The press lost no time in digging out certain facts connected with the fatal October fire. The owner of the building was found to be in the business of converting slum properties for Negro occupancy at a fat profit. He bought this particular building in 1945 for \$9,500, cut the apartments into one- and two-room kitchenettes, and collected monthly rentals totaling \$2,000. The Chicago *Sun* in a graphic story slapped a picture of the burned tenement next to one of Mayor Kennelly's residence, the swank Edgewater Beach Apartments. The *Sun* showed that a two-room apartment in the tenement, furnished and including the "privileges" of sharing kitchen and toilet, cost \$78 a month, while a plushy apartment in the Gold Coast building, unfurnished, but including an in-a-door bed, refrigerator, private bathroom, and kitchenette, cost \$74.50.

*Since Mr. Jack wrote, the jury in the Hickman case, after deliberating nineteen hours, has been unable to agree on a verdict, and the judge has declared a mistrial.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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A blue-ribbon coroner's jury headed by Horace Cayton, the sociologist, set about the task of finding the cause of the ten deaths on Ohio Street. The fire could not immediately be pinned on the owner, although he was undoubtedly guilty of some degree of negligence. The jury then had to decide whether the fire was incendiary in origin. Police and fire investigators refused



Drawing by Wilson

to admit the probability of arson until, through a stratagem which cannot yet be divulged, testimony was extracted from the chief of detectives that there was evidence the hallway had been soaked with a 70 per cent solution of an inflammable fluid. Largely on the basis of this evidence the *Sun* and the Negro Chamber of Commerce each offered a \$1,000 reward for evidence leading to the arrest and conviction of persons responsible for the fire.

At this writing, the rewards are still standing; nothing more has been discovered, although eighteen detectives have been working for more than three weeks to obtain clues from a tight-lipped neighborhood. Earle Downs, a veteran City Hall fire investigator, told me that the fire was incendiary in origin and that "some day we'll get our man—providing more than one man set it."

A THIRD fire is still smoldering in Chicago—in the City Hall. It is threatening the Chicago Housing Authority and the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. Mayor Kennelly himself helped to set it when he refused to issue a strong statement reaffirming the city's policy of non-discrimination during and after the Fernwood race riots in mid-August. At that time ten thousand whites in the surrounding section of the city demonstrated violently for almost a week in an effort to intimidate eight Negro families which had moved into an emergency veterans' housing project in a "white" neighborhood (see *The Nation* of September 13). The Negro veterans still live in the project, but the Mayor's attitude has given certain elements reason to believe they can challenge the city's policy. Even some Protestant ministers, seeing Kennelly's reluctance to support former Mayor Kelly's policy of non-discrimination in public and private housing, recently asked him, no doubt in Christian terms, to remove the Negro tenants from the project.

Community venom is chiefly directed at the moment against the present administration of the Housing Authority and the Human Relations Commission; it was

the commission which, more than any other municipal agency, not excluding the police, prevented the Fernwood riot from developing into a major conflagration. The Fernwood-Bellevue Civic Association has condemned the Housing Authority for "provoking violence, riot, bloodshed, juvenile and adult delinquency, discrimination, and destruction of friendly and harmonious understanding between the races of people in this city" and criticized the commission for being "motivated by the conviction that the only solution to the problem of harmonious racial relationship is by infiltration and commingling of the respective races, contrary to the sober conclusions of the truly representative members of all racial groups."

Attacks on the C. H. A. coincided with efforts to block the passage of municipal bond issues for land clearance and relocation housing in the November elections. At first, two groups opposed the bonds—Negroes who felt with some justification that they might be "redeveloped" out of even their present slum areas and whites who feared that the relocation housing might take in Negro families. Groups demanding a non-segregated redevelopment program agreed to postpone their campaign until after the referendum on the bond issues, but forty-two neighborhood "improvement" associations openly asked for the defeat of the measures. An aggressive campaign to pass the bond issues was then undertaken by such conservative forces as the State Street Council, the Chicago Bar Association, and the Chicago Association of Commerce. Even the Chicago *Tribune* gave the bonds last-minute support, pledging, however, that it would help remove the "irresponsibles and incompetents" from the Housing Authority. Mayor Kennelly refused to support the C. H. A. publicly and in a speech on election eve indicated that "any weakness" in its present procedures would be corrected. The housing bond issues were passed by a vote of two to one, with slum clearance—according to the unofficial returns—receiving next to the most votes of the ten bond issues before the voters. The City Council has now launched a full-fledged investigation of the C. H. A. on the complaint of the alderman from Fernwood that it "persists in theories of housing which are shared by no other local government agencies and are not in accord with those of a great majority of citizens."

The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations is facing a similar fight for existence. A subcommittee of the City Council has refused to give it the usually routine permission to reallocate certain of its funds for salary payments, and one alderman has bluntly stated that "the commission is doing more to hinder amicable relations between racial groups than to help them." The commission's staff faces a payless November and December unless the subcommittee's ruling is reversed. And yet, on its current budget of \$55,000, the commission easily saved

the city a hundred times that amount by helping prevent the Fernwood riots from spreading.

The future of both the C. H. A. and the commission—and the future of human relations in Chicago for a generation—depends on Mayor Kennelly. He has been repeatedly visited in recent weeks by leading church, labor, settlement, Negro, and other civic-minded groups and asked to support the two agencies. Privately he has told friends that he doesn't like such pressure. One wonders how he feels about the pressure being brought to bear on him by business acquaintances who oppose the Authority and the commission.

Chicago liberals who voted for Kennelly last April as a reform candidate have been astounded to see him fall far below the standards set by former Mayor Kelly in the field of inter-group relations. Kelly organized the first mayor's committee on race relations in the nation and put many Negroes in high city offices, including the chairmanship of the C. H. A. Chicagoans realize that Kennelly wants to do right but lacks experience, and they fervently hope he will learn that in running a big city there are other goals besides balancing the books and other useful advisers besides executives with "a practical business viewpoint."

Return to Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, October 25

WHEN after an absence of a few months a person returns to a country where he has been living for some time, he nearly always finds that it has not changed as much as he had expected. On landing in Leningrad, I found the passport officer just as polite and the old customs official just as casual and jocular as last time: "I suppose we ought to play through all your gramophone records, but it's too much of a sweat—never mind." And when I pointed to a case he hadn't opened, he said "never mind" again, adding with a grin: "Probably more stockings and sweets from Stockholm; they'll appreciate them in Moscow." On the quayside, meanwhile, a jubilant welcome, complete with cameras, microphones, and bunches of autumn flowers was being staged for the Russian chess players, who had returned on the same boat from their victorious visit to London. They made little speeches paying homage to the high standard of British chess and attributed their success to the conditions created by "our physical-culture authorities" and to the fatherly care of Comrade Stalin, "the *Fizkulturiks'* best friend."

Leningrad was alive again on that mellow autumn day, with the golden dome of St. Isaac's and the golden spire of the Admiralty glittering in the sun, and the Neva a deep, dark blue. It seemed more crowded than in summer, though not so crowded as Moscow; quite a number of Leningrad families still have flats of three or four rooms. One of the post-war achievements of Leningrad is the reconstruction of the numerous seaside resorts, with their bungalows, sanatoria, and bath houses, on the

formerly Finnish Karelian Isthmus; the restoration of the Tsarskoe Selo palaces, which were burned down by the Germans in 1944, is also in progress. The city's industries, this year as last, were in first place for performance.

On the train between Leningrad and Moscow I noticed, after only three months, that the rebuilding of the destroyed villages had been carried much farther; also more food was being sold at the railway stations, and the Red Arrow had reduced its time from fourteen to thirteen hours. The latest figures show that four million people in the countryside of Russia proper have now been moved from dugouts into houses.

TWO things stand out clearly as I look at Russia again—a betterment in material conditions as a result of a relatively good harvest, and a sharp and anxious concern about the "American menace." While food and clothes are still in the main rationed, I find much larger supplies of consumer goods in Moscow than were available three months ago—mostly Russian goods but also some from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany. Household articles, wireless sets, and a few other things are cheap, as Moscow prices go, even in the non-ration shops. Foreign news in the press is read with the greatest eagerness; people study detailed reports of the United Nations debates to discover what are the chances of an improvement in international relations. Vishinsky's "anti-war monger" speech made a deep impression, and not least the fact that he gave the "warmongers' " names and quoted their utterances. It was taken as proof positive that trouble was brewing. In consequence the sense of national solidarity seems greatly heightened. This change is very striking.

Last winter little was heard of the progress of industrial reconstruction, and during the spring and summer

ALEXANDER WERTH, *Moscow correspondent of The Nation and the Manchester Guardian, begins with the article a new series of dispatches from Russia.*

all attention was focused on agriculture. No stone was left unturned by the Communist Party in all its endless ramifications to make the harvest a success, though it is not yet equal to a very good pre-war harvest. But now news is coming in about industry. The outstanding example of what has been accomplished is the reconstruction of a large part of the Zaporozhie steel mills: to rebuild these huge plants out of literally nothing it was necessary to send to the spot large numbers of technical personnel and to coordinate no fewer than sixty supplying industries all over the country. Another factory that has been wholly rebuilt is the large synthetic-rubber plant at Voronezh. If up to last March industry was barely managing to fulfil its schedule under the Five-Year Plan, it has shown a sharp and steady improvement since April, and now, it is felt, the wheels have at last begun to turn properly, and there is every prospect, international weather permitting, of the plan being fully realized by 1950.

FOR the Russians the Marshall Plan is symbolic of the whole Soviet-American conflict. They think it would prove in the end ineffective, even if the capital invested in Europe reached an astronomical figure; but at the same time they think it politically very dangerous, for they are convinced that America will attach political conditions to every penny given or lent to Europe. They see the plan as a camouflaged instrument for the strategic penetration of Europe and the establishment of a bastion against the Soviets in western Germany.

They argue that despite enormous post-war difficulties Eastern Europe—notably, the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia—is steadily building a sound economy with the help of state planning. This planning may vary from country to country; in Russia it is now based on the principle of technical competence, while in Yugoslavia it is still at that "mass-enthusiasm" stage which Russia passed through in the early thirties. The standard of living in the various eastern countries will not for a long time reach an even level. But all the countries with a planned economy—that is, "real" socialism—are, as seen here, moving in the right direction, and the danger of crises and slumps has been reduced to a minimum, the only incalculable factor being the weather. A common remark heard in Russia, and not by any means only from party members, is: "We know, more or less, where we are going; we have something to look forward to. Has Western Europe any idea where it is going?"

The accounts Russians get of the West are no doubt highly colored, but who can deny that in France a small minority is living wonderfully well on the black market, while the mass of the population—especially the urban population—live miserably. The remedy, the Russians

argue, will surely not be supplied by occasional dollar injections, especially when the injections have conditions attached to them. "In the name of democracy," one Russian commentator says, "the Americans want to put one-third of the French nation [the Communists] beyond the pale." That, and Greece, and the "Negro problem" are considered irrefutable arguments debunking the purity of Western democracy.

Bevin and Attlee were naturally denounced with particular violence in the joint communiqué of the nine Communist parties meeting in Warsaw because they appear to the Russians as the middlemen who are "selling out Europe's socialist birthright for a mess of dollars." The new Communist organization, Russians insist, is not concerned with the promotion of Communist revolution in Europe but is merely a defense measure against the Marshall Plan and other capitalist devices. Once you interpret the jargon correctly, you understand what is meant by the statement: "The right-wing Socialists are the worst enemies of European democracy."

TOADYING to the West" in political, economic, artistic, and scientific matters has been condemned with great violence time and again, especially since Zhdanov's famous discourse on literature. But a new note is now often struck in the press. A recent article by the well-known writer Leonid Leonov explained that Russia is not fundamentally hostile to the West but cannot help distrusting it because it has been so consistently ungrateful to Russia and even, on many occasions, has stabbed it in the back. Did not Russia save Europe from the Tartar invasion? Did not Russia bear the brunt of the struggle against Nazi Germany? The roles of Russia and the United States in the last war tend to be symbolized, as they are in a new poem by Alexei Surkov, by the blood men shed at Stalingrad and the blood of pigs killed in the stockyards of Chicago.

The war has made America rich and other people poor. And are the poor, Ilya Ehrenburg asks in a striking article, less deserving than the rich? He then enters upon a discourse about the relative merits of Europe and America and comes to the, in some ways, surprising conclusion that all Europe, including Russia, has a common cultural heritage and is civilized in a higher sense than America, which is "technically efficient" but not civilized. Ehrenburg even comes out with a strong defense of Matisse and Picasso as great masters and as "part of our common heritage." (The editor of the paper, in a footnote, disclaims responsibility for this view.)

Such articles as these may be considered concessions to some existing "pro-Western" feeling. Germany is not touched upon in Ehrenburg's article, but in others great interest is displayed in the German people, and

particularly in the recent congress of German writers in Berlin.

It is perhaps significant that a German film like "The Murderers Among Us" should have been widely shown in Russia. In terms of war-time propaganda it is completely unorthodox; it should be viewed perhaps as an attempt to explain certain kinks in the German character. The German hero finds himself incapable of killing a "rehabilitated" S. S. man, though he loathes the man and knows that he committed hundreds of murders, and arrives at the strange conclusion that it is not for Germans to punish other Germans. Advocacy of a more "understanding" attitude toward the German

people goes with references to Western Europe as still, in spite of everything, "different from America."

It is hoped, and believed, that forces are at work in Western Europe which will counteract American economic pressure and also the American "ideological" and "cultural" influence which the Russians find almost as disturbing. Much is written here about the "flooding" of Europe, especially the Scandinavian countries, with magazines like *Time* and *Reader's Digest* and with American best-sellers which have a definite anti-Soviet purpose. The way Kravchenko's book, "I Chose Freedom," was "pushed" in England is considered illustrative of the American ideological crusade in Europe.

Stafford Cripps

BY MARGARET COLE

IT IS less than a dozen years since the British Labor Party in conference emphatically rejected Stafford Cripps. It had consented to hear him in his own defense, and by one of the errors of human judgment to which he used to be unfortunately prone, he had chosen to deliver a lawyer's defense of his Socialist League activities rather than an appeal to the sympathies of the delegates. Today he is Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as Economic Director for the Labor government with three ministers under him—Hugh Gaitskell at Fuel and Power, George Strauss at Supply, Harold Wilson at the Board of Trade—all of whom share his general idea about the present job of British industry. Most people thought that Cripps would get a really important post some time, but they were not quite sure what or when. For his ups and downs of popularity within his party over the last eighteen years have been as marked as the ups and downs of the party in the country.

He has a background which repays study. His father, Alfred Cripps, Q.C. under Victoria, later Lord Parmoor, was a highly successful barrister, in his earlier years a Tory. Beatrice Webb, Alfred Cripps's sister-in-law, judged him a careerist, and her diaries of about the turn of the century contain quite a few slighting remarks about the "little jewel of an advocate" and his lack of real principle—a judgment he proved quite wrong by becoming a convinced pacifist and internationalist and

accepting office in Ramsay MacDonald's first government. Stafford's mother was Teresa Potter, one of the daughters of Richard Potter, of whom Beatrice Webb was the eighth. Teresa died young, but the Potter inheritance is so clear in Stafford that sometimes he seems more like Mrs. Webb's son than her nephew. He does not look like "an untidy eagle," as H. G. Wells described his aunt—he looks more like an owl—but he shares her asceticism, to which delicate health may have contributed in both cases. Beatrice Webb approved of good but plain food—she was never tired of saying that Lord Haldane was "eating himself to death"; Stafford likes plain food which most people would not even call good, and when in 1942 he went as plenipotentiary to India, many Englishmen prayed that he would not meet Gandhi and return convinced that a loin cloth and some rice and salt provided "the essential minimum of civilized life"—to quote the Webbs.

He has Beatrice's deep religious instincts, but he is a Christian, whereas she never found a satisfying creed until she went to the Soviet Union. He has her unswerving sense of public duty and her disregard of opinion when principles are at stake; and he has, also, her slight "ham-handedness" in relations with colleagues. She was, and he is, genuinely kind and friendly, but natural "bonhomousness" of the Franklin D. Roosevelt or George Lansbury type was left out of their make-up, and Stafford's efforts to be "matey" in the early days of the Socialist League occasionally made one shiver. (The tradition of public service and public obstinacy is well carried on by Stafford's attractive son, John, conscientious objector and agricultural worker during the war and now editor of that remarkable journal the *Countryman*.)

Stafford went to Winchester, where he distinguished himself in science. He missed World War I owing to ill

MARGARET COLE, the wife of G. D. H. Cole, is a lecturer for tutorial classes at Cambridge University and the author of numerous books, among which are "Education for Democracy," "Our Soviet Ally," and "Beatrice Webb: A Memoir." She is honorable secretary of the Fabian Society.

health, and set to work at the Bar, quickly becoming a success. His specialty was company and patent-law cases, in which there is plenty of money to hire top liners. Stafford was a top liner; by 1932 the table in his chambers was thick with briefs, and the fees he gave up when he entered government service amounted to something like £30,000 (\$120,000) a year. The knowledge his work brought him of the managerial end of business and industry, knowledge in which Labor is still not rich, stood him in excellent stead at the Ministry of Aircraft Production and later at the Board of Trade and will certainly be valuable now. Patent-law cases have not generally much need of advocacy, but Stafford is also a brilliant advocate. His most effective speeches in Parliament, such as that made after the shocking Gresley colliery disaster in 1934, have been speeches made to a brief, an indictment of something or other. At such times he becomes fully human and loses the tendency to lecture which sometimes mars his more affirmative efforts.

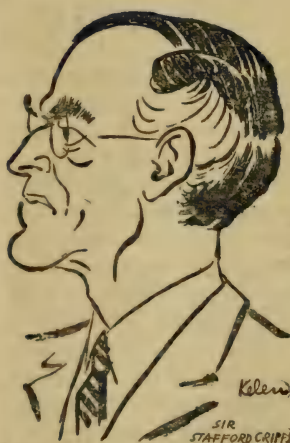
He slid into politics in an effortless and non-spectacular manner: he was the obvious choice for Solicitor General in MacDonald's second government. But he sprang into prominence after the crash of 1931, when he rejected without hesitation the appeal of Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor, that all the law officers should stick to MacDonald. He went out with Arthur Henderson and the rest, and at the ensuing election had the satisfaction of seeing the East Bristol electors remain faithful to him, although by a narrow majority. He, Clem Attlee, and George Lansbury were the only front-benchers to survive the catastrophe; he thus became in one bound a national leader.

But not for very long. Within a few years his sense of the coming crisis had taken him into paths where the party of the thirties would not follow him. He, along with Attlee, G. D. H. Cole and his wife, William Mellor, once editor of the *Daily Herald*, Colin Clark the economist, Gaitskill, and others, had seen that the débâcle of the party, Macdonald or no Macdonald, was largely due to the fact, brought to notice by the antics of Oswald Mosley, that Labor had really no policy for coping with economic storms. Accordingly, this group founded the New Fabian Research Bureau (now the Fabian Society) and the ill-fated Socialist League, whose purpose was to be a forward pressure group within the party. Aneurin Bevan, George Strauss, D. N. Pritt, and the weekly *Tribune* were among its leaders.

The Socialist League in its short life made two tactical mistakes. It was over-doctrinaire—to a single party program it moved at one conference no fewer than seventy-eight amendments, boring everybody—and it committed itself to the policy of a popular front with Communists and others, a policy which neither the trade unions nor the bigger divisional parties like the London Labor Party would consider.

During the war Cripps, as ambassador to Moscow—appointed because he was believed to be *persona grata* to the Kremlin—held a job which must have been about as cheerful as an assignment in a refrigerator. Russian conviviality, so far as it was displayed to him, was hardly in his line; and people on his staff have given vivid descriptions of the grim way in which the embassy was commonly treated. On his return to Britain he was given laurels as "the man who brought the Russians in on our side," which was of course quite untrue. The man who achieved that was in Berlin, and Stafford knew no better than anyone else whether the Russians could sustain resistance. But he was, for a while, extremely popular; his first "austerity" broadcast, which in a flat cold voice offered not blood, tears, and sweat but queuing up for

food, mending, and keeping clean with rationed soap in the blackout, was received with gloomy satisfaction, and when he went out to India many felt sure that the man who could deal with Stalin must be able to deal with Gandhi. It is a matter of history how narrowly the nine days of hectic activity missed success.



On his return he took on Aircraft Production, a job after his scientific and managerial heart. His seat was magnificently safe, and high office in a Labor Cabinet certain. Until last summer his main task was to get the "working parties" going for non-nationalized industries—important work, but not of a kind which brought him to the eye of the general public. It was only when the clouds closed in that people were ready again to respond to the voice which, of all the voices of the government, seems to be able to say most clearly and with most conviction that austerity and rationing are not being sought for their own sake, and are not just a cruel burden imposed upon the British housewife by unkind Americans, but are a necessity for the job of building not the old but a better Britain. Stafford Cripps does not mince words or put things picturesquely; when he thinks it ridiculous to suppose that any Tom, Dick, or Harry from the work bench can step right in and run industry, he says so, and there is a good deal of ideological snorting. But he means what he says: he faces facts and reads out the sums and their answers. And the British people can do with a good deal more of that type of talk than they get.

Del Vayo—Victory on Spain

THE United Nations discussion on Spain has once more demonstrated that after nine years of Franco the Spanish issue retains all its power to arouse and divide people. Throughout the two-day debate in the Political Committee the meeting room was crowded and the atmosphere overheated. I have frequently warned appeasers of Franco that the Spanish story cannot be killed. This time the first attempt to kill it was made by the American delegation. As soon as the representative of the Dominican Republic opened the debate with a proposal that the question be dropped from the agenda, everyone knew he was speaking for the State Department. This is one of the menial services that the *Gran Benefactor*, Trujillo, must render the United States in exchange for this country's continued toleration of a regime which disgraces the Western Hemisphere.

It was immediately apparent that the majority of the delegations were not ready to permit the American maneuver to succeed. An impassioned debate of two days ended with the adoption of a resolution "reaffirming" the General Assembly's decision of last December and "expressing confidence that the Security Council will exercise its responsibilities under the Charter" in the case of Spain. The resolution achieves two aims. First, as Mr. Gromyko correctly pointed out, it strikes a "new moral blow at the Franco regime"; second, it keeps the Spanish issue on the agenda of the Security Council, which will have to deal with the problem "as soon as it considers that the situation in Spain so requires." It is my personal conviction that the Spanish people will see to it that the situation "so requires" sooner than is imagined by certain delegates who argued that strong measures would be resented in Spain.

Even those Spaniards who were confident that the United Nations would eventually open its doors to Franco now realize that this hope is finished. Neither last summer's rigged plebiscite, staged deliberately to impress the coming Assembly, nor the aggravated international situation, on which Franco is counting to remain indefinitely in power, has brought the Spanish dictator an inch farther along the road to Lake Success. The vote last week—the fifth in which the United Nations has voiced its condemnation of Europe's last surviving Axis member—definitely slammed the door in Franco's face. Cut off from the international organization and all its affiliated agencies, fascist Spain stands alone, in complete and terrible isolation. The effect in Spain will be considerable. That large sector of vacillating opinion which, though against Franco, never dared take a stand because he seemed to be gaining strength internationally, will realize now that Spain is shut out of the world community as long as he remains in power. The Political Committee tightened the noose around the throat of the hated dictatorship and by its vote recorded an important victory for Spanish democracy.

The decision might also have been, with Palestine, the greatest accomplishment of the present Assembly. A Soviet-American rapprochement on Spain could have cleared the

atmosphere for the coming Foreign Ministers' Conference in London. That this did not happen is entirely the fault of the American delegation.

I am in a position to affirm that from the start of the discussion this year the Russians were the most conciliatory and anxious to arrive at unanimity among the big powers. From the public point of view, this was made clear in their acceptance of a resolution which they considered far too weak. The Polish delegate, Dr. Lange, even withdrew his own strongly worded proposal and worked hard in the Drafting Committee to find a compromise acceptable to everyone. Conciliation was evident, too, in the moderate speech of the Yugoslav delegate, Bebler, and in the skill with which Ukrainian Foreign Minister Manuilsky avoided being drawn into a secondary fight. All this is a matter of public record. From personal knowledge I can add that the Slav bloc had decided in a meeting held on November 10, the eve of the general debate, to go more than halfway to reach an accord with the United States and Great Britain. It was only when they discovered, through the reports of persons who approached the United States delegation and through certain indiscreet remarks of John Foster Dulles, that the Americans would oppose any resolution embarrassing to Franco, that Gromyko delivered his well-documented speech criticizing American policy in Spain.

One voice absent from the debate was that of Léon Jouhaux, France's great labor leader, who stirred the Assembly last year to a moment of genuine emotion when he answered the mediocre and hypocritical arguments of Senator Connally by describing the heroism of the Spanish resistance, maintained throughout the years in spite of the betrayal of the democracies. This time France voted for the resolution; but Jouhaux has returned to Paris, and Parodi, surely following instructions from the Quai d'Orsay, avoided taking any position that could offend the Americans. Apart from Gromyko's speech, the two high points of the debate were the eloquent remarks of Mrs. Pandit, flaying Argentina's wilful defiance of the December resolution, and Jan Masaryk's shrewd, able address.

What happened last week proves either that the United States does not want an understanding with Russia or that its diplomats are extremely inept. The reasons given for their position were wholly unconvincing. To abstain from voting for the resolution simply because the United States disliked the use of the phrase "to reaffirm" is utterly absurd. As Dr. Alfaro, Foreign Minister of Panama, succinctly pointed out: either you affirm a resolution passed last year with the vote of the United States, or you declare that you no longer stand by the resolution and you destroy it. The majority, by their votes, indorsed his verdict.

The attitude and tactics of the American delegation proved once more that a foreign policy based on the single objective of stopping Russia is sure to end in the surrender of every democratic principle. No wonder such a policy is difficult to explain in logical or convincing language.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Wall Street Tax Plans

SOME months ago Representative Knutson, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, appointed an advisory committee to assist in the formulation of a long-range program for revision of the federal tax structure. It was a very carefully selected body. At its head was Roswell Magill, professor of law at Columbia University and associated with a prominent firm of corporation lawyers. His colleagues included a movie magnate who was once president of the N. A. M., a Republican governor, a New York banker and director of many corporations, a Virginia manufacturer, a couple of other corporation lawyers, an economist employed by the Association of American Railroads, and the head of a farmers' milk cooperative. Just to make the group completely representative, a labor leader was added. The choice seemed safe enough, for Matthew Woll is the outstanding Republican in the A. F. of L. However, it proved a mistake, for Mr. Woll, resisting strong pressure, not only refused to sign the committee's report but blasted it as disguised tax relief for the "favored few."

It is not, I think, unfair, to identify this committee with Wall Street or to assume that its recently published report gives us a clear picture of the triple-play strategy for "tax reform" which has been devised by Wall Street and its Republican allies. First there is to be a reduction of income-tax rates across the board, as provided for in last session's vetoed tax bill, which Mr. Knutson promises to reintroduce as soon as possible. Next there are to be "structural reforms"—changes in the federal tax code relating to methods of assessment of personal and corporation taxes and estate duties. Finally, the load taken off the upper brackets by these measures is shifted to the shoulders of low-income receivers by means of a general excise or sales tax.

The specific task assigned to the Magill committee was to work out detailed plans for stage two of this program. However, its report touches revealingly, if briefly, on the other two steps. "Adjustment" of personal-income-tax rates and schedules, it suggests, is an immediate necessity, and while it admits that reductions must afford some cost-of-living relief to lower-income groups, its emphasis is on the damage done "by a tax system which, instead of rewarding people in proportion to how much they strive and accomplish, punishes them with a graduated penalty which increases with their success." But the committee is not yet prepared to scrap entirely the principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay: it will be satisfied if surtax rates are lowered to the point where not even the wealthiest taxpayer will pay more than half his income to the Treasury.

References in the report to excise taxes are vague but ominous. "If federal expenditure remains high," it declares, "the retention of a broad system of excises will be necessary if the

way is to be opened for income-tax relief." Although it avoids precision on this point, Magill and other members of the committee have long advocated greater reliance on sales taxes as a means of revenue. A bill that broadly represents their views is now being promoted by Representative Gearhart, influential Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee. It proposes to compensate for a drastic reduction in income tax by a 10 per cent manufacturers' sales tax on all fully processed goods with the exception of food, housing, transportation, and some minor items. By increasing personal exemptions this bill would knock off the income-tax rolls some 6,400,000 taxpayers now paying an average of \$47 each. But here is the joker: these same citizens, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, would find the manufacturers' sales tax costing them on the average about \$109 annually.

Taxpayers in this position would be little comforted by the "structural reforms" which are the immediate concern of the Magill committee. For these reforms are designed to reduce tax burdens for corporations and wealthy individuals; not many possessors of incomes below \$5,000 would derive much benefit from them.

Space forbids any detailed discussion of the committee's proposals, many of which are extremely technical. They include partial elimination of "double taxation" of dividends, reductions in corporate-tax liability by more generous provisions for depreciation and the "carrying forward" of losses, exemption for certain kinds of capital gains and increased credit allowances for capital losses, and exemptions from estate and gift taxes which in many cases would make possible almost total avoidance of these levies.

The proposal which has the greatest topical interest, since it is likely to reach Congress ahead of the others, is for extension to all taxpayers of the income-splitting benefits now enjoyed by married couples in the thirteen states with community-property laws. Such laws provide for equal division of all income between husband and wife so that they are able to file separate tax returns. Thus a married man in California with a salary of \$51,000 will report \$24,500, after allowing for exemptions, and his wife will do the same. Each will pay a total tax of \$9,362.50 or \$18,725 together. The highest surtax bracket they reach will be 59 per cent. A married man in New York is under no legal obligation to share his income with his wife and can only file one return. If his salary is \$50,500, he will report, say, \$49,000 after exemptions. On the top \$5,000 he will pay 72 per cent and his total bill will be \$24,795—\$6,070 more than that of the California couple.

Obviously this different treatment of taxpayers in different states is grossly inequitable. But is the solution to treat all incomes for taxable purposes as if they were subject to community-property laws? Before the war Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau proposed to equalize matters by making consolidated returns compulsory for married couples in all states. Such a change might reasonably be accompanied by increased personal exemptions for married couples and children. It would certainly be much fairer than the Magill committee plan, which will provide the greatest proportionate gains for those with the largest incomes and will be of no benefit whatsoever to some 40,000,000 taxpayers in the lowest bracket.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW is still alive and provoking. I have it on the best authority in the form of one of those famous postcards. We had hoped to reprint in this issue a section from "London Music in 1888-89 as Heard by Corno di Bassetto Later Known as Bernard Shaw," which was published here in 1937, is now out of print, and is known, I imagine, to relatively few American readers. Shaw was, in his younger days, one of the few good critics of music, living or dead. In reprinting one of his pieces we thought to do honor not only to the writing but to the critic. But Mr. Shaw ruled against us.

My works [said the postcard] may be quoted for comment or criticism but not otherwise—not as entertaining readable matter.

In short, NO.

Which puts everyone in his place.

W. J. TURNER the English critic, who died last winter, was another of the few writers about music who deserve respect. His comment on Toscanini, which appears here, is taken from his volume, "Music: An Introduction to its Nature and Appreciation," published in 1936, but was originally printed in the *London New Statesman and Nation*, which Turner served for many years as music critic. He was the author of distinguished works on Beethoven, Mozart, Berlioz, and Wagner, of which only the first two were published here, and only the Mozart is still in print. He also wrote poetry, novels, and plays.

During the past week I have been reading his book on Berlioz with great delight. Turner is quite as vigorous and peppery as Shaw; and the neglect and misunderstanding which have attended the music of Berlioz through the years give full scope to his talent for disposing, by analysis, of the pompous nonsense to which music, even more than the other arts, has always been subjected and of which Berlioz has been a special

victim. Yet one is always aware of a basic sweetness and a basic humility toward the art that was the passion of his life—so that there is no trace, even in his fiercest remarks, of anything less pure than genuine and disinterested emotion.

Turner quotes extensively from Berlioz's correspondence and prints among others a letter which Berlioz, aged twenty, wrote to his father announcing his determination to devote his life to music. It reads as follows:

I have voluntarily embarked upon a magnificent career (one can give no other epithet to that of the arts) and not upon my destruction; because I believe that I shall succeed, yes, I believe it: it is not an occasion for modesty; to prove to you that I leave nothing to chance, I consider, I am convinced that I shall distinguish myself in music; everything points to it outwardly, and within me the voice of nature is stronger than the strictest objections of reason. I have everything imaginable in my favor, if you will support me: I begin young; I shall not need to give lessons like so many others to support myself; I have certain attainments and possess the foundations of others in a way that leads to a deeper development, and indeed I have experienced passions of sufficient strength not to be mistaken as to their true accents whenever it may be necessary to depict them or make them speak.

If I am mercilessly condemned to die of hunger in the event of failure (and in truth I would not stop sooner), your reasonings and your disquietude would be better founded; but there is no question of that, and, fixing it at the lowest, I shall have one day two thousand francs income; but let us say fifteen hundred, I could live all the same on this sum; even with twelve hundred I should be content, supposing music brought me in nothing. In short, I want to make my name; I want to leave some trace of my existence on the earth; and so strong is this feeling, which indeed in itself is wholly noble, that I would prefer to be Gluck or Méhul, dead, than what I am in the prime of life. . . .

Such is my way of thinking, such I am and nothing in the world can change me; you can withdraw all help from me or force me to leave Paris, but I don't be-

lieve it; you would not thus make me lose the best years of my life and break the charmed needle, being unable to prevent it from obeying the attraction of its pole.

Adieu, my dear father, reread my letter and do not attribute it to a momentary state of exaltation, for I have never been more calm.

Your respectful and affectionate son,

H. Berlioz

Berlioz père yielded.

Arturo Toscanini

BY W. J. TURNER

MUSIC may be described as a print of eternity taken in time and lasting so long as it takes, remaining a whole until the last note is struck, then fading simultaneously. After that one can only recall it in memory. I use the simile of a "print," because it will serve best to explain in one direction where Toscanini's superiority as a conductor lies. Supposing that in reading poetry one were used to see poems only in a very poor print upon inferior-quality paper; imagine, for example, having only been able to procure Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale* printed in smudged ink on a piece of blotting paper with the stanzas scattered haphazard all over the sheet and either no punctuation or all the punctuation wrong! But this is how music is very often performed, and the first distinction between a good reproducing artist and an inferior one is that from the good artist we get an orderly, correct, audible impression. The average reader, like the average listener, is soon aware of certain differences in printing, but only an expert typographer is fully aware of all the fine distinctions, and he alone knows completely the different values produced by differing typographical settings of a poem. But in typographical prints the variations possible are limited compared with those possible in a photographic print, for example; so we must go on and compare the differences in musical reproduction to those possible with a camera and a lens, with all the latter's possibilities of light-variation,

focusing, etc. Then we may compare one conductor's performance of a symphony with another's as we may compare a poor photograph taken with a mediocre camera by a not highly capable person with a first-rate print taken by an expert using the finest materials.

Now, although this is the mere basis of the art of musical reproduction, it is a surprising fact that this basis is so rarely adequately supplied by the reproducing artist—whether he be instrumentalist, vocalist, or conductor. I think that every music-lover who has heard the

famous conductors of our time will admit that even on this presumably elementary ground the musical impression made by Toscanini when he conducts a work is incredibly clearer in detail, better proportioned as to parts, and more vivid as a whole, than those made by any other conductor.

The four concerts conducted by Toscanini, arranged as part of the London Music Festival by the B. B. C. in 1935, were the first occasion of Toscanini's conducting an English orchestra. There must have been a certain amount of apprehension on both sides. The reputation of Toscanini is a curious one. He is about sixty-eight years old, and it took the best German musicians many years before they could even bring themselves to contemplate the possibility that an Italian might actually surpass the finest of their native conductors. They went and heard, and came back impressed. . . . But Toscanini functioned chiefly at La Scala, Milan, of which wonders were constantly being told, and this being merely an Italian opera house these wonders were discounted. I remember some Viennese musical friends of mine writing to me a number of years ago describing a visit by Toscanini with an Italian opera company to their native town and how devastating to their preconceived notions this visit was. He performed "Falstaff" and "Lucia di Lammermoor," and Vienna went mad. "Not since the greatest days of Gustav Mahler has such an impression been made on the musical intelligentsia here," wrote one of my friends. Toscanini was invited to Bayreuth. There is a story told that on his first appearance there and at his first rehearsal he started with "Die Götterdämmerung" with the picked German or-

chestra that had played under the greatest German masters and went straight through the score without stopping once. The musicians were disconcerted, but went confidently on, to be, however, dumfounded when at the end he laid down his baton and merely said: "Gentlemen, it is terrible!"

The programs of Toscanini's four concerts in London in 1935, were actually more interesting than at first sight they seemed to be. The fact that he did not know the orchestra was no doubt responsible for the main items in each pair of concerts being the same. . . . Of the first two concerts, consisting of Brahms's E Minor Symphony, Cherubini's Anacreon overture, and Wagner excerpts, no doubt the Brahms made the deepest general impression. For my part I thought, especially of the first movement of the Brahms symphony, that Toscanini's ruthlessly musical rendering rather showed up the defects of the work and that only in the last movement, the passacaglia, did Brahms stand up fully to the treatment he received. The finer the music is structurally, the more magnificent it is in rhythmic design, the more clearly is revealed the greatness of Toscanini as a conductor. So it was that the passacaglia of the Brahms E Minor Symphony and the last movement of the Beethoven A Major Symphony were given with a convincing and satisfying purity and splendor such as I have never heard before. Here, indeed, Toscanini is unique among conductors. Steadiness, accuracy, sensitiveness, and rightness of proportion are combined with a vitality that is unique, as it is also so little manifested by outward physical exertion. . . .

In the second pair of concerts the two performances of Beethoven's A Major Symphony were incomparably finer than any performance of this work I have ever heard. It has not been a favorite of mine among Beethoven's symphonies, and it is more often badly, because crudely and heavily, played than any other; but in Toscanini's hands this "apotheosis of the dance" was given in its full rhythmical glory. Of the rest, I was most impressed with the two performances of Debussy's Symphonic Sketches, La Mer. To hear this work performed under Toscanini is a revelation of its musical qualities. Here again it is most conspicuous how much more

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lucid and well defined are Toscanini's reproductions of the music than those of other conductors. There is never anything feeble or tentative about his renderings, but everything is in its right place and firmly and satisfyingly there.

There is one other impression which it is necessary to convey in writing of Toscanini. As I sat in a different place and could watch exactly what he did and did not do when he conducted the Beethoven for the second time, I was suddenly reminded of Berlioz's remark: "Do you think I make music for my pleasure?" I am certain that it is not a pleasure for Toscanini to conduct, but rather that he suffers. It is because of his extreme musical sensibility and intense concentration. Here lies the essence of his superiority. He suffers because he loves music more and concentrates more than others. His self-forgetfulness is perfect, and his awareness of the music is complete. This is the real secret of Toscanini.

The Best and the Worst

A NEW edition of Professor Edward J. Dent's "Mozart's Operas" (Oxford, \$5.50) has provided me with the occasion to read at last a book that I have long intended to read, and to discover that it is one of the great books on music. Like Tovey's writings it is the product of a scholarship that works hand in hand with aesthetic insight—the scholarship providing knowledge of Mozart's materials, problems, and methods with each opera; the aesthetic insight illuminating the completed work of art. And if it is without Tovey's flashing brilliance it is also free of the epigrammatic obscurities that Tovey's pyrotechnics of thought and statement sometimes result in—which is to say that it is written with an urbanity and clarity that make the reading of it a delight.

Another product of profitable scholarship is Dr. J. M. Coopersmith's new edition of Handel's "Messiah" (Carl Fisher, \$1.25), which establishes from original sources a definitive corrected text not only of the work as it is usually performed but of all the variants that Handel made to fit the various conditions of the performances during his own lifetime. In addition it gives three examples from manuscript material—in

the airs *He was despised and I know that My Redeemer liveth* and a cadenza for *Every valley*—of the vocal ornamentation that "was a common practice, . . . differed with each singer, and . . . was seldom written into the music" (since the editor has employed his scholarship for the practical end of correct performance I think he should have filled in the ornamentation throughout the work in smaller notation than the text). And finally it provides notes on details of text, tempo, and other matters of performance.

From the enjoyable I turn to the distasteful—Charles O'Connell's "The Other Side of the Record" (Knopf, \$3.50), which professes to tell the truth about some of the celebrated musicians with whom he had dealings in the years when he was in charge of Victor's Red Seal recording. Mr. O'Connell says he doesn't tell all the truth: "I have 'put nothing in in malice,' I have omitted much in mercy, and if anywhere I have done violence to the truth it is only by suppressing the more unpleasant parts of it." Having outgrown earlier naivetes and learned that it is entirely possible for someone to think he is speaking truthfully or acting nobly when he is doing something quite different, I am sure Mr. O'Connell believes he has done as he says. Nor is the book without its occasional true statements; but it brings to mind a scientist friend's observation once that with any number of correct steps and only one incorrect he could prove two and two equal five. And the unpleasantness and distortion set down with venom on page after page gives one the cold horrors.

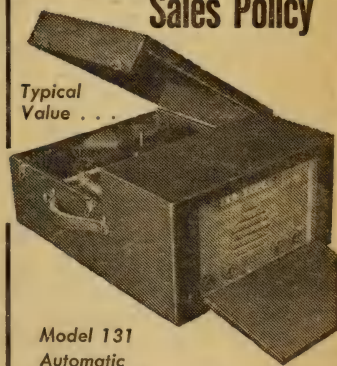
The detailed evidence for my statements is something for which there isn't the space; and I limit myself to one comparatively mild passage, from which one should get an idea of what has gone into Mr. O'Connell's writing about the people he discusses, and what his estimates of them are worth. Describing the origin of the Rubinstein-Heifetz-Feuermann recordings of chamber music, he writes:

When . . . the Budapest Quartet had left Victor, the company lost caste with devotees of chamber music and could no longer boast of leadership in this field. There was no permanently organized quartet that could compete with the

Budapest in public acceptance. There were other quartets, such as the Pro Arte, the Musical Art, the Roth, and the Coolidge, which had fair claims to some share of public support, but they got very little. The Budapest Quartet, composed, oddly enough, of Russians exclusively, had the inside track, and was worshipfully regarded in those esoteric circles where chamber music is esteemed as the only music worthy of an intelligent man's attention, circles composed largely of bloodless snobs who regard any music involving more than five players as grossly overblown, whose tastes are so refined and aristocratic that they don't like even

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■ program of chamber music if their neighbor does, and who think that anything popular is necessarily vulgar. These precious folks had grown in such numbers as to make chamber music not only important to Victor from an artistic point of view, but commercially profitable as well. It was evident that it would take mighty musicians indeed to compete with the Budapest Quartet or to regain for Victor the position in the field of chamber music that it had lost.

This was achieved, in his opinion, by the "peerless performances" of the Rubinstein-Heifetz-Feuermann combination. And from the passage one also gets an idea of the musical understanding that has gone into the statements about music in his book, and of what they are worth.

A great musician I know picked up the book, glanced at a few pages, and tossed it aside with the contemptuous exclamation: "Dirty laundry!" I can easily understand Mr. O'Connell's writing such a book but find it difficult to imagine how a publisher—that is, a publisher on a certain level of reputation and pretension—could publish it.

B. H. HAGGIN

The Ultimate Beethoven

THE QUARTETS OF BEETHOVEN.

By Daniel Gregory Mason. Oxford University Press. \$4.75.

THE string quartets of Beethoven have become, thanks to the revival of the string ensemble and to the phonograph, more widely known in the last quarter-century than ever before in their history; have become, indeed, so supreme an aesthetic experience of any kind among living men that Toscanini's word for them, "*il mio segreto vangelo*," may be taken as the radical claim they impose on the modern moral sensibility. It is surprising to find that Dr. Mason's is the first book in English to be devoted exclusively to their analysis and interpretation. Helm's and Riemann's German treatises, academically doctrinaire when not ineptly rhapsodic, have never been translated, and Joseph de Marliave's "*Quatours de Beethoven*" of 1925, translated in London in 1928, was not the book to satisfy contemporary taste or criticism. Yet the quartets have come more and more to occupy a major place in appraisals of

Beethoven's genius. They figure in the heroic evocations of Rolland; they have been more closely analyzed by English students like Gerald Abraham, A. E. F. Dickinson, W. H. Hadow, Roger Fiske, and the stimulating Marion Scott; definitive analysis has been provided by Vincent d'Indy (in his "*Cours de composition musicale*" and Cobbett's "*Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*"), and by the indispensable essays of Tovey. But for the general reader none of this analysis and evaluation quite rivals a book unconcerned with technique or historical relations yet incomparable in fixing the mind and character of Beethoven in modern thought, and in defining the quartets as perhaps the essential clue to that character: I mean, of course, J. W. N. Sullivan's superb essay on "*Beethoven: His Spiritual Development*."

The astonishing thing about Sullivan's treatment was that, without any claim to formal analysis, it conveyed, besides the intellectual and spiritual values in the quartets, their varying styles and their progressive mastery of personal content and expressive structure. No other book has so succeeded in showing that music, which of all the arts furnishes the most exact language for verbal analysis, is done poor service when that language is employed to the exclusion of spiritual and stylistic insight—insight which, conversely, results in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred in futile impressionism and feeble subjectivity. Perhaps the quartets solicit, beyond almost anything else in music, the most intense and disinterested spiritual response in the listener. At the same time they show unmistakably the danger of such response when it is undisciplined by aesthetic principle or insights. They are an education in musical resources and method; they are also a continuous schooling against free interpretative license. From first to last they encourage programmatic and biographical interest, all the way from the *Adagio* of Opus 18 No. 1—where Beethoven confessed the suggestion of "the scene in the burial vault in 'Romeo and Juliet'"—through such episodes as the *Molto Adagio* of Opus 59. No. 2 (marked *Si tratta questo pezzo con molto di sentimento*, which becomes for Dr. Mason "a fused combination of the Promethean energy of

Beethoven's youth with the sense of tragic frustration, slowly ripening into acquiescence"), the "brutal energy" of the concluding fugue of Opus 59 No. 3 (so "long-winded and devoid of real musical interest" to d'Indy's contrapuntist taste as to call for Cobbett's editorial plea for a "driving power . . . which cannot be expressed in terms of musical science"), and the reminiscent youthful humors of the *musette* or the passionately allusive introspection of the *Heiliger Dankgesang* of Opus 132, to the "*Muss es sein? Es muss sein!*" motifs in the finale of Opus 135.

This whole range of appeals in the quartets makes them singularly accessible to human exploration and recognition. Without that appeal they would, of course, not merely deny their spiritual origins but lose their spiritual and imaginative life. Taken together, they form a cycle of moral experience unrivaled in music or perhaps in any art but the highest poetry. Yet what Sullivan defined so aptly in his remarks on program music—that it communicates "musical experiences analogous to extra-musical experiences that may be associated with some definite external situation" but "does not, any more than any other music, depict any part of the external world"—is constantly emphasized even by these humanly accessible portions of the quartets. That fact becomes indisputable when we advance into their more purely harmonic utterances, which include not only the large majority of their movements but such supreme tests as the sublime *Cavatina* of Opus 130 (passing into which from the preceding *Andante* is for Dr. Mason a leaving of "the outspread world of nature, bright, wide, sparkling in sunlight, to enter the darkened chamber in which an agonized spirit struggles along against despair"—a "passionate cry of personal pain, a subjectivity almost pathological") or the complex riddle of the *Grosse Fuge* with its Mallarméan impenetrability (to Schindler "an anachronism" that "ought to belong to the primitive times when music was nothing but a mathematical combination," but to Sullivan a triumph which "more than anything else in music . . . justifies the ways of God to men").

A study of the quartets, then, demands the maximum of personal absorption, expressive skill, intellectual objec-

tivity, and critical tact in their interpreter; and they do so precisely because the elements of human relevance and intellectual prodigality are so richly and complexly blended in their existence. Anyone with a long experience of listening and reacting to them will be aware of the slow and tentative stages in his emerging comprehension of them, his self-identification with them. Aware also, in opening a book about them, of how treacherous verbal discussion of anything but their purely technical features may be. D'Indy, discuss-

ing how Beethoven moved from one key to another on its dominant or its subdominant, contrasted these effects by the words *éclaircissement* and *assombrissement*. He did so convincingly, but are "brightening" and "darkening" the words for another man's sensation at these modulations? Will, in fact, the hundreds of occasions that arise for characterizing motifs, modes, sonorities, textures, rhythms, modulations, and structures in a musical context ever succeed in catching a universally valid expression once purely technical descrip-

In London in the Twenties, there was a gifted young Englishman who decided upon a literary career. The first few things he wrote were, to be as honest as he is, not so good . . . he's glad to forget about them now . . . but when he started writing about himself, and his attempts to become a writer, he turned out to be very good indeed.



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diverting as anything Isherwood later wrote. If you liked "Prater Violet" or "The Berlin Stories" you'll want to get to know Isherwood himself through "*Lions & Shadows*." You'll find him quite as engaging as a personality as he is exceptional as a writer. "*Lions & Shadows*" has just been published for the first time in this country and costs \$3. Ask your bookseller to let you sample a few pages. That will do it.

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tion is abandoned? To ask these questions is to open the whole question of musical writing and its methods. Yet without such interpretative characterization discussion must lapse into the most arid of diagnoses. If the abstract jargonizing of a Helm, Riemann, or Paul Bekker is to be corrected, there arises the need of a critical and verbal sensibility among musical writers equaling, perhaps surpassing, anything achieved by interpreters of literature.

A book like Dr. Mason's calls, accordingly, for extended and detailed use—use with both printed scores and recordings—before its value can be exactly determined. I have so used it for only two weeks and thus have not fully determined the value its analyses, epithets, and judgments may eventually have for me. My present opinion is that he has done sound justice to the occasion his book is privileged to mark; that as the first full book in English on the quartets his volume is a good one, reasonable in its arguments, readably lucid and honestly compromising in rendering musical effects in words, judicious in curbing technical exposition, sensitive and suggestive—if not as trenchant as Tovey, as rigorous as

d'Indy, or as evocative as Sullivan—in descriptive analysis and thematic elucidation. I have not room here to quote the large number of his phrases and epithets that strike me as acute and just; so it would be unfair to quote those that strike me as missing their mark. But he has managed, better than all but two or three living writers on music, in winning and sustaining confidence for his interpretation and in fertilizing his views by quotations from men like Tovey, Sullivan, d'Indy, and practicing interpreters of Beethoven. His actual musical quotations in the text are few. Fuller examples would certainly aid the student, who must, meanwhile, go to such handy guides as the Oxford "Musical Pilgrim" series, to d'Indy's or Paul Mies's works, or of course to Tovey's superb essays. Dr. Mason might also have used recorded performances as a basis of his analyses, though considering how deplorably unreliable the recording companies are in keeping these in print, his avoidance of this practice is pardonable. He should, however, have given a critically annotated list of such recordings in an appendix; his lumping together of performing groups on page 6 is indiscriminate, though one is pleased to see the book dedicated to Adolfo Batti of the unforgettable Flonzaley Quartet.

The best feature of Dr. Mason's book is the balance it strikes between Beethoven as craftsman and Beethoven as man, intellect, and visionary, and in what it does to show that these Beethovens are inseparable, indivisible, organic in the music. Here the example of both Tovey and Sullivan has counted for much, and reveals Dr. Mason as an interpreter of human feeling and sensitive open-mindedness. That openness of mind and prepared responsiveness of intelligence is the least a student must bring to the quartets if he is to achieve through their illumination that "definitely new state of consciousness" which they, like only the highest triumphs of creation, make accessible to the devoted listener.

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MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

In the issue of December 6

The Nation will publish

Books of 1947

A SELECTED LIST OF

IMPORTANT BOOKS OF THE YEAR

All Over Jazz

WE CALLED IT MUSIC. By Eddie Condon. Narration by Thomas Sugrue. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

EDDIE CONDON, the guitarist who started the hot-jazz concerts in New York's Town Hall, has talked his musical autobiography to Thomas Sugrue. Sugrue has a fine ear for Condon's racy chatter and reproduces it, or the effect of it, with comic fidelity. He also interpolates a few sections in his own more intellectual tone of voice, purporting, among other things, to explain jazz in "understandable terms." These parts of the book I found a good deal less satisfactory. Having taken various unnamed persons to task for using technical terms—such as glissandi, antiphony, poly-rhythm—in the attempt to describe jazz, Mr. Sugrue then proceeds to some very highfaluting talk about the Negro unconscious—a region which would seem to call for a somewhat more tentative approach than it gets in his kibitzing paragraphs. Further, he leans considerably on those very technical terms he has excoriated in the mouths of others. Of course he does. One reason why technical terms exist in music is the fact that they have proved themselves of inestimable convenience for purposes of musical description. And one reason why jazz is so hard to explain to the layman is because it is a full-fledged musical language and he is unequipped with the technical vocabulary which would speed his understanding. To be sure, more than a technical vocabulary is needed. But that is true of any musical form.

However, Mr. Sugrue's arrogance toward other jazz writers may be forgiven; all jazz writers are arrogant toward others; it springs from the number of juveniles and nincompoops in the field—name your choices. Fortunately, Mr. Sugrue is largely concerned with the excellent reproduction of the sound of Eddie Condon's reminiscences, and since Eddie has been all over jazz, white, black, and mixed, the result is a stout piece of Americana. Hot jazz, an intense and unorthodox way of spending one's time, has always attracted men of a good deal of frenzy and eccentricity, the best of them remarkable lyric musicians, many of them comedians. The wry, ironic atmosphere in

which they live has seldom been better suggested than here. For years Red McKenzie was noted as a comb-and-paper player:

One night a customer asked what special paper he used to get such amazing sounds from a comb.

"I use the *Evening World*," McKenzie said. "It has a certain texture."

"The customer looked concerned. 'The *World* is being sold. It's going over to the *Telegram*. What are you going to do then?'"

"I'm going over with it," McKenzie said.

Once Condon and some of his cronies got a job in the pit of a movie theater in the Mexican section of Chicago:

We were supposed to watch the news-reel and play appropriate accompaniment; we seldom did. One night in the middle of "Clarinet Marmalade" I looked up and saw a French general placing a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The jazz temperament at its musical best was to be found in the late famous Bix Beiderbecke, and the portrait of

him here is probably the finest that has yet been published, from the moment he appears on the Condon scene:

The third was a kid in a cap with the peak broken. He had on a green overcoat from the walk-up-one-and-save-ten district; the collar was off his neck. He had a round face and eyes that had no desire to focus on what was in front of him. . . . I've made a mistake, I thought. I'm stuck with this clam-digger for two months.

Here, too, is Louis Armstrong as a youth in Chicago; here are scores more of the boys observed at first hand, and scores of savory jazz anecdotes, such as the story of the recording date on which Condon made "The Minor Drag" with the late Fats Waller. This magnificent jazz performance was schemed up in the taxi on the way to the recording studio; afterward the studio manager said, "This is an excellent example of the wisdom of planning and preparation." His entire misunderstanding of everything going on around him still has its parallels wherever hot jazz is

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played. To get at the gist of the matter, the newcomer will have to do a good deal of listening and reading, or its equivalent in talking. "We Called It Music" will help him to grasp the sort of men he's listening to. And, simply as a document, the book will delight the jazz enthusiast.

WILDER HOBSON

Next week in *The Nation's*

Christmas Book Issue

THE OTHER FROST by Randall Jarrell

Reviews

STEPHEN SPENDER: Edmund Wilson's "Europe Without Baedeker"

A. M. SCHLESINGER, JR.: Van Wyck Brooks's "The Times of Melville and Whitman"

ALBERT GUERARD, JR.: Arnold Zweig's "The Axe of Wandsbek"

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.: The Journals of Francis Parkman

Music and Dancing

THE STORY OF DANCE MUSIC. By Paul Nettl. The Philosophical Library. \$4.75.

MR. NETTL, formerly of Prague and Vienna, now at the University of Indiana, follows his subject from animal forms of music and dancing to Ballet Theater's "Fancy Free." The book does not tell this "story" in a readable way—it is far too respectable as musicology for that. What it offers is a 340-page compendium of musicological lore and musicological opinion proper to the field. But Dr. Nettl has also put into it many lively scraps of antiquarian information and has quoted as illustrations many snatches of dance tunes—obscure ones of the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. These brief illustrations, like a sheaf of musical snapshots, form the book's most vivid feature.

Among Dr. Nettl's specialties are the dance music of Gluck, Mozart, and Beethoven, dance tunes by forgotten Austrian and Czech musicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Viennese court festivities, Renaissance dance manuals, the origins of the waltz, Czech "nationalist" composers. In such byways students will find the work excellent for reference.

For the general reader it is fun to hear that Mozart danced Harlequin in a half-hour pantomime he arranged for a party at his house, and that Beethoven liked very much to dance though he never quite learned to keep time. But as a history of its subject the book is poorly proportioned, its chronological sequences are blurred, and the text is afflicted with generalizations such as: "The [ancient Hebrew] dance was accompanied by the voices of the women, who were the bearers of culture in the first thousand years before Christ," or "One may say that around 1800 the principle of the 'free will' passed over into the field of rhythm."

There are also weaknesses in a few special fields. Many of the generalizations about dance forms, for instance, strike this reviewer as nonsense. The scholarly descriptions of extinct social dances turn out to be hopelessly confusing. There is no discussion of the dance music of Purcell, of Berlioz, of Glinka, of that of the eighteenth-century

ballet composers, and almost none of Tchaikovsky's. The section on ballet history has many errors, and the well-meaning one on jazz is of little value.

But once these various drawbacks are clear—and in the present state of musicology they are not particularly shocking—they need not affect the usefulness of the immense mass of otherwise inaccessible material Dr. Nettl has so devotedly assembled and here offers as simply and as concisely as he can for the convenience of students.

EDWIN DENBY

All One

HOW TO BUILD A RECORD LIBRARY. By Paul Affelder. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.50.

THE author has organized this book around the idea that a person who does not much like good music may be brought to a deep love of it by dietetic control and encouraging remarks. Accordingly, his early chapters contain extensive lists of short, melodious compositions and brief, rhythmical snippets of the sort known at Radio City as "light classics." Here as elsewhere the growing child is informed what popular songs have justified the composition. Chapter IV introduces the Symphony, Concerto, and Fugue, and by subtle application of principle a host of such good things as the Venusberg music, Deems Taylor's "Through the Looking Glass" Suite, and the Bell Song from "Lakme." Unfortunately the author has forgotten to grade his remarks, and this diet is also accompanied by musical baby talk. Much of the commentary is merely odd, as when Mr. Affelder explains that the first movement of the Unfinished has "a touch of the dramatic" in it. At other times it is both odd and repulsive, as when he says that the D Minor of Franck is a "magic" symphony and that its "soaring melodies and rich, almost haunting harmonies have a wonderful inspirational quality about them, producing an exhilarating effect." The last quotation will serve as a fair example of Mr. Affelder's prose. For the rest it may be said that he has neither secure taste nor sound judgment. He does not greatly concern himself with the technical qualities of a recording, and he has no dislike of cut versions. Good and bad interpretations

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MOZART: Pf. Concerto No. 24 in C minor, K. 401
MOZART: Qt. in G, K. 387 (Roth Qt.)
Qt. in D minor, K. 421 (Budapest)
Qt. in Eb, K. 428 (Busch)
Qt. in A, K. 464 (Roth)
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are all one to him, as are good and bad performances. He recommends great works and boring efforts in about the same language. RALPH BATES

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

A "ALLEGRO" (Majestic Theater) is, of course, the most talked-of theatrical production of the season, and I offer somewhat belatedly my considered opinion. No one admired "Oklahoma!" more intemperately than I, and for that reason I have the less hesitation in letting myself go on the present occasion. "This," as one of the least respected of English critics said in a famous review, "will never do!" That the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein wanted to give us something different is all to their credit, but that they gave us what they did is certainly not. They have, more than most, the right to failure, but the truth should be told. "Allegro" commits the unforgivable sin of being tedious beyond endurance. Lack of humor is not in itself fatal; lack of spirit and passion and joy certainly is. What was intended to be important is only pretentious and languid. What was intended to be serious is only sentimental and platitudinous.

The whole conception of the piece—both the story which is told and the method chosen to tell it—seems unfortunate. If anything fresh can be said about a young man who realizes just in time that worldly success is not worth what it costs in dignity and self-respect, then the present authors have not said it; if there is a new musico-dramatic form waiting to be discovered, they have certainly not discovered it. What we get dramatically is a morality play with all the obviousness of "Everyman" but without the simplicity which makes obviousness tolerable; and what we get by way of a new musical form is something which, for the sake of alliteration, I am tempted to call a cross between Handel and Hollywood—by which I mean that the choruses permitted to relate so much of the story are really parts of a bastard oratorio; while the big ensemble scenes suggest nothing so much as one of the "production numbers" in a technicolor movie.

In a dim and distant past the Shuberts were responsible for one of the most egregious productions in all history when they gave to the world their modern morality "Everywoman." More recently George Kaufman, who, like

Rodgers and Hammerstein, suffered a momentary lapse, told essentially their story in "Merrily We Roll Along." From either the authors of "Allegro" might have taken warning.

That a composer and a librettist so

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talented and so knowing as those at present under consideration should both have failed to recognize the emptiness and the languor of their creation can only be explained on the assumption that they fell victim to what I now find myself habitually thinking of as the Christopher Blake fallacy. Like the Moss Hart play, which deserves to be regarded as a *locus classicus*, "Allegro" proceeds on the premise that "big" and "important" are the same thing, that any story given a sufficiently costly production becomes thereby an "epic," that it is not the proportion but the disproportion between means and ends which distinguishes good art from bad. Here the production is no doubt fearfully expensive and is certainly fearfully elaborate. There is a revolving stage, there are huge crowds of performers, and there are all sorts of scenic devices, including projected backgrounds. There are also ballets and tableaux as well as various strange dramatic expedients, such as a long painful stretch in which the audience, supposed to be identifying itself with the infant hero in his crib, is cooed at by the fond parents while he or it—this is specifically referred to in one of the choruses—wets his or its bed. But none of these things make the story any more impressive. They merely weigh it down and smother it under an intolerable weight of meaningless elaboration until one is ready to cry out, like the Queen to Polonius, "More matter and less art!" Understandably under the circumstances Mr. Rodgers' melodic

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inspiration appears to have deserted him, for the serious music seems, at least to my uninstructed ears, quite undistinguished, and of the occasional musical-comedy songs not one is nearly so good as half a dozen in "Oklahoma!" The whole thing, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along, and as my musical companion whispered to me about the middle of the first act, "This show was misnamed; it should have been called 'Largo Sustainato.'"

No doubt it is only fair for me to add the fact that though a good many spectators agree with me, some of the reviewers have hailed "Allegro" as a masterpiece. In any event, however, there is not much point in advising readers either to go or not to go, since the advance sale was so phenomenally large that no one who has not already bought his tickets is likely to be able to get any for many months to come. In my opinion, nevertheless, the case is very similar to that of the Ford car from which the engine had inadvertently been left out. For a thousand miles, you will remember, it ran on Mr. Ford's reputation.

Unfortunately this seems to be my week for belaboring the Theater Guild, and I must regretfully report that "This Time Tomorrow" (Barrymore Theater) is an even more obvious mistake, though certainly not one so grand a scale. Undoubtedly it was produced with the best of intentions and because of a genuine desire to give an experiment a chance, but the play serves only to recall the dismal days when such feebly mystical Germans as Hasenclever deluded the experimental producers of the twenties. "This Time Tomorrow" is about a tubercular girl with a gift of second sight. It is also about the search for a

cure for cancer, the folly of war, and the fear of death. I shudder at the thought of trying to give any clear account of what goes on in the course of its action, and perhaps it will be enough to say only two things. Near the end, when the girl has just been killed by the passionate embrace of the hero, he explains: "I kissed her in order that she would not know that the rat is dead." The other significant fact is simply that the moral of the whole turns out to be "God is love."

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

HERE is my list of the outstanding recordings of the past year:

Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No. 2; Boyd Neel Orchestra; English Decca Set 27, \$5.

Berlioz: Excerpts from "Romeo and Juliet"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set V-7 (vinylite), \$7, or 1160 (shellac), \$4. Royal Hunt and Storm from "The Trojans" (with March from "The Trojans" and Overture to Borodin's "Prince Igor"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; V Set 1141, \$4. "Roman Carnival" Overture; de Sabata and London Philharmonic; ED K-1552, \$2. Overture to "Beatrice and Benedict"; Sargent and National Symphony; ED K-1416, \$2.

Britten: Serenade for tenor, horn and strings; Peter Pears, Dennis Brain, and Boyd Neel Orchestra under the composer's direction; ED Set 7, \$7. "The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra"; Sargent and Liverpool Philharmonic; C Set 703, \$4.60.

Handel: "The Messiah"; Sargent, the

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Huddersfield Choral Society, Liverpool Philharmonic, Isobel Baillie, Gladys Ripley, James Johnston, Norman Walker; C Set 666, \$26.70. Overture and Pastoral Symphony from "The Messiah"; Sargent and National Symphony; ED K-1499, \$2.

Mendelssohn: "Fingal's Cave" or "Hebrides" Overture; Unger and National Symphony (violins lusterless); ED K-1120, \$2.

Mozart: Requiem; de Sabata, E. I. A. R. orchestra and chorus, Tassinari, Stignani, Tagliavini, Tajo; C. E. T. R. A., \$26. Symphony K. 551; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1080, \$5. Horn Concerto K. 495; Brain and Hallé Orchestra; C Set X-285, \$3.35.

Prokofiev: Symphony No. 5; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V Set 1095, \$6. Same work; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (better performance, recorded sound cold but more distinct); C Set 661, \$7.10.

Rimsky-Korsakov: "Russian Easter" Overture; Jorda and National Symphony; ED Set 28, \$5.

Rossini: Arias; Jennie Tourel; C Set 691, \$4.60.

Strauss: "Don Juan"; Beer and National Symphony; ED Set 15, \$5.

Stravinsky: "Petrushka" (complete work); Ansermet and London Philharmonic; ED Set 2, \$11; Suite from "The Firebird"; Ansermet and London Philharmonic; ED Set 30, \$7. Same (with an additional *pas de deux*, but without the beautiful transition to the finale); Stravinsky and New York Philharmonic (stronger performance, less richly recorded); C Set 653, \$5.85. Symphony in Three Movements; Stravinsky and N. Y. Philharmonic; C Set 680, \$4.60.

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 5; Kletski and Philharmonia Orchestra; C Set 701, \$8.35.

Wagner: Prelude to "Die Meistersinger"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-9385, \$1. "Siegfried-Idyll" and "A Faust Overture"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1135, \$5.

To these I would add the RCA Victor reissue of Battistini's recordings of arias from "La Favorita" and "Marta" (15-1010, \$2.50). And for hot jazz, Columbia's reissues of performances by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Five (Set C-139), and by Bix Beiderbecke and the Trumbauer Orchestra (Set C-144).

The new Collegiate Chorale recording of Bach's B minor Mass (V Sets 1145/6, \$19) was on my list; but I was led to remove it by the results of further listening to it. In Hunter College there was room for the sound to spread out, and therefore for the contrapuntal lines of the instrumental and choral textures to be heard clearly and followed in their progression; in the recording they are jammed together into solid masses of instrumental or choral sound in which they cannot be distinguished and followed. Moreover, the recording reveals not only Shaw's failure to create clarity and musical continuity in the texture but his failure even to shape and inflect the mass of sound: it is beautiful, but it is mostly on one high level of volume; and while again this was not so apparent and disturbing in the hall, the cumulative impact of the concentrated sound from the record is hard to stand. Also, the chorus blankets the orchestra as it did not in the hall.

Other works that I did not include on my list because of defects of performance or recording are Bach's Cantata "Christ lag in Todesbanden" sung by the Collegiate Chorale (V Set 1096, \$4; disturbing noises and distortions); Bach's Suites Nos. 2 and 3 played by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (V Set 1123, \$6; No. 3 poorly played); Beethoven's Violin Concerto played by Szigeti with Walter and the New York Philharmonic (C Set 697, \$7.10; badly recorded); Handel's Concerti Grossi played by the Busch Chamber Players

(C Set 685, about \$34; poorly played, harshly recorded); Mozart Sonatas for violin and piano played by Alexander Schneider and Ralph Kirkpatrick on the violin and harpsichord (C Set 650, \$8.35; occasional pounding and clatter by Kirkpatrick, harsh recording); Mozart's Quartet K. 493 for piano and strings played by Szell and members of the Budapest Quartet (C Set 669, \$4.60; poorly recorded); Mozart's Quintet K. 593 for strings played by the Budapest Quartet and Katims (C Set 708, \$4.60; badly recorded); Mozart's Quintet K. 581 for clarinet and strings played by Kell and the Philharmonia Quartet (C Set 702, \$5.85; poorly played and recorded); Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 450 played by Kathleen Long with the National Symphony under Neel (ED Set 25, \$7; poorly played and recorded); Schubert's Piano Sonata Opus 122 played by Kathleen Long (ED Set 26, \$7; poorly played and recorded); Mozart arias sung by Pinza with Walter and the Metropolitan Orchestra (C Set 643, \$5.85; orchestra poorly recorded); Schubert's Symphony No. 9 played by Walter with the New York Philharmonic (C Set 679, \$8.35; not at all well played, poorly recorded).

Corrections: What the recorded sound of Toscanini's performance of the "Romeo and Juliet" excerpts lacks is not, as the printer had it last week, *expressive* but *expansive* sensuous warmth. And it was the Budapest Quartet's old H. M. V. Victor recording of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 2, not No. 3, that I referred to.

CUMULATIVE NEWS INDEX

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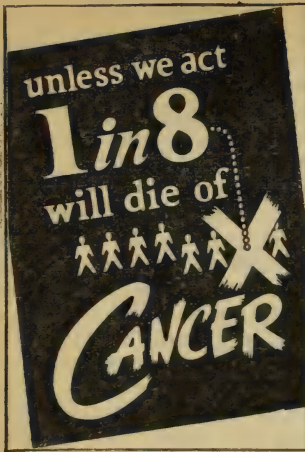
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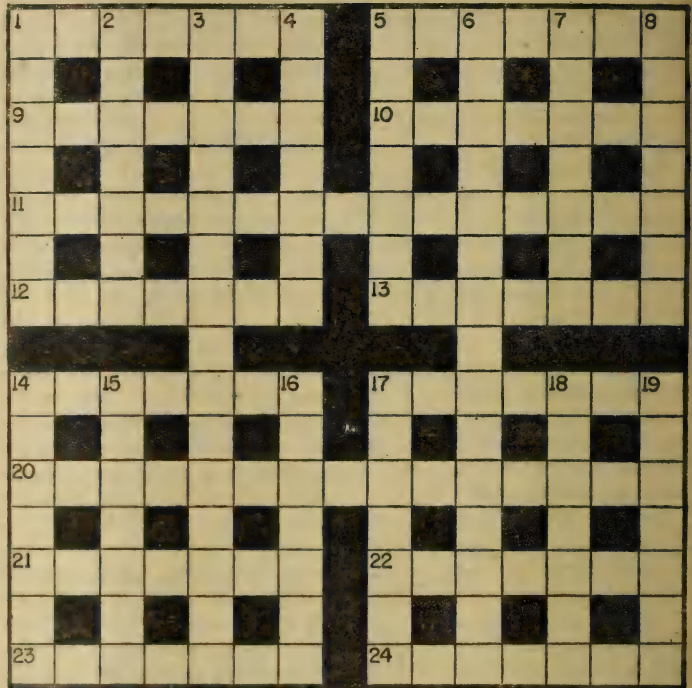
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Crossword Puzzle No. 238

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 For the material-minded, it's a broken bed with an eccentric front. (7)
- 2 Pours out, making quite a fuss when disturbed by the fee involved. (7)
- 3 House that has had many addresses. (15)
- 4 What to feed tin monkeys? (7)
- 5 Found in buses to Niagara. (7)
- 6 Dentists' offices? (7, 8)
- 7 Resting easy after getting the point of this? (7)
- 8 Fruit trees are. (7)
- 9 You can put stock in this—it's found near diamond-bearing territory. (7)
- 10 The counter is entirely in a row. (7)
- 11 Similarly, how a man of letters conducts himself. (15)
- 12 Tramps for sale! (7)
- 13 Sounds bored, but perhaps boded well. (7)
- 14 Settle around a town. (7)
- 15 Cotton sheets are kind of average. (7)
- 16 Makes mistakes all around and yet these jobs get done. (7)
- 17 Proverbially straightforward. (7)
- 18 A pressing matter. (7)
- 19 Sealers, often found tight at the best joints. (7)
- 20 Question-tracers in surveys of public land. (15)
- 21 Stimulate in what men live near. (7)
- 22 Worship sounds like Buddha's jewels (with an oriental slant!). (7)
- 23 They make a short distance in a boat. (7)
- 24 They don't rate enough to fly them. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Sounds like a cubby-hole in tidy shape. (7)
- 2 Bad French song? (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 237

ACROSS:—1 VERISIMILAR; 9 SERAPHIC; 10 CURISM; 11 ALGIER; 12 ABIGAIL; 14 ASSENT; 15 RESIDUES; 17 OUTSTRIP; 20 DEMISE; 22 MINUTES; 24 ASHTRAY; 26 POLICE; 27 RHAPSODY; 28 CASSOWARIES.

DOWN:—2 EXAMINERS; 3 INHERIT; 4 INCH; 5 INCUBUS; 6 and 8 AS BIG AS LIFE; 7 REALMS; 13 DRAPE; 16 DEMITASSE; 18 UNISON; 19 REEFERS; 20 DESPAIR; 21 STANDS; 23 UTICA; 25 DRAW.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE LONDON CONFERENCE OPENS IN AN atmosphere heavy with prospects of stalemate. Relations between Russia and the West have worsened rapidly since the Foreign Ministers deadlocked in Moscow, last April. There, the impact of the Truman Doctrine, announced just before the conference began, flattened out whatever conciliatory impulses the Russian leaders may have had—and a few such were reliably reported at the start. Today, American policy has been stiffened, in Russian eyes, by our insistence on the United Nations Balkan commission and by the "imperialist" purposes concealed in the Marshall Plan. On the other side, America has set to work to resist the Communist offensive with every political weapon at its command, in the U. N. and in every country where Russian interests clash with ours. This will be reflected in London, to complicate the issues left unresolved last spring. Moscow's plan for a centralized Germany is still in sharp conflict with the British-American plan for a federated German state and the French plan for a loose union of states. Russian and French proposals for international control of the Ruhr run directly counter to the program of the Ruhr's present rulers, which anticipates full German management under Anglo-American top direction. The old clashes on reparations are sure to recur. And over the whole debate will hang the vast uncertainty created by the Marshall Plan. If Congress comes through with even the first instalment of the proposed twenty-odd billions, Western Europe, including Western Germany, will be more or less insulated against Communist activities and Russian influence; whereas a Europe losing ground economically and denied adequate financial help from America will listen more willingly to Moscow's plans for coordinated Continental trade based on bilateral agreements. With the Marshall Plan still in the laps of the Congressional gods, the Foreign Ministers can do relatively little. For all of us must know that the future of Europe is being decided, not in London, but in Washington.

✕

EXCLUSIVE OF THE COST OF FOOD IMPORTS and emergency aid, western Germany will receive some \$2,200,000,000 during the next four years if General Clay's estimates, published last week, are accepted; the money will be used, under the terms of the Marshall program, for industrial rehabilitation. These estimates, it

seems, are not new. They were confidentially submitted to the sixteen-nation conference in Paris, presumably after the premature publication of the plan to raise the level of German production had thrown the Western representatives into a state of alarm and provided the Eastern group with their best reason for boycotting the conference and the Marshall Plan. What the conference thought of the proposed donation is not reported. Obviously, the idea of appropriating more than two billion dollars for "our" zones of Germany is acceptable only if the money is used in ways which will contribute directly to the recovery of Europe as a whole and particularly of countries which were overrun by Hitler. Under no circumstances should it be pumped into businesses operated for private profit; American taxpayers' dollars can be put to better purposes than providing dividends for German industrialists and bankers. Any profits resulting from American contributions to the Marshall Plan should be used to take Germany off the relief rolls and restore its productive capacity within the boundaries set by the governing powers. All this adds up to one simple proposition: that German big industry, in so far as it is to be revived, should be socialized—owned and run by public corporations under Allied control. This obvious formula for preventing the birth of a new crop of fascist-minded German capitalists is, unfortunately, not likely to be applied by a nation which has just turned the Ruhr coal mines over to Germans to run while forbidding nationalization for at least five years. By the end of that time, the old system, supported by American funds, may again be firmly entrenched. Thus, like a feeble-minded child, history repeats itself.

✕

LEON BLUM MADE A VALIANT EFFORT to rally a "third force" for the defense of Republican institutions, but his uncompromising opposition to the extremists of both right and left led to his defeat. Where he failed, Robert Schuman, a veteran member of the Catholic M. R. P., has succeeded, though the government he has formed would seem to be precariously based. It includes representatives of all parties except the Communists and Gaullists, which makes it a very heterogeneous body. The new Premier's problems are illustrated by the difficulties he encountered in filling the key Ministry of Finance. His first choice for this post, Paul Reynaud, the Prime Minister of 1940, was vetoed

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 239

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by the Socialists, who objected because of his well-known view that the way to deal with the desperate economic situation was a return to orthodox financial policies. Similar opposition to René Mayer, the final choice, was overcome only when Schuman agreed that his program would be based on a compromise with Socialist principles. The struggle between *dirigisme*—economic planning—and free enterprise is clearly destined to continue inside the Cabinet. Yet decisions cannot be long postponed. France is being paralyzed by a wave of strikes which, even if they are promoted to forward Communist political ends, tend to gain support because of genuine discontent with wages that have lagged far behind the cost of living. Some concessions will have to be made to the workers, but a new general advance in wages can only result in still greater inflation unless really drastic steps are taken to check profiteering and unlock hoards of goods and foreign currencies. It seems unlikely that a weak government, wavering uncertainly between the principles of socialism and free enterprise, will prove capable of freeing France from the vicious economic circle in which it is unhappily imprisoned.

✱

GENERAL BENNETT E. MEYERS APPEARS TO have been guilty of every crime of malfeasance a general in war time is capable of committing. He speculated in war bonds, at a profit of \$90,000; while acting as a procurement officer in the Army Air Forces, he not only owned aviation stock but was the secret organizer of a company which received juicy war contracts and charged the government \$44.58 for fuse boxes worth \$11. He covered his tracks by the use of devices as grotesque as they were revolting. It would be hard to invent three characters as unbelievable and as shoddy as "Bennie" Meyers, Bleriot Lamarre, and his wife, the general's secretary; while the fact that the plot was played out in the higher reaches of the A. A. F. during World War II is so fantastic that it is no wonder the testimony before the Senate War Investigating Committee, much of it obviously made up of shabby lies and counter-lies, has read like a monstrous joke. Indictments will follow—the "clever" General Meyers is open to at least seven charges, including war fraud, perjury, subornation of perjury, and bribery—but no one will ever explain why Lamarre settled for so little and why "Benny" Meyers's fellow-generals were so convinced of his "integrity." The only reassuring aspects of the sordid affair are that it has been exposed and that Meyers had to resort to such elaborate maneuvers to hide his crimes—which would indicate at least that they were not common practice among generals. Yet the story stands. It is not likely that the disabled veterans who sat through the recital will forget it—or General Arnold's tears wipe out a word of it.

THANKS TO THREE PERSISTENT LAWYERS and a small but vigorous sector of the press, the State Department has been saved from committing an inexcusable breach of justice, not to say decency. Two weeks ago, seven of its former employees stood condemned as "potential security risks." Confronted by no statement of charges, denied all chance to defend themselves, and deprived of the right of appeal, they faced the drastic penalty of joblessness without having enjoyed those legal guaranties which any backwoods magistrate would grant a burglar caught cracking a safe. Paul Porter, Abe Fortas, and Thurman Arnold, their attorneys, appealed to the department either to give the seven a fair hearing or to let them resign, a modest request but one that Assistant Secretary Lovett arbitrarily turned down. Bombarded by the press—most effectively, we think, by the *New York Herald Tribune*—Secretary Marshall last week sent the department into a sudden reverse. Not only have the seven been allowed to resign "without prejudice," but employees who, in the future, find themselves similarly condemned are assured an appeal to the newly established Loyalty Review Board. We are not satisfied that full justice has been done in the case of the seven, who have still been fired without a hearing, but the department's about-face is encouraging. We take it as a sign that, even in the present heated atmosphere, high-handed officials may be held within bounds by determined citizens and vigilant newspapers.

★

FOR REPRESENTATIVE HOFFMAN OF Michigan, the press is apparently too vigilant. Protected by Congressional immunity, that gentleman can and frequently does blast away at any of his fellow-citizens with whom he finds himself in disagreement. But from now on, any writer who returns the fire by way of the public press may find himself summoned to Capitol Hill to explain himself to the gentleman from Michigan. "Every time one of these papers charges a committee of Congress of which I am chairman of unfair or disreputable conduct or something of that kind," he warns, "the writer of that article, if I can find him, is going to be called up to justify his charge." Writers for the *Washington Star* and the *Washington Post* have already been called for questioning before Mr. Hoffman's private bar of justice. The Congressman, a savage opponent of the New Deal, always struck us as at least a defender of the rights of the individual business man against the encroachments of government, but he appears to take a different view where his own branch of government is concerned. We know of absolutely no right under the Constitution or the law whereby a Congressman may summon citizens to Washington to account for criticisms of their representatives. We suspect Hoffman knows of none, either, or he would not have added the remark that "if that's wrong,

well, it will have to be wrong." It is high time the courts made clear to the Hoffmans of Capitol Hill that they are the paid servants of the people and not their judges.

★

IN THE END, THE SPANISH RESOLUTION adopted by the General Assembly was watered down to suit the taste of the American delegation. In the Political Committee, the nations opposed to the single surviving fascist state in Europe had scored an important victory (commented on last week by Mr. del Vayo) by forcing through a vote reaffirming the anti-Franco resolution of last December and asking the Security Council to continue to exercise vigilance in a situation whose gravity had not diminished. This was accomplished in the face of open American opposition. In the plenary session, the paragraph reaffirming the Assembly's previous action failed by one vote to get the required two-thirds. Primary credit for this small service to Franco goes to Carlos Romulo. In one of the most cynical performances any assembly of serious people ever witnessed, the Philippine delegate voted "no" on the critical paragraph about an hour after declaring publicly and oratorically his decision to reverse the negative vote he had cast in the Political Committee and support the resolution. By that single switched vote, procured no one quite knows how, the second paragraph met defeat. But even after this sorry exhibition of back-tracking, the effect of last year's decision is legally unimpaired. This was promptly pointed out by Dr. Oscar Lange who, immediately after the vote, rushed to the platform to remind the Assembly that the resolution of last December, not having been rescinded, remained in force. This view was challenged by only one delegate, the verbose Sr. Arce of Argentina, whose government long ago showed its contempt for the Assembly by sending a new Ambassador to Madrid.

Beacon or Monument?

MANY of the mutual tariff concessions embodied in the twenty-three-nation "General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs," negotiated at Geneva, will become formally effective on January 1, 1948, but it will be years before we can assess its practical results. Today, it is not tariff walls that are impending the entry of American goods into other lands: it is the almost universal shortage of dollars. Nor is it existing American tariffs that prevent a large expansion of imports into this country: it is rather the inability of foreign producers to meet demand. Until these conditions change, the main objective of the agreement—the growth of profitable multilateral trade among nations—cannot be realized.

A question raised by some skeptics is whether that objective can ever be realized, whether the agreement

will not prove merely a massive monument to a dead economic system. In support of their doubts, they point to the ever-growing network of bilateral trade pacts, not only between Russia and the states in its bloc but between the Western nations. They observe that devices abhorrent to the whole spirit of the Geneva meeting, such as quotas and discriminatory deals of various sorts, are being more and more widely adopted. On the very day that the agreement was published, Canada, one of the strongest advocates of the principle of multi-lateralism, announced that reduction of its dollar reserves necessitated a quota system specifically designed to check imports from the United States.

The discrepancy between the precepts of the Geneva pact and the current practices of many of the signatory nations was not blithely ignored by the draftsmen of that instrument. On the contrary, it was their knowledge of the new barriers to world trade that were constantly arising which spurred them on. They knew that such barriers could not be swept away in a day, that they were essential defenses for many nations whose international trade positions had been knocked out of kilter by the war. But they wanted to insure, if possible, that post-war emergency measures did not become frozen into a permanent pattern.

With this end in view, the general clauses of the new agreement include the prohibition, in principle, of a number of practices that offset tariff reductions and vitiate any system of free, multilateral trade. Thus provision is made for equal tax treatment of imported articles, for the regulation of anti-dumping duties, for common standards in customs valuations, and so forth. Of still greater importance are the bans placed on trade quotas and on the discriminatory treatment of imports from different nations.

However, these bans are not absolute. They could not be, for no nation would be willing to sign away its right to adopt quotas in emergencies. But the agreement does provide that nations availing themselves of this right will follow definite rules and procedures. So if France, say, wishes to restrict imports by imposing quotas in order to safeguard its balance-of-payments position, it must consult with other countries affected and with the International Monetary Fund. The Fund, also, is accepted as the ultimate authority in all findings of fact relating to balance-of-payment problems. Again, the agreement seeks to insure that, when discriminatory quotas are permitted, it will be on a temporary basis. It therefore provides that, after March 1, 1952, nations will annually review their economic positions, and, if balance-of-payment difficulties have ceased to exist, will end discriminations within six months.

These are just a few examples of the way in which the agreement tries to reconcile current necessities with the ideal of unrestricted freedom of world trade.

Whether the long-term optimism which inspires it will be justified depends on present efforts to promote recovery in Europe and Asia. If these succeed, and the lopsided state of the world economy is corrected, history may record that the Geneva agreement of 1947 was not a monument to the past but a beacon for the future.

Who's on the Spot?

THERE seems to be a disposition in some quarters to regard President Truman's anti-inflation proposals as nothing more than a mean trick designed to embarrass the Republican Party. Cries of anguish from G. O. P. leaders in Congress were to be expected as a matter of course, but we were surprised to find the detached Walter Lippmann referring to the rationing and price-control recommendations as a "partisan monkey wrench." The President, he writes, played the statesman in his appeal for aid to Europe, but "on inflation, he was, alas, the politician and the candidate trying to put the other party in a hole."

This analysis, it seems to us, is, at best, wide of the mark and, in any case, irrelevant. The argument is that if the Republican-controlled Congress gives the President the powers he asks, he will be credited by the voters with whatever benefits ensue and the Republicans will only have confessed to the grave error of having killed the OPA in the first place. If they reject the proposals, on the other hand, and prices remain in the stratosphere, as they are likely to, the Republicans will be at an even greater disadvantage before the electorate.

What this interpretation overlooks is that the Republican Party is already "in a hole" as far as prices are concerned. Its leaders said repeatedly and emphatically last year that, if only the OPA were abolished, prices would come down and free enterprise would take care of everything. But since the middle of 1946, as the President pointed out in his message to Congress, the over-all cost of living has gone up 23 per cent, with retail food prices 40 per cent higher than in the days of the OPA. It was evident in this month's elections that the Republican tide of 1946 had already ceased to run, a phenomenon that can only be attributed to the monumental blunder of the Tafts and Wherrys in lifting the lid on inflation. What Mr. Truman has actually done, then, is to give his opponents a second chance. They ought to be grateful instead of crying "politics."

It may be argued, moreover, that if the Republicans really believe controls would be ineffective, it is they who can put the President on the spot rather than the other way round. Indeed, some of them appear to be flirting with this notion. Senator Taft himself, for example, has suggested that "it might be better for Congress to give the President the power which he demands."

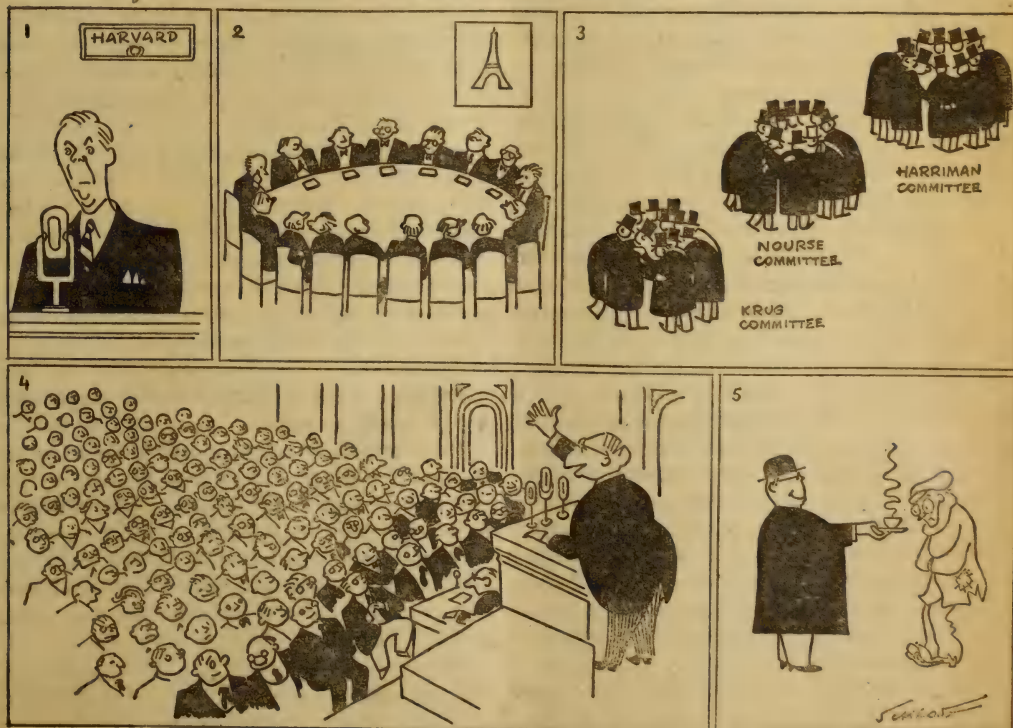
... It could only result in failure, and a revolt of public opinion against any man who is trying to enforce the law." And another party stalwart talked darkly of letting Mr. Truman "stew in his own juice." The truth is that the President has made himself especially vulnerable, in a political sense, by the particular formula he proposed. Congress would merely authorize him to apply price ceilings in "a relatively few danger spots." It would be entirely up to him to decide which commodities were to be affected and when. Thus the entire burden of applying the power would be on him; he would have to produce results in an election year—or else.

This interpretation obviously points to the conviction that the President, having no ulterior political motive, genuinely wants the program he outlined to Congress. And it is at this point that his opponents logically, if uncharitably, recall his comment of a few weeks ago to the effect that price controls are characteristic of the police state. That was an extraordinarily inept remark, which may now do his cause untold harm and for which there is no defense. We can only conclude that, since he made it, the President has been severely jolted by the reports he has seen and the cogent arguments of certain of his advisers. Elsewhere in this issue, the reader may put himself in the President's place by reading a few of the findings of several Congressional committees, cited in the article by I. F. Stone. When it is remembered

that these reports were drawn up by Republicans, devoted to the freest of free enterprise, it will be all the more understandable that the President should have reversed himself. Some of these Republicans are themselves shocked at the appearance of fabulous profits and the simultaneous emergence of new sectors of acute want in the population. In consequence, as Mr. Stone points out, a growing number are in rebellion against the moth-eaten bourbonism of the Taft leadership.

On top of these reports, Mr. Truman is reliably reported to have experienced strong pressure from his own political family. If it was the voice of the Forrestals, Snyders, and Andersons that spoke in the "police-state" pronouncement a few weeks ago, it is that of the Hanne-gans, Schwellenbachs, and McGraths that prevails today, backed up by the dire warnings of the President's Economic Committee.

In the last analysis, however, the request for power to impose limited controls, as well as the milder anti-inflation devices suggested by the President, must not be argued on the basis of either campaign tactics or individual motives. They form the minimum domestic program, needed to support a genuine policy of European rehabilitation—a policy so obviously appealing that it has won the tribute of lip-service, at least, from the whole section of American opinion that lies between the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Daily Worker*.



TOO MANY COOKS

The G. O. P. Discovers Poverty

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 20

LAST summer two subcommittees of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report held field hearings on the price situation, one in the East, the other in the Middle West. Each of these subcommittees had a Republican chairman. The one which toured the East was under the chairmanship of Senator Flanders of Vermont, an intelligent, liberal business man in the machine-tools industry. The one which toured the Middle West was under George H. Bender, Republican Congressman-at-large from Ohio.

Their reports indicate why there is dissatisfaction inside Republican ranks with the dogmatic and demagogic position taken by Senator Taft in opposition to all but the most minor and least controversial aspects of the President's anti-inflationary program. This dissatisfaction must not be overestimated politically. Taft is the most powerful single figure in Republican Congressional councils. The revolt against him is covert, marginal, and confused, and since the Democrats in Congress, and even within the Cabinet itself, are not united behind the Truman price-control program, there is little doubt that Taft will succeed in his campaign to commit the party to foreign aid in principle but to block the domestic measures needed to make it fully effective. But by next spring, after new wage increases, some strikes, and a poor winter-wheat crop, there may be a different story.

With the Flanders and Bender reports it is useful to examine the preliminary reports of the House Special Committee on Foreign Aid, known by the name of its active vice-chairman, Christian A. Herter (Rep., of Massachusetts). The reports of the Herter committee deal with the immediate crises in France and Italy and with the availability of coal, steel, fertilizer, petroleum, and grain for foreign relief. The Flanders, Bender, and Herter reports, taken together, provide a vivid picture of the contradictions, economic and political, which hobble the efforts of a society which is at once capitalist and democratic to protect itself and its allies at one of the turning-points of history. They demonstrate that the crisis with which the special session has been called upon to deal is as much a domestic as a foreign crisis; that the planning which free-enterprise forces so strongly resist could do much to alleviate this crisis; and that the problem of meeting emergency needs abroad is inextricably linked with that of expanding basic capacity here so as to maintain full employment.

The Herter reports reflect the strategy of American big business and finance, but the Flanders and Bender reports reflect the impact of inescapable facts and demo-

cratic pressures at home on some of the more thoughtful younger Republicans. There is an air of naive surprise about the Flanders report, for this subcommittee's wanderings became a voyage of discovery. The discovery was of the reemergence of a desperate poverty in the midst of an unparalleled boom, a poverty created by soaring prices and coupled with a rate of profit so high as to shock even Republicans.

WE HAVE found," the Flanders report says, "that important information is concealed in the averages with which the statistics deal." The information is that a "substantial part" of the American people "is not enjoying an adequate standard of living under present circumstances," that "the high average consumption of such things as meat conceals both serious waste at one end of the scale and undernourishment at the other." The Flanders subcommittee found that food prices have gone so high as to "limit . . . purchases of clothing and other necessities of life" by a "substantial group," among which are not only Negroes and those normally thought of as the more poorly paid but many white-collar workers, including "teachers, social workers in general, and the younger clergymen." The report adds, in a tone of muffled thunder, "The pressure toward radical economic and social doctrine on these important groups must be strong indeed."

The danger, as these Republicans found it, was more than ideological. "There is danger," the Flanders report says, "that the reduction of the proportion of income available for commodities other than food may have a disruptive effect on our whole economy." Nervously the subcommittee realized that there was some connection between this danger and current profits. It comforted itself with computations which show that although food-industry profits are extraordinarily high in terms of net worth, they take only a minor part of the average consumer's dollar.

These computations may not comfort the consumer as easily as they did the committee; one company cited, while it was making only 3.6 cents on the sales dollar, was earning 59 cents before taxes and 36 cents after taxes on each dollar of its net worth. This is profit with a capital P, and there is more than coincidence between such profit and the new proletariat uncovered by the committee. Even the committee, after its sales-dollar computations, says there are areas in food, textiles, clothing, and consumer durables "in which profits will not so easily withstand public scrutiny." The committee hastens to add apologetically that "in questioning prices

at this time we are going contrary to the spirit of the free-enterprise system." It pleads in extenuation that "at this particular time in the world's history, with the overwhelming importance of inflation both for our present safety and the present safety of the world, we have reached a period in which both wages and profits take on an aspect of public interest which is abnormal." From a Republican source this is quite a plea.

THE growing distress at the bottom of American society and the rash and greedy profits being drawn at the top are likewise reflected in the Bender report. This also spells out one of the basic dilemmas in which the American economy finds itself. It both needs and fears abnormal requirements abroad for its goods. The Bender subcommittee says that the business men who appeared before it expressed "deep and genuine concern over price rises, although"—and this is a graphic qualification—"their testimony may not have struck the same personal note" as that of the low-income groups. The business men "were fearful that an acceleration of the

inflationary spiral would hurl us into economic chaos"—a general fear, be it noted, which does not prevent most business men from fighting effective control.

But while abnormal demand from abroad on top of full employment at home threatens disaster, disaster is also feared from cessation of this abnormal demand. "It is recognized," the Bender report says, "that the wheat supply-and-demand situation is such that if foreign shipments were not being made at the present time the bottom would literally drop out of wheat prices." This would "soon result in lower dairy and poultry and meat prices." A downward spiral might thus be set in motion throughout the economy. This makes it easier to understand the Bender subcommittee's conclusion that "despite an inflationary pressure we cannot and should not refuse requests from abroad based on humanitarian appeals." It adds, "*Especially in view of the United States bumper wheat crop and the short European crop we should undertake emergency shipments of food and fuel this winter.*" The italics are mine; the humanitarianism is Bender's.

Is Atom Control Obsolete?

BY LEONARD ENGEL

DURING the past few months atomic energy's promise of boundless prosperity has been more and more obscured by the atomic arms race and the mounting fear of an atomic war. Nevertheless, with every passing day new possibilities are opening up for the use of the atom as a source of power. The latest is offered by a new kind of atomic pile, based on the fission of plutonium by fast neutrons, recently completed at the Los Alamos atomic laboratory.

The new Los Alamos pile, the eighth to go into operation in the United States, will make possible smaller, more compact atomic-power plants. It also points toward a new, extremely economical atomic-energy process fueled by thorium, which is three times as abundant in nature as uranium.

Its promise is wrapped up in the phrase, "fast neutrons." And I am afraid it will take some explaining to make clear why a fast-neutron pile is of such great economic and political importance. The key to atomic power and the atom bomb is the neutron, a tiny particle which is one of the fundamental constituents of the atom. Neutrons make up half or more of the central

parts or nuclei of all atoms except hydrogen and are responsible for the energy-producing miracle of fission. The nuclei of uranium 235 atoms, for example, when struck by neutrons, are shattered, and some of their "binding energy" appears as heat. The shattering of the nuclei also releases additional neutrons, which cause other U-235 nuclei to undergo fission in turn; and so on in a swift chain reaction.

U-235, plutonium, and one or two other materials of lesser importance are extremely unstable and may be shattered by slow, low-energy neutrons. In fact, all piles so far built except the new one at Los Alamos operate on slow neutrons and have "moderators" to slow neutrons down lest an undesirable side reaction take place. Now, materials fissionable by slow neutrons are by no means the only ones with potentially useful binding energy. Binding energy is locked away in all heavy elements, such as gold or lead. But these elements are comparatively stable and can be shattered only by fast, high-energy neutrons.

The energy of neutrons is measured by a unit titled formally the M. E. V. and informally the "crocodile"—a humorous tribute to the late Lord Rutherford, the British atomic pioneer, whose booming voice warned students he was coming as the ticking of the watch swallowed by the crocodile in "Peter Pan" warned the crocodile's intended victims. An M. E. V., or crocodile,

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is a million electron-volts. U-235 and plutonium are fissionable by neutrons with energy as low as a forty-millionth of a crocodile. Fission of gold, on the other hand, requires neutrons of at least seven crocodiles.

The new Los Alamos pile generates fast neutrons with energy of about one crocodile. This is plainly not enough to split atoms of gold. But it may be adequate to tap the energy of thorium, for the fissionability threshold of thorium has been found to be 1.1 crocodile or less.

BY ITSELF this fact—that pile-generated fast neutrons are probably powerful enough to crack thorium—does not guarantee a new atomic-energy process. A chain reaction is a compound of several factors, of

which the energy of the neutrons is only one. In addition, fission of thorium must release *enough* neutrons, and thorium must absorb *enough* neutrons, to keep the reaction going. No one can be certain that thorium meets these requirements, for its properties have still to be thor-

oughly investigated; during the war atomic-energy research was overwhelmingly concentrated on uranium and plutonium. However, thorium resembles uranium and plutonium in the properties that have to do with neutron production and fast-neutron absorption. Thus the outlook for atomic energy from fission of thorium by fast neutrons is bright.

In recent months thorium has been mentioned frequently as a potential fuel for atomic piles. This refers to a proposal to make uranium 233, which resembles U-235, from thorium, just as plutonium is made from uranium 238 in the great piles at Hanford, Washington. One day U-233 will doubtless be made as a by-product of atomic-power production, but fast-neutron fission of thorium itself would be much cheaper.

Before saying more about atomic energy from thorium, I want to touch on the other promise of fast neutrons. As mentioned above, all piles save the new Los Alamos unit employ a moderator—bricks of highly purified graphite in most American piles and heavy

water in the Canadian government pile at Chalk River, Ontario; and both heavy water and highly purified graphite are expensive. Hence the fast neutron pile, which has no moderator, is simpler and less costly.

This brings us to an important point. In the endless debates over atomic energy, figures are often presented to show that atomic power will not be economical. The basis of these figures, so far as they have any, is the production process used by the United States during the war, without any allowance for new developments. But new developments that promise incredibly cheap power are already in prospect, at least at the level of "pure" science. The fast neutron pile, though far and away the most important, is only one. If no atomic-power plant is in operation in 1950, it will not be for want of scientific knowledge. It will be the result of politics—of the long-drawn-out fight over the Atomic Energy Act and Lilienthal's chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission—of industry's lack of interest in non-military atomic research, and of our continuing preoccupation with the development and manufacture of weapons.

TO RETURN to thorium. Like uranium and plutonium, thorium is a metal. It is nearly as abundant as lead. Every country has an ample supply of ore. Thorianite (65 per cent thorium), the richest thorium ore, is found principally in Ceylon. Monazite sand, which used to be mined extensively for thorium for gas mantles, is found in India, Brazil, Australia, Malaya, and the United States. Other important thorium ores occur in the Belgian Congo, Madagascar, Norway, and the U. S. S. R. And every ton of granite, one of the world's most common rocks, contains between one-third and two-thirds of an ounce of nuclear fuel—mostly thorium, but with some uranium—an amount that is certainly capable of economical extraction, since gold, a less valuable material, has long been profitably taken from ores in which it assays only half an ounce a ton. Workable thorium ores are far more widely distributed than workable ores of uranium.

As a matter of fact, the wide distribution of thorium, coupled with the fact that it is as easily made into bombs as into power plants, raises a vital question with regard to international controls. A few weeks ago the American Association of Scientific Workers presented to the United Nations a memorandum on biological warfare which pointed out that "BW," potentially even more destructive than the atom bomb, is inherently incapable of control. The raw materials of biological war are everywhere, and the basic techniques are known to every biologist. Only peace can provide security against it.

This is equally true of the atom bomb, for a control plan is essentially a device, and no device, however fool-proof it seems, can take the place of what is in the hearts of men. If men really work for peace, no control plan



will be necessary; if they don't, in the end no technological scheme will save them. Sooner or later new discoveries are bound to upset the technical considerations underlying any control scheme. This may already be happening to the Baruch plan as a result of the discovery of controllable fast-neutron fission.

The Baruch plan calls for control of thorium mining, but its real basis is the monopoly of technical "know-how" and of high-grade uranium ores by an international atomic authority. No monopoly of knowledge, however, has ever endured, and the uranium-ore monop-

oly is being chipped away before it is established. It will be immeasurably more difficult to keep a watch on the world's thorium resources than on its uranium ores. Instead of a dozen mine sites, the authority will have to watch hundreds; instead of a regiment of inspectors, it will need an army. It seems to me it would make more sense to work for settlement of our differences with Russia. Then we could put away the bombs and the fear of atomic war, and take advantage of the fast-neutron pile—and the other opportunities which scientific advance offers to mankind—for the purposes of peace.

Italy's New Fascists

BY MARIO ROSSI

[Left-wing rioters in Italy are attacking fascist and near-fascist meetings, breaking up the offices of rightist organizations, staging parades and demonstrations. De Gasperi's centrist government, attempting to restore order by police action, blames the Communists for instigating the violence. The Communists on their part attack the government for its refusal to eradicate organized fascist elements which they claim have provoked the workers into acts of reprisal. Last week, in a stormy debate in the Assembly, the Communist deputy Giuseppe di Vittorio said, "The only way to avoid civil war is to suppress fascism and abolish its press."]

The following account of fascist activities by our Rome correspondent provides a revealing background for the events of the last two weeks.]

Rome, November 3

A FEW days before the municipal elections in Rome I happened to be in the Piazza Santi Apostoli, just around the corner from the Palazzo Venezia, from whose famous balcony Mussolini once enjoyed addressing the populace. A platform had been erected in the square, flags were flying everywhere, and a large map of Italy leaned against the side of a palace. Soon people began to gather around the platform, and as the notes of Puccini's beautiful Hymn to Rome came from a loudspeaker the crowd seemed to be moved by a kind of mystic exaltation. They were middle-class people for the most part, with a few workmen, many wearing decorations acquired in the war against the Allies. That was the mark of their patriotism, and everything around them was meant to remind them to be "patriots"—not only the flags but the posters pasted on all the walls in the neighborhood urging them to "Honor Italy," "Love Italy," "Work for Italy." A big banner explained that the meeting was sponsored by the Nationalist Movement for Social Democracy, whose emblem is the map of Italy. One poster said, "Don't abandon the country to hyenas and jackals brought into Italy by foreigners," meaning the anti-Fascist exiles who returned after the war.

The crowd stopped singing and began to applaud when Italy's outstanding nationalist, Emilio Patrissi, appeared on the platform. With the easy elegance of a skilful demagogue Patrissi entertained his audience for about an hour. He told them that they were right and everybody else was wrong—that the left would lead the country to destruction and that the conservative Liberals were scared. Nor did he spare the *Uomo Qualunque* front. Having broken with Giannini, whom he did not consider enough of a "patriot," Patrissi was bitter against him and his party. When his speech was over, the crowd again sang the Hymn to Rome and then moved to the Piazza Colonna, where another fascist meeting was being held, sponsored by the Italian Social Movement. Here democracy, the republic, and Parliament were violently slandered amid wild cheers from the crowd. Some deputies on their way to the Constituent Assembly in a building at one corner of the square were handled roughly.

It would be unfair to the Italian people to attach too much importance to manifestations of this kind. Still, it is significant that today a sizable number of persons are not ashamed to tell you how much happier they were under Mussolini. Something must have happened; at the end of the war no one in this country dared to admit former Fascist connections, and those who could not hide them took pains to give all sorts of excuses. The Italian people had taken Allied propaganda seriously. They truly believed that a new Italy was to be built on the ruins of fascism; they placed their trust in democracy. Rightly or wrongly, they now believe that the Allies did not mean what they said and never intended to keep their promises. Italians expected democracy to perform miracles, and when it did not, began to mistrust democratic procedures. Some of the parties formed since the liberation are ably exploiting this feeling. With the exception of the Liberal Party all the rightist parties are post-war products.

By introducing the idea of the "administrative state," run by technicians only, and by denying politicians any role in it, Giannini rallied to the *Uomo Qualunque* many people who had collaborated with fascism and hated being reminded of it by anti-Fascists. Their argument was that they had worked for the good of the country and, not caring about politics, were willing to do so again irrespective of who was in power. This was not quite satisfying to the extremists in the *Uomo Qualunque*, who wished the party to save as much as possible of the positive program of fascism; they broke therefore with Giannini and under the leadership of Patrissi and others formed the Italian Social Movement and the Nationalist Movement for Social Democracy.

TO LEARN more about these groups I went to see Giovanni Tonelli, who claims to have inspired the Italian Social Movement. Now editor of *Revolta Ideale*, Tonelli had been a reporter for *Giornale d'Italia* until the day after the King dismissed Mussolini on July 25, 1943. I put the following questions to him and received these answers:

Q. Who do you think was responsible for the last war?

A. Roosevelt. His only aim was to conquer the European markets for American capital.

Q. You implicitly deny that the war was ideological?

A. Yes. The war was a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles and not of so-called Italian and German imperialism. Germany and Italy, being proletarian nations, had an ideal to defend against American and British plutocracy. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms were an infamous mockery.

Q. Would you have preferred an Italian-German victory?

A. Obviously. And not only for ideological reasons; also because I am always on the side of my country, whether right or wrong.

Q. What do you think of the partisans?

A. The rank and file was made up of poor fellows dragged into the movement by force or deceit. The leaders were traitors to the fatherland.

Q. What about the King and Badoglio?

A. They were super-traitors; so were the Italian speakers for Radio London and Radio New York.

Q. What do you think of fascism?

A. Fascism cannot be considered apart from Mussolini. He had an irresistible fascination and was able to bind the Italian people to him. Fascism was a great thing under Mussolini. There was collaboration among classes then.

Q. How much of Mussolini's Fascist program would you revive?

A. First, the cooperative idea. This idea is bound to triumph not only in Italy but throughout the world. It means no class war and a government run by technicians, not politicians, whom nobody knows anyhow. Second,

its love of country: we must be free within our borders and get back Trieste, Briga, and Tenda. Third, its national dignity—Italy had great prestige under Mussolini.

Q. And what would you reject of fascism?

A. Its bossism. We didn't like to have so many *gerarchi*. Nor did we like restrictions on the freedom of the press.

Q. What do you think of Mussolini's last experiment, the Italian Social Republic?

A. It will be remembered for the "Eighteen Points of Verona," the finest social document ever written.

Q. Now that the peace treaty has been signed, how do you feel about America?

A. We still hate the British but feel kindlier toward the Americans. They are trying to keep bolshevism out of Europe, and this is also our aim. So far America has won a battle but not the war. The war will be won when Russia has been defeated.

These are the views of the fascist movement in Italy today. The present neo-fascism is the projection of Mussolini's eighteen points, and they in turn were based on his 1919 program, which he said the King had prevented him from achieving. Of course, today as in 1919, fascism must hide its real face. Should it proclaim aspirations to dictatorship, the government, however lenient it felt, would have to intervene.

The core of these parties is formed by the forty thousand or so Fascists released from jail by amnesty and by special legislation which was itself confused and was made more so by the benevolent rulings of the courts. Fascists sentenced to death for collaboration with the enemy were frequently freed overnight and given their old jobs; some even got their back salaries. Fascism has also attracted the embittered veterans of a lost war.

UNFORTUNATELY, the openly recognized fascist parties are not the only such movements in Italy. There are also clandestine organizations: some purely local, others with a central organization and branches in most Italian cities. Among the latter the Fasces of Revolutionary Action (F. A. R.) is the most important. This was founded on October 28, 1946, on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the March on Rome, when a proclamation in the underground paper *Rivoluzione* declared: "In the supreme interest of renewing the energies and efforts of all clandestine groups which have up to this moment struggled for the defense of Mussolinian principles, we are forming as of today the Fasces of Revolutionary Action." To obtain funds, F. A. R. members and sympathizers are subscribing to a loan called *Prestito della Riscossa* (Loan for Revenge). In Milan the F. A. R. works hand in glove with the local Democratic Fascist Party, which had an hour of international renown when it stole Mussolini's body. Its organ is *Lotta Fascista* (*Fascist Struggle*). Wealthy industrialists still longing

for a Fascist monarchy are its chief financial support. Last June the police arrested a number of F. A. R. members in Rome, but a "communiqué" appearing in the clandestine paper *Mussolini* was reassuring. "The high command," it said, "has the situation under control, and the organization has not been affected."

Closely connected with the F. A. R. is another organization called *Squadre d'Azione Mussolini* (S. A. M.), which is said to be partly financed by Spanish Falangists. Milan is said to have sixteen such neo-fascist groups.

Many monarchist and Fascist generals boast that they head a "powerful" organization which at the proper moment will start fighting. The Anti-Communist Clandestine Army, which has connections with the F. A. R. and the S. A. M., is said to be able to count on 2,000 armed men. The League for Uniting Anti-Communist Patriots is believed to have large caches of arms. This organization seems to have close connections with the Italian Social movement and claims to get support from America. One of its leaders has declared: "In case of a conflict between America and Russia, the sole hope for us Fascists, there will come into operation a program reached in agreement with certain Americans: (1) fascism will watch the rear of the American army, preventing Communist sabotage by liquidating the Com-

munist Party; (2) the United States will give us back Briga, Tenda, Trieste, and the colonies, and will fully support the Italian Social Movement. Our movement is made up 80 per cent of Fascists and 20 per cent of monarchists."

The Political Section of the police is certainly aware of the existence of these clandestine movements but does not seem much interested. Perhaps it believes they will gradually disappear as political and economic conditions become more normal. Or perhaps the police do not dare touch the powerful industrialists and high officers and clergy who are secretly behind those organizations but at the same time have very good connections with the Christian Democratic Party. Since the conservative wing gained control of that party, all rightist movements and individuals have felt encouraged.

It is interesting that the clandestine monarchist organizations are counting on fascism to bring back the king. Official monarchist organizations, of which there are six or seven in Rome alone, contain many former Fascists.

Movements with a similar ideology may exist in the United States, but in a healthy democratic society they do not grow strong. In Italy, still unstable and weak after a lost war, taking its first steps as a republic, such organizations can create conditions that lead to civil war.

Earl Warren—a Likely Dark Horse

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, November 19

GOVERNOR EARL WARREN of California is now officially a candidate for the Presidency and will go to the next Republican convention with the important California delegation in his vest pocket. For months now Warren has been holding open house in Sacramento for other would-be candidates, greeting each visitor with a great show of cordiality but maintaining an impeccable neutrality. It must have occurred to these candidates as they returned from the Sacramento pilgrimage that the principal consequence of their visits had been to enhance Warren's reputation. The thirty-five correspondents who accompanied Taft to California wrote as much about Warren as they did about the Senator from Ohio. In one sense Taft, Dewey, and Stassen have already run and been defeated in the West, for none of them succeeded in striking fire. In his role as the genial host Warren has neatly disposed of his principal oppo-

nents by simply exposing them to the intense light that shines in California.

In the scramble for delegates candidates can make reasonably accurate counts for the Eastern, Middle Western, and Southern states, but in the West politics by calculation breaks down. Here are the "free" delegations that will tip the scales. California has the largest delegation in the West, and in a close election the vote in California could prove decisive. Not only will Warren have the California contingent in his pocket, but his active support would probably carry the state for any Republican nominee with the exception of Taft. He is obviously the strongest candidate the Republicans could nominate for the vice-presidency, and he is also a likely "dark horse" for the Presidency. Should he fail to win either nomination, he would seem assured of the post of attorney general, which he is said to covet.

JUST what manner of man is Earl Warren, the outstanding Republican in the Western states today?

The question is a difficult one to answer simply, not because of any complexities about Warren but because the political background from which he stems, the kind

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of politics he has been compelled to play in California, is most complex, and only by reference to this background can he be understood. There are really no political machines in California, and party regularity has been reduced to a minimum by a system of cross-filing, in effect



Seligson

Governor Warren

since 1911, which permits a candidate to enter the primaries of both parties. While a similar system is found in five other states, party organization in these states has been strong enough to counteract the confusion inherent in the system. But, for many reasons, party loyalty has not been strong in California since Hiram Johnson defeated the Southern Pacific machine, and

heavy immigration has given the cross-filing system there a unique significance. More than half the Congressional delegation and two-thirds of the state legislators are regularly elected at the primary by capturing both party nominations. This has made for a type of free-wheeling politics in which every candidate is out for himself and, since he hopes to win in the primary, usually poses as a "non-partisan." The lobbyist has replaced the party boss or machine politician. It is also important to keep in mind that state senators are elected from districts divided on the basis of territory, not population, so that Los Angeles County, for example, has only one state senator. Liberal governors may come and go, but as long as this basis of representation prevails, the lobbyists will have a firm control of the state senate.

In 1938 the prospect for the Republicans in California looked bleak. Outnumbered two to one, embarrassed by an inept governor, their decrepit machine in a state of collapse, they were scraping the bottom of the barrel. Having failed to develop any new leaders, they decided to reconvert an old one. Up to this time Californians had known Earl Warren as a professional Republican politician—a stereotyped district attorney, a product of the Knowland machine in Alameda County, the man who had headed a Hoover delegation to the Republican convention in 1936. To the amazement of the people, this tight-lipped, unsmiling district attorney suddenly became the most affable of candidates for the attorney generalship, with a new smile, a new chuckle, and an eager if somewhat awkward bonhomie. It was during this campaign that Warren was first photographed splashing around in the Pacific with his numerous brood during

the annual grunion run in Southern California. Nowadays word that the grunion are running is certain to bring the Warrens to Santa Monica for the annual action photographs.

Though he had been given a new political personality, Warren's performance as attorney general was quite in keeping with his record. He was the chief fingerman in the campaign to exclude the Japanese from the West Coast. Appearing before a Congressional committee, he urged immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent and went so far as to say that the American-born generation, the product of California schools, was more dangerous than the alien generation. He also ruled that residents of Farm Security Administration migratory-labor camps in California lacked legal residence and could not qualify as voters. As attorney general, Warren was a member of the Water Project Authority, and as such he voted against a series of measures designed to carry forward the Central Valley project. Certainly nothing that he did during his four-year term as attorney general was out of character. He performed as one would expect a protégé of Herbert Hoover and Joe Knowland to perform.

IN FACT, it was only after he was first elected governor in 1942 that Warren really began to cultivate a new political personality. This he was, in effect, compelled to do, for his one chance of defeating Governor Olson lay in his ability to capture a large section of the heavily preponderant Democratic vote. With party discipline reduced to a minimum, only a liberal-appearing and "non-partisan" Republican could have won in 1942. Once in office, Warren began to impersonate Hiram Johnson and surprised many people in California by seeming to champion certain liberal or reform measures. But when his record is examined in detail, it is apparent that his new liberalism is largely rhetorical.

For example, in 1945 he proposed a huge highway-construction program to be financed by raising the gasoline tax. This brought the unsavory "oil interests" into the drama as sordid villains opposing a righteous chief executive. Raymond Moley, in an article entitled *Battle Royal in California*, gave a thrilling account of this sham struggle. "Not since Hiram Johnson's battles with the Southern Pacific," he wrote, "has anything like this been seen in California." But he omitted to point out that, ironically, the Southern Pacific was heartily in favor of Warren's proposal. With some form of highway expansion inevitable, the Southern Pacific was quite willing to saddle the tax burden on its principal competitors, the independent truckers. In this instance Warren had not "opposed the vested interests" in the early Johnson manner; he had merely isolated one lobby with the active support of the rest. But it was, nevertheless, a clever and perfectly staged performance.

Today Governor Warren's reputation as a liberal in California rests largely on his advocacy of a compulsory health-insurance program, the one major social reform he has sponsored in his six years as governor. If he wished to gain a reputation as a liberal, Warren could not have chosen a better proposal to back; nor could he have found a safer issue to toy with politically. Of course, the ire of the doctors was aroused, but the practice of medicine is not big business, and the medical lobby is one of the less powerful lobbies in Sacramento. Warren "fought" for this proposal as he "fought" against the oil companies—firmly enough to give an appearance of advocacy, but not with sufficient energy to force a show-down.

Warren's current performance in the role of a latter-day Hiram Johnson has been so good that it has kept his liberal opponents in a strategically impossible position. It is difficult to prove a negative, in politics as elsewhere. For example, Bob Kenny found in 1946 that it was very difficult to prove that Warren had *not really* fought for some of the measures he had proposed. The appearance of support had just enough verisimilitude to seem convincing. A well-disciplined minority in the legislature might have forced a real test of Warren's sincerity, but the Democratic legislators, like Warren, are "non-partisan" cross-filers, each man out for himself. In less affluent times also a real test might have arisen, but all during Warren's six years as governor California has been enjoying great prosperity.

Where tests have come up, as they have in a few cases, Warren has not stood his ground. In his first speech before the Conference of Governors he expressed unalterable opposition to allowing Japanese American evacuees to return to the West Coast, and as late as July 2, 1943, he warned the federal authorities that another Pearl Harbor disaster would follow the return of a single evacuee. When the state Board of Agriculture, on the motion of Dr. Paul S. Taylor, adopted a resolution urging fair play, he promptly replaced Dr. Taylor and issued a statement expressing intense annoyance with the resolution. But by the end of 1944 he realized that race-baiting, of the political variety, was no longer popular in California, and he became an advocate of "tolerance" and fair play. At the first real test, however, he promptly welched. He not only refused to support a Fair Employment Practices measure in the legislature but artfully sabotaged it by urging the appointment of a committee "to study the problem." Later, when an FEPC measure was placed on the ballot as an initiative proposal in 1946, he maintained a profound silence.

With a record of opposition to the Central Valley project as attorney general, Warren surprised many Californians by appearing before a Congressional appropriations committee in the spring of 1947 in support of the budget requested by the Bureau of Reclamation, which included a request for funds to construct public trans-

mission lines. But as recent articles in *The Nation* have pointed out, a serious power famine had developed on the West Coast by March of this year. When one realizes that private-utility executives on the West Coast also urged passage of the bureau's budget—executives who had been fighting the bureau as late as December, 1946—it is apparent that Warren was playing safe, conservative politics. On the crucial issue of the Central Valley project—whether the 160-acre limitation, which would force large land-owning concerns to dispose of their "surplus" holdings, will be retained—he has cannily said nothing.

During his first term as governor Warren tried hard to overcome the reputation of being anti-labor which he had earned by his prosecution of King, Ramsey, and Connor in the famous "ship-murder" case in 1935. He managed to avoid taking either a pro-labor or anti-labor position and was supported for reelection in 1946 by the state Federation of Labor. Shortly after his reelection, however, he was forced to declare himself. In rapid succession he permitted a "hot-cargo" bill to become a law without his signature and signed a bill outlawing jurisdictional strikes. Today the A. F. of L., with the exception of the Teamsters' Union, has turned against him. "Labor can expect nothing but opposition from Governor Warren," announced W. J. Bassett, secretary of the Central Labor Council in Los Angeles; "the friendly cloak of hypocrisy has been discarded and the true spots of the Republican leopard are now exposed."

ALTHOUGH Warren has not added a single major social-reform measure to the statute books in six years as governor, he has given the state an efficient and honest administration. The most skilful of politicians, he never ventures a comment on any issue until he has determined exactly where the balance of power rests. His statements are shrewd, carefully considered, and economically phrased. It is his practice to settle each issue as it arises and never to say or do more than the immediate situation requires. On the whole question of foreign policy he has kept completely silent. Having an excellent understanding of the state he governs, he has consistently avoided involvement in "red hunts" but has never combated any that were being conducted. Essentially, he is a very able conservative politician, not a reactionary. Unlike a Bricker, for example, he would not set the clock back; but he would never advance it a second unless he felt compelled to do so by a clear majority opinion. On the record the occasional liberalism which he has shown since 1942 must be dismissed as opportunistic. But as Henry James once demonstrated in a famous short story, the impersonator often makes a better model than "the real thing." Ordinarily this is true only in art, but in California, as Morrow Mayo has observed, sincerity, like virtue, is one of the arts.

U. N. Box Score

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, November 22

THE Assembly opened when the Dodgers and the Cardinals were battling for first place in the National League. It is ending as New York's first Christmas trees are coming out on the sidewalks. All that remains to be settled is Palestine.

As delegates are getting their reservations on ships and planes or making last-minute forays into the Fifth Avenue shops, they must be asking themselves what they have been doing for the past ten weeks.

On Friday afternoon Mr. Vishinsky, in a final sunburst of oratory on the veto question, took time out to list some of the Assembly's achievements—achievements in which the Soviet delegation took very little joy: a watch-dog commission for the Balkans, an election commission for Korea, an all-year-round Little Assembly to keep an eye on matters that might flare up and cause unpleasantness, a recommendation to the Security Council to consider again some black-balled applications for membership. All these actions, Mr. Vishinsky thought, had been attempts to pull the Charter out of shape, to make the world safe for American imperialism.

There were other achievements, of course. Eventually the three vacancies on the Security Council were filled; Mrs. Pandit's graceful withdrawal made it possible for delegates to view with good humor the replacement of Dr. Lange of Poland by Mr. Manuilevich of the Ukraine. The Trusteeship Council was brought up to strength after some jockeying among the colonial powers, and a new trusteeship over a small Pacific island was set up. But there was no trusteeship for South West Africa: the Assembly watered down a weakened Indian resolution reminding South Africa of its obligations as a good member of the United Nations. There was the shocking emasculation of the anti-Franco resolution. There was the successful fight to defend next year's budget from crippling cuts. There was the allocation of \$30,000,000 to the International Children's Emergency Fund—when \$200,000,000 had been originally called for—and Chester Bowles's appeal to do the bigger job by voluntary contributions through the U. N. Appeal for Children.

It is not a very impressive record. I came out to Lake Success this morning with a young French journalist. The news from France deepened the gloom that had been building up in him over the past weeks. "The worst thing about this Assembly," he said, "is its effect on nations like mine. The French really believe in the United Nations. To them it was the one hope of the world. They are losing that hope. We expected during these weeks to see the rift between the East and the West, between Russia and the United States, made narrower. It has been

widened." Then he said: "Both countries are basing their foreign policy on the same kind of false premise. Russia is counting on an American economic collapse; the United States is counting on a Russian political collapse. Both are wrong. From that kind of false reasoning only evil can come."

People will remember this Assembly for its political fireworks. The Russian and other Slav orators have been the most voluble, colorful, vituperative. In the war-mongering debate, for example, their attacks on prominent Americans were so ferocious that their victims appeared by contrast to be halo-crowned pacifists. And it is just shockingly bad politics to put George Marshall in a class with former Governor Earle, or to link together Senator McMahon and W. R. Hearst. The same broad criticism may be made of their debating tactics on almost every controversial issue. Their talk won over the doubters—to the other side.

The other side, of course, had the votes: they did not need to do much talking. Thirty-eight or forty to six became the familiar division, with a dozen or so abstentions. But the Russians made a mistake in believing that these votes simply represented successful American whip-cracking. In many cases an American proposal would never have carried a two-thirds' majority had it not been substantially modified by middle- and small-power action in committee. The Balkan-commission resolution had the guilt clause eliminated. The small powers insisted on passing a resolution against war talk in all countries after a slanted Russian resolution had been killed. The Interim Committee as first proposed by the Americans had such loosely defined powers as to be wide open to the Soviet charge that it challenged the authority of both Assembly and Security Council. As it was revised, the Little Assembly resolution established a body well within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. In fact, in all cases in which a majority vote was answered by a Soviet boycott the increased functions assigned the Assembly were well within the scheme of the Charter and were no more than might be expected in an organization responding dynamically to a changing world.

While the over-all picture, therefore, may not seem bright—and until Washington and Moscow lose some of their hysteria it will not be bright—this Assembly has shown a certain toughness. In the case of Palestine, where Russian-American accord was reached, it showed some competence for constructive international action. The United Nations is not going to collapse tomorrow. Nor has Russia shown signs of wanting to pull out. Moreover, we have seen in the Assembly the emergence of a middle force devoting itself more to finding ways to make the United Nations function than to trying to gain a victory for one side or the other. The Russians would be wise to recognize this force as a war check, a solvent in a world hardening into antagonistic divisions.

Del Vayo—Needed, an East-West Conference

FOR many weeks past we have been in a curious situation; one morning we wake up to read the report of some authority on foreign affairs that Europe is about to be politically overrun by the Russians; next morning we are told that the Communists and the left generally are in disorderly retreat. Confronted with such contradictory diagnoses, it is rather difficult to arrive at a cool, objective view. But I would like to cite just a few facts to reinforce my obstinate belief that Europe is moving in the direction of socialism, no matter how many incidental and transitory setbacks may occur; and that a rapprochement between East and West, if only on economic matters, is nearer than the majority of people think.

Those who insist the European left is in retreat seem to believe that a couple of papal pronouncements, a few injections of dollars, and some aids to reaction like the American attitude on Spain in the General Assembly will be enough to liquidate socialism on the old Continent. To this line of thinking I would like to oppose a single, in my opinion, more important fact. De Gaulle has won to his side in France the center parties and a large section of the worried, depressed middle class; he has not succeeded, as Hitler and Mussolini did, in winning a comparable proportion of the workers. The same goes for De Gasperi. In post-war France and Italy the workers have refused to respond to right-wing appeals. The present Communist-led labor offensive, the strikes and demonstrations, may be dangerous and strategically foolish, but a careful study of what has happened in Italy, for example, in the last two weeks shows that both methods and objectives are different from those of the left in the time before the March on Rome. Then the Italian workers tried, through seizure of the factories, to establish socialism by force; this time they are using force against what they consider a threat of fascist revival. Having once made the experiment of succumbing to fascism without recourse to violence, they do not wish to repeat it. The more enlightened of them must realize that to call De Gaulle or De Gasperi a fascist is a distortion, but they rightly fear, in the light of the past, any kind of Schuschnigg or Brüning government which might open the way to fascism.

This temper of the working masses is the new fact in the situation. Of course it is painful to see the Communists concentrating their attacks on the Socialists, repeating the same tactical blunder which in Germany led to disaster; it is little more encouraging to see so many Socialists acting like the old stupid Social Democrats of pre-war years—considering every battle won against the Communists a great victory even if the benefit goes solely to reaction. But even here one discovers a new attitude on the part of the Socialist rank and file, a determination to resist the unnatural alliance of Socialists with their rightist "grave-diggers." In France the mere proposal of a Reynaud-Blum Cabinet met with flat disapproval in the Socialist membership; in Italy Saragat, though he has not much of a mass following to lose, hesitated for many days before joining the Gasperi government.

On the second point, the prospect of at least a limited rapprochement between East and West, I feel justified in insisting that such a thing is not only possible but bound to come. The initial step in such a development would be taken on purely economic grounds, but with political repercussions sure to follow.

Paradoxically, the Marshall Plan itself, although in its present stage universally regarded as a makeweight against Russia, will tend to encourage closer relations between East and West. The decisive facts are given in the report of the sixteen nations, which envisages a balance of nearly four billion dollars in favor of Western Europe in its trade with Eastern Europe and other "non-participating" countries. The sixteen nations worked out their program in Paris after Molotov left and in full knowledge of the atmosphere existing in the United States in regard to Russia and its satellites. They knew very well that the idea of economic collaboration between West and East would not be agreeable to those who hope to use the Marshall Plan primarily as an instrument against Russia. Yet the force of economic necessity prevailed over political considerations. The alternative is clear: either the United States takes on the whole burden of financing Western Europe, or it limits that responsibility by encouraging the reestablishment of trade and other sorts of economic cooperation between the West and the East. And the moment you begin to build up trade, you bring Eastern Europe indirectly into the Marshall Plan; the barrier is cracked and the first step taken toward better political relations.

A healthy approach to the problem of helping and reuniting Europe would be to call a conference of economic experts from both the Western and Eastern countries to find practical means for applying the recommendations of the Paris report. It is not enough to be willing to accept much-needed Polish coal for the factories of the West. The production of Polish coal can only reach a level sufficient to take care of a reasonable part of Western Europe's needs if Poland receives from America the machinery required to increase its output. The Paris program assumes "the anticipated reappearance of traditional exportable surpluses in the U. S. S. R. and Europe." Only a few weeks ago, and in spite of the aggravation in the general international situation, France was asking Russia for wheat because the French bread ration was in danger of having to be reduced even below the present 200 grams. West and East are being driven closer together as hunger and cold prove stronger than political antagonism.

This idea of an economic conference including all Europe is not a piece of wishful imagining. Delegates to the United Nations Assembly last week were confidentially talking among themselves about such a possibility. It was suggested that the European Economic Commission might call it, in that way averting the political difficulties that would confront Secretary Marshall if he were to take the initiative in such a move while Congress was still discussing his plan.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Does This Make Sense?

A RECENT American Military Government report stated that while industrial output in most European countries had been restored to about 90 per cent of the pre-war figure, German production, taking the four zones together, was no better than 40 per cent of what it was in 1936. In the American zone the figure was around 45 per cent, but in the industrially much more important area occupied by the British it was considerably lower.

All plans, not only for preventing Germany from becoming an expensive slum supported by outside charity but for the general recovery of Europe, depend on the rapid improvement of these figures. Economically, Germany cannot be separated from its neighbors; in order to prosper they need both its products and its markets. As the report of the sixteen Western European nations on the Marshall Plan put it when explaining the lag in recovery during the past year: "Further advance from the levels of the autumn of 1946 would, in any case, have been difficult in view of the continued inability of the German economy to supply the coal and other products upon which so much of Europe's economic life depends."

Since the American and British zones were unified for economic purposes, the occupation authorities have striven manfully to get industry back on its feet. The difficulties they face can hardly be exaggerated. Fuel, power, and raw materials are scarce; transport is near the breaking-point; the monetary system is chaotic; malnutrition saps the workers' energy, and the consumer-goods famine robs them of incentive.

With so many obstacles to surmount, it seems strange that the occupation authorities should have conjured up a new one. Yet a few weeks ago they published a list of 682 plants in "Bizonia" which were to be dismantled forthwith so that their equipment could be distributed in reparations. Of these plants, 302 are said to be strictly war factories, and the necessity for their destruction cannot be gainsaid. However, there seems to be a ruling requiring the blowing up of such structures after their machinery has been removed. This surely is unnecessarily wasteful in a country already half-buried in rubble. Cannot any of these buildings be used as warehouses or for other peaceful purposes?

Three hundred and eighty of the plants on the list are doomed as "surplus" in the light of the new level-of-industry plan, which provides for an ultimate German industrial capacity equal to that of 1936. Among them are steel mills, metal-working and machine shops of all kinds, chemical factories, shipyards, and power stations. Some of the selections appear extremely arbitrary. Why, for instance, should the Henckel soap-powder plant be included when the soap shortage in Germany is acute? Germans, reports H. N. Brailsford in the *New Statesman and Nation* of October 25,

are convinced that the reason is the normal strong competitive position of this firm in export markets.

The outstanding economic problem of Western Europe and of Germany is the fuel shortage, and a vital element in all reconstruction plans is the maximum possible increase in the production of the Ruhr mines. At first sight it would appear that the dismantling program will not directly affect the mines. However, Mr. Brailsford was told by a mine union leader that no fewer than ninety-seven plants on the list supply equipment—winding gear, pumps, conveyor-belts, coal-cutting machines, and so forth—to the mines.

The parlous condition of German transport, intensified by the drought which has halted river and canal traffic, is another major bottleneck. Nevertheless, Mr. Brailsford learned, the reparations schedule includes a plant considered so vital for repair and reconstruction of freight cars that it has top priority for coal and power.

Defending their policy, the Anglo-American authorities point out that they have drastically reduced the original reparations schedule of 1,600 plants. This downward revision followed the decision last August to raise the permitted level of industry in "Bizonia" to that of 1936—a fairly prosperous year. Consequently Military Government officials feel that the outcry in Germany about the new list is quite unjustified. Moreover, they claim that "surplus plants" have been selected "with great care to insure that a balanced German economy, capable of self-support and of making a large contribution to the rehabilitation not only of Germany but also of Europe, is left in Germany."

In a recent statement General Clay, American Military Governor, asserted that the dismantled factories will serve Europe equally well after transplantation to other countries. This argument disregards a number of important factors. Dismantling and reassembling a factory is an expensive and time-consuming operation: it probably means that production is stopped for a year or more. It also involves a large unproductive use of man-power and transport facilities. And when finally set up in its new location, with a totally new body of workers, the plant will very probably be less efficient than before. Russia's experience in the bodily removal of industry from eastern Germany has not been encouraging, and its policy now seems to be to leave plants in Germany and take a large part of their production as reparations.

Anyone advocating modification of reparations policies is apt to find himself accused of encouraging German rearmament and of wishing to relieve the Germans of punishment for their crimes. Personally, I believe there are better ways—strict control of imported raw materials, for example—of preventing German rearmament than the dismantling of factories. As to making the Germans pay, I am all for it, but I want payment in ways that will contribute to Europe's recovery, not hinder it. The dismantling program means inevitable loss of output from the listed plants and, what is more serious, dislocation of production in the interrelated industries which are theoretically untouched. An industrial complex such as exists in western Germany is organic; if you start to extract segments, you upset its whole balance. Countries entitled to reparations will gain in the long run by allowing Germany to become an efficient producer and then taking as payment a share of its production.

In the Wind

WHICH PART," asked the Wind, shall we give to the Parkway Community Council, of Brooklyn?"

"What has it done?" asked the Candle.

"Scheduled a forum on the topic Must We Aid Europe? and announced that Earl Browder and Hamilton Fish will share the platform."

"Oh," said the Candle. "Give it a drumstick."

"Well, then," asked the Wind, "What shall we give Morgan L. Fitch, of the—you know—National Association of Real Estate Boards. Mr. Fitch tells us that 'our housing shortage is actually a measure of today's high standard of living.'"

"Give Mr. Fitch a small wing," said the Candle. "And some burnt feathers to William E. Russell, Sr., chairman of the board of the Lawyers' Mortgage Company, of New York, who told Representative Gamble's housing investigation committee that 'I was born in a substandard house, and I am not satisfied that we need to eliminate such houses.'"

"Who gets white meat?" asked the Wind.

"The editor of the *Transvaaler*, a South African newspaper," answered the Candle. "For writing this editorial: 'By an overwhelming majority the students of the University of the Witwatersrand have decided to ask the Hospital Board to allow natives, colored, and Indians to attend post-mortems. The European demands "separateness" while he lives. He cannot allow different treatment of the dead. The authorities must immediately quash this movement at the university.'"

"Don't give him all of it," said the Wind. "Save some for the members of a jury in Glenwood, Iowa, which found six men from Pacific Junction, Iowa, including the high-school basketball coach, guilty of a breach of the peace for protesting against the arrest of a young Negro. The mayor of Pacific Junction picked the Negro up on a charge of begging in the street. The six men, who happened to be watching, said it wasn't so. A discussion ensued. No violence. Peace is awfully breachable these days."

"Yes," said the Candle, "and so is the sanctity of the home. Here's a man called Henry Kappler, in Los Angeles, who divorced his wife 'because of her political beliefs.' Her friends, he testified, were members of the Communist Party. Then *his* friends stopped talking to him. What'll we give him?"

"Stuffing," said the Wind. "And gizzards to Hedda Hopper, who quips, in a recent column, 'Call Me Mister, the supposedly Commie-inspired play which starred Melvyn Douglas. . . . It didn't star him, by the way, it was backed by him.'"

"And the part that goes over the fence last," said the Wind, "goes to Russel Porter, who wrote a piece for the New York Times the other day on Semantics—a Red Weapon, and somehow let this slip in: 'Responsible business men are agreed they must keep it [the American system] free of private monopoly and government control, restrict production, and . . .'"

"And a happy Thanksgiving to *you*, Mr. Porter," said the Candle with dispatch.



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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE OTHER ROBERT FROST

BY RANDALL JARRELL

BESIDES the Frost that everybody knows there is one whom no one even talks about. Everybody knows what the regular Frost is; the one living poet who has written *good* poems that ordinary readers like without any trouble and understand without any trouble; the conservative editorialist and self-made apothegm-joiner, full of dry wisdom and free, complacent, Yankee enterprise; the Farmer-Poet—this is an imposing private role perfected for public use, a sort of Olympian Will Rogers out of "Tanglewood Tales"; and—last or first of all—Frost is the standing, speaking reproach to any other good modern poet: "If *Frost* can write poetry that's just as easy as Longfellow, you can too—you do too." It's this "easy" side of Frost that is more attractive to academic readers, who are eager to canonize any modern poet who condemns in example the modern poetry which they condemn in precept; and it is this side that has helped to get him neglected or depreciated by intellectuals—the reader of Eliot or Auden usually dismisses Frost as something inconsequentially good that *he* knew all about long ago. Ordinary readers think Frost the greatest poet alive, and love some of his best poems almost as much as they love some of his worst ones. He seems to them a sensible, tender, humorous poet who knows all about trees and farms and folks in New England, and still has managed to get an individualistic, fairly optimistic, thoroughly American philosophy out of what he knows; there's something reassuring about his poetry, they feel—almost like prose. Certainly there's nothing hard or queer or gloomy about it.

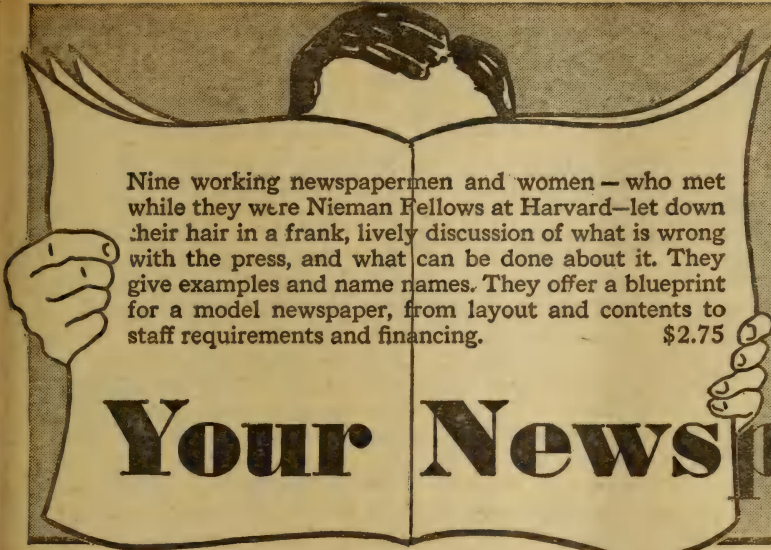
These views of Frost, it seems to me, come from not knowing his poems well enough or from knowing the wrong poems too well. Frost's best-known poems, with two or three exceptions, are not his best poems at all; when you read, say, the selections in Untermeyer,

you are getting a good synopsis of the ordinary idea of Frost and a bad misrepresentation of the real Frost (my *real*). It would be hard to make a novel list of Eliot's best poems, but my list of ten or twelve of Frost's best poems is likely to seem to anybody too new to be true. This is it: The Witch of Coös, Neither Out Far Nor In Deep, Design, A Servant to Servants, Directive, Provide Provide, Home-Burial, Acquainted with the Night, The Pauper Witch of Grafton, An Old Man's Winter Night, The Gift Outright, Desert Places, and The Fear.

Nothing I say about these poems can make you see what they are like, or what the Frost that matters most is like; if you read them you will see. The Witch of Coös is the best thing of its kind since Chaucer; I've read it to schoolgirls and I've read it to soldiers, and I've never seen an audience that wasn't so amused, scared, and saddened that it shocked them to have to wake up at the end. Home-Burial and A Servant to Servants are two of the most moving and appalling dramatic poems ever written; and how could lyrics be more ingeniously and conclusively merciless than Neither Out Far Nor In Deep, or Design? or more grotesquely and subtly and mercilessly disenchanting than the tender An Old Man's Winter Night? or more unsparingly truthful than Provide Provide? And so far from being obvious, optimistic, orthodox, most of these poems are extraordinarily subtle and strange, poems which express an attitude that, at its most extreme, makes pessimism seem a hopeful evasion; they begin with a flat and terrible reproduction of the evil in the world and end by saying: It's so; and there's nothing you can do about it; and if there were, would you ever do it? The limits which existence approaches and falls back from have seldom been stated with such bare composure.

Frost's virtues are extraordinary. No

other living poet has written so well about the actions of ordinary men: his wonderful dramatic monologues or dramatic scenes come out of a knowledge of people that few poets have ever had, and they are written in a verse that uses, with absolute mastery, the rhythms of actual speech. Particularly in his blank verse there is a movement so characteristic, so unmistakably and overwhelmingly Frost's, that one feels about it almost as the Duchesse de Guermantes felt about the Frans Halses at Haarlem: that even if you caught just a glimpse of them, going by in the street car, you could tell that they were something pretty unusual. It is hard to exaggerate the effect of this exact, spaced-out, prosaic, truthful rhythm, whose objects have the tremendous strength—you find it in Hardy's best poems—of things merely put down and left to speak for themselves. (Though Frost has little of Hardy's self-effacement, his matter-of-fact, lifelong humility; Frost's tenderness, sadness, and humor are adulterated with vanity and a hard complacency.) Frost's seriousness and honesty; the bare sorrow with which things are accepted as they are, neither exaggerated nor explained away; the many, many poems in which there are real people with their real speech and real thoughts and real emotions—all this, in conjunction with so much gentleness and subtlety and exactness, such classical understatement and restraint, makes the reader feel that he is not in a book but in a world, and a world that has in common with his own some of the things that are most important in both. I don't need to praise anything so justly famous as Frost's observation of and empathy with everything in Nature from a hornet to a hill-side; and he has observed his own nature, one person's random or consequential chains of thoughts and feelings and perceptions, quite as well. (And this person, in the poems, is not the "alienated artist" cut off from every-



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body who isn't, yum-yum, another alienated artist, but someone like normal people only more so—a normal person in the less common and more important sense of *normal*.) The least crevice of the good poems is saturated with imagination, an imagination that expresses itself in the continuous wit and humor and particularity of what is said, in the hand-hewn or hand-polished texture of its saying. The responsibility and seriousness of Frost's best work are nowhere better manifested than in the organization of these poems—an organization that in its concern for any involution or ramification that really belongs to its subject, and in its severity toward anything else, expresses that absorption into a subject that is prior even to affection.

The organization of Frost's poems is often rather simple or—as people say—"old-fashioned." But, as people ought to know, very complicated organizations are excessively rare in poetry, although in our time a very complicated disorganization has been excessively common; there is more successful organization in *Home-Burial* or *The Witch of Coös* than in *The Cantos* and *The Bridge* put together. These titles will remind anyone of what is scarcest in Frost: rhetoric and romance, hypnotic verbal excitement, Original Hart Crane—Frost's word-magic is generally of a quiet, sober, bewitching sort, though the contrasts he gets from his grayed or unsaturated shades are often more satisfying to a thoughtful rhetorician than some dazzling arrangements of prismatic colors. Yet there are dazzling passages in Frost:

"... So desert it would have to be, so walled

By mountain ranges half in summer snow,

No one would covet it or think it worth
The pains of conquering to force change on.

Scattered oases where men dwelt, but mostly

Sand dunes held loosely in tamarisk
Blown over and over themselves in idleness.

Sand grains should sugar in the natal dew

The babe born to the desert, the sand storm

Retard mid-waste my cowering caravans—

There are bees in this wall." He struck the clapboards,

Fierce heads looked out; small bodies pivoted.

We rose to go. Sunset blazed on the windows.

Frost has written, as everybody knows: "I never dared be radical when young/For fear it would make me conservative when old." This is about as truthful as it is metrical. Frost *was* radical when young—he was a very odd and very radical radical, a much more interesting sort than the standard *PM* brand—and now that he's old he's sometimes callously and unimaginatively conservative. Take, for instance, his poems about the atomic bomb in "Steeple Bush"; these amount to a very old and very successful man saying, "I've had my life—why should you worry about yours?" Sometimes it is this public figure, this official role—the Only Genuine Robert Frost in Captivity—that writes the poems, and not the poet himself; and then one gets a self-made man's political editorials, full of cracker-box philosophizing, almanac joke-cracking, of a snake-oil salesman's mysticism; one gets the public figure's relishing consciousness of himself, a surprising constriction of imagination and sympathy; one gets an arch complacency, a complacent archness; and one gets Homely Wisdom till the cows come home. Often the later Frost makes demands on himself that are minimal; he uses a little wit and a little observation and a little sentiment to stuff—not very tight—a little sonnet; and it's not bad, but not good enough to matter, either. The extremely rare, extremely wonderful dramatic and narrative element that is more important than anything else in his early poetry almost disappears from his later work; in it the best poems are usually special-case, rather than all-out, full-scale affairs. The younger Frost is surrounded by his characters, living beings he has known or created; the older Frost is alone. But it is this loneliness that is responsible for the cold finality of poems like *Neither Out Far Nor in Deep* and *Provide Provide*.

Frost's new books have few of his virtues, most of his vices, and all of his tricks; the heathen who would be converted to Frost by them is hard to construct. "Steeple Bush" (Henry Holt, \$2.50) has one wonderful poem, *Directive*; a fairly good, dazzlingly

heartless one, The Ingenuities of Debt; and nothing else that is not better done somewhere else in Frost. "A Masque of Mercy" (Henry Holt, \$2.50), though no great shakes—as you see, its style is catching—is a great improvement on the earlier "A Masque of Reason," which is a trivial, frivolous, and bewilderingly corny affair, full of jokes inexplicable except as the contemptuous patter of an old magician perfectly certain that *he* can get away with anything in the world: *What fools these readers be!* Besides, Frost has long ago divorced reason for common sense, and is basking complacently in his bargain; consequently, when common sense has God justify His ways by saying, "I was just showing off to Satan, Job," the performance has all the bleak wisdom of Calvin Coolidge telling you what life comes to at 2½%.

The plot of "A Masque of Mercy" is as simple as that of "Merope," but it is one that is more likely to get Frost recognized as another precursor of surrealism than to get him looked askance at as one of Arnold's Greeks. A bookstore-keeper named My Brother's Keeper has a wife named Jesse Bel; one night Jonah—who, having forgotten both his gourd and what God made of it, is feeling for New York City all that he used to feel for Nineveh—seeks refuge in the bookstore; after a little talk from St. Paul (Jesse Bel's psychiatrist) and a lot from Keeper (a character who develops so much that he finally develops into Robert Frost), Jonah comes to realize that "justice doesn't really matter."

Frost lavishes some care and a lot more self-indulgence on this congenial subject: he has a thorough skepticism about that tame revenge; justice, and a cold certainty that nothing but mercy will do for *us*. What he really warms to is a rejection beyond either justice or mercy, and the most felt and moving part of his poem is the unshaken recognition that

Our sacrifice, the best we have to offer,
And not our worst nor second best, our
best,
Our very lives, our lives laid down like
Jonah's,
Our lives laid down in war and peace,
may not
Be found acceptable in Heaven's sight....
To feel this Fear of God and to go

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ahead in spite of it, Frost says, is man's principal virtue, courage. He treats Paul very sympathetically, but gives him speeches that are ineffectual echoes of what he really said; and Frost makes about him that poor old joke which finds that he "theologized Christ almost out of Christianity." *This* is the thanks one gets for discovering Christianity.

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WILSON AMONG THE RUINS

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

EUROPE WITHOUT BAEDEKER.

Sketches among the Ruins of Italy, Greece, and England. By Edmund Wilson. Doubleday and Company. \$4.

WHEN an intellectual of the reputation of Edmund Wilson travels to Europe and reports on events among the ruins to a public accustomed to reading his excellent literary criticism, one does not expect him to write as an authority on economics or politics, or even as a trained reporter. Nevertheless, one does have a reasonable expectation that he will bring to the lives of human beings the same qualities of scrupulous fair-mindedness, sympathy, and cultivated wisdom as he brings to books. Moreover, one would expect that his reason for going into the world and writing about it was because he had something serious to say: and by "serious" I mean that one expects an intellectual who is not a political expert to endeavor to increase understanding between people, to defend liberty, to sympathize with human suffering, to be patient of small inconveniences, to have a certain humility when he meets men and women who are engaged in strenuous and exhausting practical tasks, and to realize that the most important need in the world today can be summed up in the one word *peace*.

I do not think that anyone who admires Mr. Wilson's criticism as much as I myself do would expect less of him. Therefore when I say that "Europe Without Baedeker" leaves me with a sense of betrayal, I mean by this that Mr. Wilson betrays the reader, betrays himself, and betrays the role of the intellectual in our time.

When Mr. Wilson reviews books, he has certain critical standards. When he reviews Europe, he has almost no standards except those which are improvised for the purpose of comparing an unflattering view of most of the Europeans whom he meets with a most flattering picture of the American as an innocent abroad. For example, he writes that Americans, in judging the English, have to reckon with a picture which they find in Thackeray, Dickens, and Butler—"the passion for social privilege,

the rapacious attitude for property, the egoism that damns one's neighbor, the dependence on inherited advantages, and the almost equally deep-fibered instinct, often not deliberate or conscious, to make all these appear forms of virtue." Then, invoking Henry James in "The Wings of the Dove" as a fellow Anglophobe with Dickens, Thackeray, and Butler, he goes on to write of Americans:

We find making money exhilarating, but we also find it exhilarating to spend it. Money for us is a medium, a condition of life, like air. But with the English it means always property. A dollar is something that you multiply—something that causes an expansion of your house and your mechanical equipment, something that accelerates like speed; and that may be also slowed up or deflated. It is a value that may be totally imaginary, yet can for a time provide half-realized dreams. But pounds, shillings, and pence are tangible, solid, heavy; they are objects one gains and possesses. And every good in England is bound up with the things one can handle and hold.

I am bewildered here to look for the moral values which entitle Mr. Wilson to claim that the English differ from the Americans in hypocritically making their materialism appear under the guise of "forms of virtue."

A great deal of this book is taken up with the kind of stories which school-children tell about one another, told to Mr. Wilson by people working under exasperating conditions, which he conscientiously takes down. For example, L—, an American officer, tells him:

In Sicily a British officer had been living in a castle with a local countess and levying a personal tax on every cargo of wine that went north. He was now in Italy proper and the authorities were supposed to have the goods on him; but did you ever hear of an officer—especially a British officer—being convicted by a court martial?

Of course, Mr. Wilson does not reply to this rhetorical question that he has heard of dozens of British, and American, officers being convicted, because he never hears of anything unless he is told. Nor does it occur to him that there

are American officers—and French officers and Russian officers—who have lived with "local countesses" and done deals on the black market. In fact, Mr. Wilson must hold the world's record as the most innocent American traveler who has ever been abroad. One has the impression that he had never heard about anything nasty happening anywhere until he was sent to a ruined Europe by the *New Yorker*. Next L— tells him about the father of an Italian family, with whom L— has been living, who proposes that L— "should supply him with flints that the Americans were shipping in for cigarette-lighters for the soldiers."

It never seems to occur to Mr. Wilson that the depicting of the Americans as an army of Daisy Millers and Milly Theales marching out of the pages of Henry James to be exploited and corrupted by rapacious Europeans is an argument which cuts both ways. For any American or European who knows anything about the facts, reading Mr. Wilson's pages, could match every one of Mr. Wilson's stories against Europeans with one as bad or worse against Americans. For example, Mr. Wilson complains that the British once delayed his journey from London to Italy because his papers were not quite in order. Now I myself in the autumn of 1946 was given an order by a British officer to travel on the train that goes from Frankfurt to Paris. The American transport officer to whom I showed this order handed it back to me saying, "British orders are not worth the paper they are written on."

If everyone had the passion for petty recrimination of Mr. Wilson, and made no allowance for the fact that such irritation is really to be discounted as a by-product of the sheer misery of events themselves, we could have a war about such trifles. Indeed, in the concluding passage of an essay in fiction called *Through the Abruzzi* Mr. Wilson's irritation reaches a point of hysteria. This story is a sketch of two girls—one English and one American—who are working together in UNRRA. Of course the American girl discovers that the English girl has the heart of a blue-blooded codfish, and she, poor warm-hearted thing, cries out to an American major at the mess (he is kept in the rank of major in order that the British

colonel can order him to make up a fourth in bridge when he wants him): "Oh, come on! Are we men or are we mice? Did we beat the hell out of these limics at Lexington and Bunker Hill just to let them push us around after we'd saved them from being chewed up by the Germans?"

One can best answer this foolish question by saying that considering that the British and Americans have been allies in two wars during the past thirty years, to ask it is an insult to thousands of American and British dead. In fact, the picture of friction between English and Americans presented in this one-

sided way, if it does a slight service in describing a genuine hatred, does a regrettable disservice to a genuine and less publicized love which existed and exists between thousands of Americans and British who fought in Europe together. During the war I myself was a fireman in London with the English whom Mr. Wilson did not meet, and often we used to invite into our fire stations the Americans whom Mr. Wilson also did not meet, and in those meetings I do not remember a single example of the ill-will of which he makes so much.

In a sketch of life in Rome Mr. Wilson takes up much time complaining of

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the food at the hotel for correspondents, and he reports without irony a story of an American officer in the mess throwing an unappetizing dish on the floor as a demonstration. It is only when he goes to see the film "Open City" that it occurs to Mr. Wilson that there is something odd in this behavior, and at this point—inspired by a film which he might have seen in New York—the faintest note of self-dissatisfaction is struck in these pages: "How could we correspondents, drowsing and grumbling about Rome in our antiquated tourist hotel, have imagined that a work of such power, at the same time intense and restrained, had been produced in the Via del Tritone, where the prostitutes thronged every evening . . .," and so on. It is still, of course, the film which makes him ashamed and not the people starving. If Mr. Wilson has now seen the film "Shoeshine," it might occur to him that those clever Italian producers, living among the prostitutes and the Roman excrement which he so insists on, might make a very ironic film of the journey of Edmund Wilson among the European ruins and without a Baedeker.

Finally Mr. Wilson pops up in Greece in the role of an international socialist, criticizing the British for suppressing the E. A. M., and imagining that like the American girl in Abruzzi he is "just an old-fashioned American who wanted equal opportunity for everybody and trusted in F. D. R." In his innocence he seems to imagine that in supporting the Greek people against the British he is just being an American. That, of course, is one of the places where he is wrong. I agree with Mr. Wilson in deploring the British attitude in Greece, just as I agree with him in many of his criticisms of the British character. But unfortunately his opinions are not connected with any fundamental values either for judging situations or for understanding human beings. Thus he completely fails to understand that the British role in Europe of yesterday is inevitably the American role of today, just as he fails to understand that the little hatreds between officers working in Europe are the result of a situation which one can only judge if one understands and sympathizes with the terrible conditions in which occupiers and occupied are living in Europe today.

This book does not help Americans to understand Europeans or Europeans to understand Americans; nor does it help the best elements in America to join with the best elements in Europe to overcome the terrible European situation. It may slightly increase the prejudice of some Americans against the British, and it could not possibly do otherwise than increase the bitterness of most Europeans who read it against America, especially when they consider that Mr. Wilson is, as I have always considered, an extremely intelligent man. My own wish is to protest against it, as I have done here, and then try to forget it and reestablish in my own mind the respect I have always felt for Mr. Wilson as a critic. For the rest, it makes me feel more strongly than ever that intellectual workers do have a role to play in public events, but that the qualities required for this role are patience, understanding, and an absolute refusal to flatter the prejudices of people in favor of their own national systems and against those of other nations.

Parkman and the Forest

THE JOURNALS OF FRANCIS

PARKMAN. Edited by Mason Wade.

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PARKMAN'S journals and notebooks, mislaid for many years, were recovered through the enterprise of their present editor. They had been drawn on sparingly by Parkman's early biographers, and Mr. Wade paraphrased and quoted from them extensively in his own life of Parkman, published in 1942; now for the first time they are printed complete. Mr. Wade has written useful prefaces for each notebook and thoroughly annotated them. They are impressive documents, almost unique in the view they give of a historian's workshop. In this respect they will keep a corps of scholars busy for a long time piecing together their bearings on Parkman's methods and results. Much of the material is fragmentary—lists of books and manuscripts; addresses of antiquarians, booksellers, copyists; bibliographical information from fellow-Americanists; memoranda for corrections; incidents of the Indian wars from eyewitnesses; notes on historic localities;

thumbnail sketches of scenery; accounts of expenditures. The full diaries, however—particularly those of Parkman's college-vacation trips to northern New England in 1841 and 1842, of his European tour in 1844, and of the Oregon Trail trip in 1846—are extremely good reading in themselves as well as for the light they throw on the background of his work.

In them we see Parkman in the first flush of his grand design, ranging from Europe to the far West in search of what he needed in the way of experience as the scope of his project took shape for him. Before he was twenty-three and in spite of his Bostonian handicaps he had explored the oldest of human societies and the youngest in his quest. In Italy he sought out the institutions of Roman Catholicism and brought his trip to a climax with a stay at a Passionist convent in Rome. So on the Great Plains he was part for a while of a living frontier and drove himself through illness and danger to spend three weeks in the lodges of the Ogalala Sioux. This is "research" of a very rare kind—a polarization of all the faculties in the

pursuit of a design that engaged to the fullest intellect, imagination, and a craving for physical adventure. The record of it is exhilarating.

The most rewarding of the diaries are perhaps the first two. Important as was the knowledge they gave him, Europe and the West were for Parkman only the circumference of a circle whose charmed center was the forest wilderness, or what was left of it, of his own Northeast. Here his instinct led him first of all, and to it he looked back nostalgically on his later trips. In these first diaries we find more than anywhere else the sources of what most deeply engaged his imagination. They are, so to speak, his Oregon Trail of the East. In the White Mountains, at Lake George, and above all in the Magalloway country, beyond the edge of settlement in northern New Hampshire, he formed the richest of the impressions of forest life that give such actuality to his history. The few days of his Magalloway excursions—both together came to less than two weeks—yielded an extraordinary harvest. Here for the first and only time he had the experience of

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forest river travel and learned its techniques; here he first slept in the open (he grew up long before the days of "summer camps"); here, on the second trip across the rough country to the north, he made the most ambitious of his woods journeys. The forest, not the Western plains, was his great, central theme, and he here came closest to its heart.

But Parkman's great project, early in life as he conceived it, was carried out only at a price. The path from idea to realization was for him a peculiarly thorny one. Under the surface of these early diaries is a sense of tensions only partially released, and what little direct revelation of personal feeling is to be found in them strikes a note of conflict and frustration. An entry in a fragmentary journal of a walking trip in the Berkshires in 1844 indicates a devastating struggle to repress a powerful sexual instinct. "Lee is full of factory girls. The very devil beset me there. I never suffered so much from certain longings I resolved not to gratify, and which got me into such a nervous state that I scarcely slept all night." A feeling of frustration is also evident in the sardonic comments on friends and classmates which color his diary of the following year, when he had enrolled at the Harvard Law School, at his father's request and against his own will. But the chief source of the complex of nervous and physical disorders that later

overtook him seems to have been the conflict between the role he had conceived for himself as leader and man of action and the hardly acknowledged promptings of his genius as writer and creator ("holding the pen with the hand that should have grasped the sword," as he phrased it at the time of the Civil War).

Externally, Parkman's instinct for leadership was frustrated by the position of his class, exiled from national affairs by the Jacksonian revolution. Embittered by this sense of exclusion, he is violent in his rejection of attempts at social initiative on the part of any other class. Yet this state of being cut off gave rise to doubts, if not of the qualifications, at least of the capacities, of his fellow-Brahmans and himself—a suspicion of the sort of inner flaw which he later was to trace in the personality of La Salle, the character in his histories with whom he most identified himself ("too shy for society and too reserved for popularity, often unsympathetic and always seeming so, smothering emotions he could not utter, schooled to universal distrust"). In one entry of his law-school diary he notes "that remarkable constraint to which the presence of a person of inferior sense, acuteness, and energy will sometimes subject one far his superior." In another he asks, "Is a man a coward, because he feels less than himself in a crowd?" And his sketch of young Cerré in St. Louis has a strongly

autobiographical flavor, as of a man recognizing his own traits. "Young, silent through bashfulness, observing all, feeling all, and constantly in hostility to external influences—though resolute and determined, acting ever under the burden of constitutional diffidence. . . . How hostile is such a quality to a commanding character. . . . Some men have a sort of power from their very vanity. . . . Others there are who, with many of the internal qualities of command, can never assume its outward features—and fail in consequence."

The conception of himself as a man of action died hard with Parkman. Of his role as artist he never doubted, because he never consciously recognized it. But the great project he embraced so eagerly as physical and intellectual adventure was to hold him to its purposes in a deeper way than he knew. Through fifteen years of agonizing struggle "the pen" finally established mastery over "the sword."

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Drama of Complicity

THE AXE OF WANDSBEK. By Arnold Zweig. Translated by Eric Sutton. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

THE AXE OF WANDSBEK" will surely find its way on to university bookshelves a few years hence as collateral reading for courses on Nazi Germany. Even a very Chaplinesque Hitler—perhaps the "real" Hitler after all—is seen on two occasions: once shrieking as he rushes through a room; once exhausted after a violent speech of denunciation and drinking a glass of beer. But these pages hardly belong in this serious and ambitious study of German political confusion in 1937 and 1938. As a novel, indeed, "The Axe of Wandsbek" is nearly destroyed by its massive probability, its inordinate patience, its high, serious intention. The characters not only drink tea and cognac but particular blends of tea and Martell cognac from a particular kind of bottle; in conversation they not merely adumbrate theories but exhaust them. The novel is perhaps 200 pages too long. Yet it finally persuades—persuades even the reader who thought such antiquated realism dead.

Arnold Zweig makes no real effort to

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explain Hitler or National Socialism, which appears only as a complicated swindle. He is concerned rather with the moral drama of complicity, with the nearly universal acquiescence in accomplished facts, with the daily rationalizations which could argue away guilt or transfer it to somebody else. The two parts of the book sum up, a trifle schematically, the intellectual's betrayal of value and the workingman's betrayal of his class. "Man is inclined, my father always says, to call his neighbor to account for everything he discovers in his own soul." The master-butcher Albert Teetjen—whose talents are enlisted as the substitute executioner of four innocent men—can blame the "reds" for all his subsequent difficulties. His pieces of silver are consumed in just a year, and even his fellow S. S. troopers demand their share of the loot. But the humane and civilized Dr. Koldewey, neither wholly corrupted by his reading of Nietzsche nor wholly saved by his reading of Freud, is a still more sinister figure. He is the silky "man of good-will" who argues—as in what country did he not so argue?—that revolutions have to be violent, and who long turns his back on what seems to him merely vulgar. Who in Wandsbek is not finally involved in the execution of these four innocent men? The army officer, Lintze, defends the execution as a lesson in military authority. The doctor, Käte Neumeier, pursues her troubled conscience by pursuing Teetjen, the simple ax-wielder and mere instrument of unseen powers—whose hands are always moved as by a divining-rod. The Koldewey children, devoted to astrology and jazz, were the infants of "Disorder and Early Sorrow." They can even use the ax for a wedding-party prank. Zweig's younger women are wholly unmoral. But so too is Hans Peter Footh, shipowner and rising opportunist, recognizably a degenerate Buddenbrook. For this is still, in some respects, the gray Buddenbrook world. Everyone in Wandsbek loves good food, cheerful family life, music, poetry, order and cleanliness in the home, excursions, flowers, animals—have precisely those affections which charmed the G. I. of 1945, and made him wonder how such a kindly people could have been universally traduced.

The Munich crisis, so immediate to

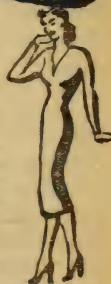
Sartre's "Reprieve," hovers distantly over the last pages of "The Axe of Wandsbek." It is a rather astounding coincidence that these two frankly "major" novels, both translated by Eric Sutton, should have appeared within a few weeks. They are bound to be compared, as historical interpretation and as art. We are given, but nine years too late, the German and French orders of battle, the confronted energies and discouragements. In detail one must prefer Sartre's portrait—though it is as hard to believe that so many Frenchmen thought they were going to die in battle as that so many Germans thought they would never fight at all. The Frenchmen of Sartre's novel were indeed demoralized. They saw, that is, the subtle exception to every rule of their own existence; they had witnessed the destruction of each saving illusion; they were thrown back on their solitude, and on the minutiae of a still pleasant daily existence. Zweig's detached Germans of Wandsbek were not on the other hand *de-moralized* enough; or demoralized only by universal ambiguity. They were insufficiently subtle and had a terrible capacity for easy belief. And so they could accept the most obvious lies—lies about the Versailles treaty, the Weimar Republic, the Communists, the Jews, the oppressed German minorities. Few books have demonstrated more frighteningly than these two novels the gap between political reality and public illusion, and—a memo for 1947—the sinister quality which all highly publicized—"innocence" of intention is likely to take on.

Arnold Zweig has a professorial affection for curiosa, and Sartre is of course a philosopher. It has been argued rather too glibly, however, that neither man is a true novelist, capable of escaping his ideas. For Sartre's illiterate shepherd, Gros-Louis, is a stunningly realized fiction. And so too is Zweig's master-butcher, who tries to bury his ax, who practices every day with his divining rod, and who reads Jules Verne for information on the center of the earth. The true novelist appears in the dryness of this portrait: in the precarious but maintained balance of sympathy and detachment, understanding and disgust. The exile who wrote this book wrote no doubt from unappeased hatred, and in memorial sympathy for the victims.

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But he was sufficiently a true novelist to see Teetjen not as an S. S. trooper only but also as a baffled and beaten man—who wants very little more from life than it is reasonable to want (survival), who is capable of occasional kindnesses, and who has a very real love for his red-haired Stine. This imaginative effort, which must have been enormous, largely compensates for the vastly overextended realism—a realism only occasionally relieved, otherwise, by macabre and symbolic coincidence. So the extreme paradox that this Jewish exile's novel may well be remembered for its moving and even sympathetic account of a Nazi executioner's love, decline, and suicide.

ALBERT GUERARD, JR.

America in Pastels

THE TIMES OF MELVILLE AND WHITMAN. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.

MOST readers are familiar with the manner and range of what Mr. Brooks now calls his "history of the literary life in America." "The Times of Melville and Whitman," the fourth volume to be published, is intended to be read as the third in the series. Taking up more or less where "The World of Washington Irving" left off, it covers writers of New York, the South, and the West from about 1840 to sometime after the Civil War and is vaguely oriented around Melville, Whitman, and Mark Twain.

What can one say about the book? Mr. Brooks's method is well known and has become a convention of his own. He has long since abandoned any recognizable critical function in favor of lengthy and tender exercises in nostalgia. As usual, the leading characters tend to dissolve into the cluster of minor figures. The prose is as lush as ever and

as lovingly preoccupied with antiquarian detail. The result is not literary criticism, or the "literary history of the United States" which "The Flowering of New England" promised, or even a history of the literary life in America, but only Van Wyck Brooks's charming, gentle, and poetic fantasies, through which we may dimly discern the contours of the American cultural past. It is history by magic-lantern slides.

His method and his prose, moreover, have a peculiar effect of eviscerating the past—of divesting it of its dark and tragic strains and making it something graceful and innocuous. Thus, when Mr. Brooks writes of Horace Binney Wallace, he notes Wallace's essays on medieval churches, not his brooding anxiety over the rise of democracy in the United States; and the chapter on Philadelphia finds no space at all for the lurid proletarian imaginings of George Lippard. No one would guess from the serene cadences of "The Times of Melville and Whitman" that this was a nation torn by savage fraternal strife. The Civil War appears chiefly as an unobtrusive backdrop to some experiences of Whitman.

Our tradition, as Mr. Brooks sees it, lacks tension and tragedy. This recoil from trauma inevitably wrecks Brooks's treatment of his main figures. Thus we have a Melville almost indifferent to the problem of evil, a Whitman whose ambiguities are muted and denied, a Lincoln without internal agonies. The author of "The Ordeal of Mark Twain," clearly benefiting by a study of the works of Bernard DeVoto, has reconstructed his theory of Mark Twain's frustration along more sensible lines; but even this frustration appears to have largely a literary existence, lacking intensity, and Mr. Brooks's projection of it is genteel and diffident compared to Twain's black despair as revealed in DeVoto's "Mark Twain at Work."

The American past is neither this pretty nor this trivial. It has had its moments of heroism and of evil, of grandeur and of cowardice, of failure and of defeat. But the Brooks palette appears to have run out of everything except pastel. The cumulative effect of Brooks's ambitious design is diffuseness. The light radiates so evenly, the colors are so soft, that everyone begins to look like everyone else. Sentimentality, in the

long run, can be no substitute for a firm intellectual structure, nor erudition for analysis. In abdicating criticism and ignoring history, Mr. Brooks has created his private dream world, rich and placid and ultimately cloying. The fact that its inhabitants bear familiar names should not lead readers to confuse the dream with reality.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

The "Slighter Gestures" of E. M. Forster

ABINGER HARVEST. By E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

ABINGER HARVEST," first printed in 1936, is a collection of essays which E. M. Forster contributed over a period of some thirty years to various periodicals. They are arranged under the headings: The Present, Books, The Past, The East, and The Abinger Pageant. As English, simple, natural, clear English, they are a joy to read. It doesn't matter whether the subject of the essay is a vaudeville troupe entertaining soldiers in 1917, Ibsen's Peer Gyntishness, Marco Polo, Forster's own century, or life as a game of chess; it doesn't matter when the essay was written, 1903 or 1935—they are all beautifully written.

It doesn't even matter much what he says, or at least it doesn't seem to, or at least it wouldn't be well-mannered to notice if it did. Forster is so civilized. He is so very much at ease. He doesn't at all want to sound important and imposing. He knows that the reader knows he is writing an essay. And the essay form seems to suit him as if it were made for him. He finds most congenial the easy relationship which the writer of the informal essay must establish with the reader. (The pleasure in the form is the pleasure in the relationship.) Of the reader's requirements, of his personality almost, he is always aware; in fact, he takes the relationship so firmly for granted that one feels he counts on the reader's understanding, passing over with a friendly smile if need be those tricks and trivialities of his own or of anyone's personality which he finds himself admiring or deprecating, and which he entertains the reader by presenting. And that's the wisdom of his being civilized. For behind the

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easy manner there lies the hard fact—and Forster's tacit recognition of it as the *only* way to get along—that the essay form has a way of its own of pointing up the trivial and the merely personal. But to recognize the danger is not always to avoid it, even if it is welcomed as a friend. There are the writer's limitations, too, to be considered. In many of the essays the merely personal, at times the over-concern with the manner in which something is said rather than with what is said, comes out transposed into the slightly arch accents—not the fault of the form—of *My Wood*. Usually the archness is heard when he is poking fun at himself or at others, as if to prove that, despite the way in which he and others may differ from or resemble the always visible norm of behavior, both are human. There may be neither wit nor laughter in the pages of *Punch*, as Forster says, but even with wit and laughter it's still *Punch*.

For all Forster's pliant handling of the essay form it makes one demand he does not often fulfil: the ability of the essayist to relate his sensibility to whatever he is writing about without turning it into a mere reflection of that sensibility. As cleverly and amusingly as he writes of Voltaire and Mme du Châtelet ("Madame du Châtelet was certainly a most remarkable creature—tiresome, but not too tiresome, and therefore an ideal mate for a very tiresome man"), the result is trivial, since he drowns the pair in his own lighter element. They serve simply as his "subject," as the young Coleridge does, or Keats's guardians, the Abbays, or Gemistus Pletho.

Forster's own limitations are also evident in his views on general, impersonal questions, about which he either refuses to generalize or declines to judge on the ground of "no one can know"—that, despite the honesty of: "I am actually what my age and upbringing have made me—a bourgeois who adheres to the British constitution, adheres to it rather than supports it, and the fact that this isn't dignified doesn't worry me." Writing in 1922 about the new nationalism of India, after his second visit there, he says: "Would that I could conclude with a eulogy of it! But that must be left to writers who can see into the future and who know in what human happiness consists."

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The novels present the great negations, the "lostness," of the upper middle class: the "undeveloped heart," the fundamental despair of human relationships, the separateness of the individual life, the inherited dreariness, the helplessness; and the courageous but impossible attempts to deny, even to understand, the negations, brave fluttering flights clearing the tops of the Victorian cannons, but leaving nothing in their wake save the poetry of the forced descent and the acceptance of it—and the altered consciousness of the flier. The vitality of his characters is as great as that and as small. Their depth is too often the depth of a pinprick: there is little breadth to the depth. And there are great expanses, expanses broad and deep, into which they do not enter, which they scarcely recognize in their self-constricted, untranscendable small worlds.

H. P. LAZARUS

Challenge of the Far East

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Such a direct transposition, to the underskilled and overpopulated Far East, of formulas and programs developed for the highly industrialized area of Europe would be economically impractical. Certainly it would be politically unrealistic. The authoritarian tradition of Asiatic government is a far cry from the libertarian and constitutional processes of the Atlantic community.

For this reason Richard Lauterbach

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new book, "Danger from the East," could hardly be more timely. It is a careful and courageous dissection of our successes and failures in post-war Japan, Korea, and China. More squarely than anyone has yet done, Lauterbach poses our problem: if in our cold war we choose to fight Russia in Asia by backing reaction, we court disaster. The peoples of the Far East are over-ready for change. Our only security lies in helping and guiding, not in opposing, the social revolution which is overtaking the backward East.

This we undoubtedly tried to do. Our post-surrender directive for MacArthur in Japan, our policy statement of December 15, 1945, which inaugurated Marshall's mediation in China, were broadly conceived and vigorously democratic documents. Yet our efforts to carry them out have succeeded only in part. What went wrong? Have our failures been due to unforeseen contingencies, bad luck, or Russian machinations? Or does one cause of our trouble lie within us, in our assumptions and our fears? What must we learn from our post-war programs in Asia if we are to profit by our mistakes before it is too late?

"Danger from the East" tells a fascinating story and offers one observer's keen and critical comments on it. It is a fast-moving narrative, analytical yet colorful and full of incident, written with all the neat phrasing and telling personal detail to be expected of a former *Life* correspondent. (The author is now editor of the magazine '47. It is some satisfaction that the same far-flung domain which insidiously sets its weekly line for 26,000,000 bedazzled readers has given us another rebate, in the antithetical work of a former staff member.) Lauterbach conveys the look and feel of flattened Tokyo and inflated Shanghai, gives us sketches of the great Hirohito, MacArthur, Chiang) and the small Japanese farmers, soldiers in Manchuria, patriots in Korea); but underneath this running account he presents a substantial study of the various aspects of the occupation in Japan, summarizes our problems in Korea, and offers one of the first connected narratives to become available on the Marshall mediation in China. In an appendix is an excellent selection of key documents—Cairo, Yalta, Potsdam,

Moscow, the Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, Truman (before) and Marshall (after) on China. Successive chapters on Japan deal with the position of the Emperor ("from God to Man"), the position of MacArthur ("from Man to God"), the constitution, education, the political parties, problems of the Zaibatsu, the land, and the labor unions, and the Russian-American antagonism. The section on Korea is briefer (68 pages). That on China (120 pages) deals with the year of Marshall ("the God of Peace") and includes a first-hand story of a truce team at work in "Operation Dove" in Manchuria.

Within this framework of narrative and topic, "Danger from the East" develops several major themes: that our success in Japan, though greater than many anticipated, is not as real as it seems, that the old politicians still rule, the new constitution is ahead of the facts, industrial monopoly and landlordism are by no means dead or even weak, and Japan's post-war revolution still has far to go. In Korea our military government ("the Liberator's Conquest"), unprepared and uninstructed from the first, inadequately staffed and meagerly supported throughout, has made egregious economic and political errors. In China, while urging coalition government, we undercut our own mediation by continued military support of one side in the civil struggle.

From this comparison of American activity in three separate areas one factor in our policy emerges time after time—our fear that social revolution is the ally of Russia. Writing long before Mr. Byrnes, *speaking frankly*, told us of the hardening process which our policy underwent in the spring of 1946, Lauterbach as an on-the-scene observer notes the apparent repercussions: "The sudden mushrooming of the left gave MacArthur a bad scare. . . . When the trend in United States domestic and foreign policies veered sharply right, MacArthur stopped giving lip service to the progressive directive given him at the beginning of the occupation." In such measures as its support of the old-guard Yoshida government, SCAP really "declared for the status quo in Japan, dressed up with democratic furbelows." In the same period the Soviet-American Commission in Korea was reaching a

stalemate, with AMG fearful of the left and often ready to suppress it, and the hope of coalition government in China was being thwarted while American aid to Chiang continued.

This record of frustration suggests that our American democratic values must somehow be applied to Asia more creatively, not through an "interpreter's government" as in Korea or through the local vested interests in China and Japan. In revolutionary Asia today we will find strength on the left of center rather than the right. Two things endanger us—Russian or Communist organization of a Marxist left; our own fear of Russia, Marxism, and revolution. The first we cannot eliminate, but the second danger is within us. It has already worked against us, for when our military men think in military terms they soon have us backing the right. As Lauterbach puts it, "the inherent danger of America's present position in Asia, if not in the whole world, is that we may force people to make a choice—which they do not want to make—between the American way and the Soviet way. It is dangerous to us because our way will be represented to the people of Asia by the Chiangs, the Yoshidas, and the Syngman Rhee whom we have at some time supported and befriended."

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IN A RECENT article in *The New York Times*, "The Literary Market Place Today," by Harvey Breit, the writer quotes a distinguished publisher: "... We used to break even on a sale of 5,000 copies. Now ... we need 10,000 copies. The result? We're shopping for sure-fire stuff. ... And that means that we simply haven't got room ... for the little volume of verse, or the first novel that we used to publish. ... And so," concludes Mr. Breit, "... publishers' lists are growing smaller, tighter. More big novels, fewer critical essays ... fewer scholarly studies."

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new book, "Danger from the East," could hardly be more timely. It is a careful and courageous dissection of our successes and failures in post-war Japan, Korea, and China. More squarely than anyone has yet done, Lauterbach poses our problem: if in our cold war we choose to fight Russia in Asia by backing reaction, we court disaster. The peoples of the Far East are over-ready for change. Our only security lies in helping and guiding, not in opposing, the social revolution which is overtaking the backward East.

This we undoubtedly tried to do. Our post-surrender directive for MacArthur in Japan, our policy statement of December 15, 1945, which inaugurated Marshall's mediation in China, were broadly conceived and vigorously democratic documents. Yet our efforts to carry them out have succeeded only in part. What went wrong? Have our failures been due to unforeseen contingencies, bad luck, or Russian machinations? Or does one cause of our trouble lie within us, in our assumptions and our fears? What must we learn from our post-war programs in Asia if we are to profit by our mistakes before it is too late?

"Danger from the East" tells a fascinating story and offers one observer's keen and critical comments on it. It is a fast-moving narrative, analytical yet colorful and full of incident, written with all the neat phrasing and telling personal detail to be expected of a former *Life* correspondent. (The author is now editor of the magazine '47. It is some satisfaction that the same far-flung domain which insidiously sets its weekly line for 26,000,000 bedazzled readers has given us another rebate, in the antithetical work of a former staff member.) Lauterbach conveys the look and feel of flattened Tokyo and inflated Shanghai, gives us sketches of the great (Hirohito, MacArthur, Chiang) and the small (Japanese farmers, soldiers in Manchuria, patriots in Korea); but underneath this running account he presents a substantial study of the various aspects of the occupation in Japan, summarizes our problems in Korea, and offers one of the first connected narratives to become available on the Marshall mediation in China. In an appendix is an excellent selection of key documents—Cairo, Yalta, Potsdam,

Moscow, the Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, Truman (before) and Marshall (after) on China. Successive chapters on Japan deal with the position of the Emperor ("from God to Man"), the position of MacArthur ("from Man to God"), the constitution, education, the political parties, problems of the Zaibatsu, the land, and the labor unions, and the Russian-American antagonism. The section on Korea is briefer (68 pages). That on China (120 pages) deals with the year of Marshall ("the God of Peace") and includes a first-hand story of a truce team at work in "Operation Dove" in Manchuria.

Within this framework of narrative and topic, "Danger from the East" develops several major themes: that our success in Japan, though greater than many anticipated, is not as real as it seems, that the old politicians still rule, the new constitution is ahead of the facts, industrial monopoly and landlordism are by no means dead or even weak, and Japan's post-war revolution still has far to go. In Korea our military government ("the Liberator's Conquest"), unprepared and uninstructed from the first, inadequately staffed and meagerly supported throughout, has made egregious economic and political errors. In China, while urging coalition government, we undercut our own mediation by continued military support of one side in the civil struggle.

From this comparison of American activity in three separate areas one factor in our policy emerges time after time—our fear that social revolution is the ally of Russia. Writing long before Mr. Byrnes, *speaking frankly*, told us of the hardening process which our policy underwent in the spring of 1946, Lauterbach as an on-the-scene observer notes the apparent repercussions: "The sudden mushrooming of the left gave MacArthur a bad scare. . . . When the trend in United States domestic and foreign policies veered sharply right, MacArthur stopped giving lip service to the progressive directive given him at the beginning of the occupation." In such measures as its support of the old-guard Yoshida government, SCAP really "declared for the status quo in Japan, dressed up with democratic furbelows." In the same period the Soviet-American Commission in Korea was reaching a

stalemate, with AMG fearful of the left and often ready to suppress it, and the hope of coalition government in China was being thwarted while American aid to Chiang continued.

This record of frustration suggests that our American democratic values must somehow be applied to Asia more creatively, not through an "interpreter's government" as in Korea or through the local vested interests in China and Japan. In revolutionary Asia today we will find strength on the left of center rather than the right. Two things endanger us—Russian or Communist organization of a Marxist left; our own fear of Russia, Marxism, and revolution. The first we cannot eliminate, but the second danger is within us. It has already worked against us, for when our military men think in military terms they soon have us backing the right. As Lauterbach puts it, "the inherent danger of America's present position in Asia, if not in the whole world, is that we may force people to make a choice—which they do not want to make—between the American way and the Soviet way. It is dangerous to us because our way will be represented to the people of Asia by the Chiangs, the Yoshidas, and the Syngman Rhees whom we have at some time supported and befriended."

Our view of Asia today is partly a study in the psychology of fear. "Danger from the East" documents the theme that the scared men in the Kremlin have no monopoly on the thought process

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by which suspicion of an assumed enemy becomes the source of mistakes in power politics. If we are to build for long-term stability in Asia and not solely for short-term strategic advantage, we must support social change—but this can be done only on Asia's terms, not ours. This brings us up against the fact that some features of Marxism seem to offer more social results, among Asia's peasant masses, than our American way of life when mediated, distorted, and prostituted through Asiatic ruling classes in China or Japan. We cannot hope for eventual security in Asia unless and until we face this problem frankly. As we become daily more awake to the stark danger which Communist totalitarianism offers to our liberal individualist tradition, it is more than ever necessary to keep our perspective on Asia's actual needs and our own American emotions.

Mr. Lauterbach has performed a signal service in marshaling and evaluating the criticisms of our post-war programs in the Far East. As far as the rather scanty evidence permits, he indicates the Russian, or Japanese leftist, or Chinese Communist sides of the picture. But his main focus is on what our administrators and diplomats have done, how, and why. Some of his strictures may not be sustained by future historians, but most of them have been affirmed by other observers, whom Lauterbach quotes with care. The result is the most challenging survey of our Far Eastern hegemony that has yet appeared.

You can try this book on your friends. If they complain that it spends little time berating Russians and Communists, they illustrate Lauterbach's point. Our recent power in the Far East has given us great and golden opportunities to assume the lead of new social forces there. On the whole, we have not suc-

ceeded. If Russian-American tension increases there, our opportunities may diminish. We must study our record critically.

J. K. FAIRBANK

Paul Bunyan Fair

ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI. By Bernard DeVoto. With an Account of the Discovery of the Miller Collection by Mae Reed Porter. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$10.

HERE, splendidly told and splendidly illustrated by contemporary painters, is the story of the mountain men, the fur-trappers and traders who filtered through the vast region along the upper Missouri and the Rockies beyond, exploring it and preparing the way for the settlers who made the United States a continental nation. This story flows out of Mr. DeVoto's deep interest in the opening of his native West—an interest already reflected in his "Mark Twain's America" and "The Year of Decision"—and so it commands not only all his thoroughness as a historian but also all his enthusiasm and skill as a writer.

"Across the Wide Missouri" covers the years 1832-38, which saw the climax and rapid decline of the fur trade—a trade chiefly in beaver pelts to be made into felt for Eastern and European hatters. It is an account of the ruthless effort of Astor's American Fur Company—the trust—to monopolize the trade. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Astor's St. Louis partner and generalissimo in this war, minced no words about this objective. His standing order was, *Ecraser toute opposition*. And opposition there was—from the Rocky Mountain Fur Company of St. Louis, whose men were better acquainted with the mountains than were the employees of the trust, and from lesser partnerships and such adventurers as Nathaniel Wyeth, the Cambridge business man. The trust won in the end, but by the time it did there were few beavers left and almost no demand for their pelts.

These few years covered a wide canvass. To fill in its rich details Mr. DeVoto has organized his story along the lines of trips made into the West with mountain men by two European veterans of the Napoleonic wars. One was Captain William Drummond Stewart, who

took with him the Baltimore artist, Alfred Jacob Miller, so that his castle in Scotland might be filled with pictures of the land in which he had adventured. The other was Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, full of scientific curiosity and eager for specimens of every variety. The prince, too, was accompanied by a painter, Charles Bodmer. There are ninety-six pages of reproductions of the sketches by these artists and by George Caulin—thirty-two pages in full color—to round out the story. They are faithful pictorial reportage of the utmost historical interest.

Stewart went with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company brigades overland to the Platte, the Sweetwater, and South Pass in Wyoming. Maximilian boarded the Astor company's steamer Yellowstone for its struggle up the river from St. Louis to the big company post, Fort Union. The trust sought to do most of its business at such permanent locations; the opposition, however, pressed more deeply into the mountain country, holding a periodic trading rendezvous from which it sent furs back to St. Louis by pack train. But in this struggle there was no stubborn adherence to a set pattern. There was always a race to be first on the scene. No device—whether it was ruinously outbidding a rival or stirring up Indians against him—was left untried. Shrewdest of all under these circumstances probably was the St. Louis firm of Sublette and Campbell, which early confined itself to purveying and transport. But after its original owners sold out, it was soon absorbed by the monopolists.

It was a versatile crew that played out this game in the wilderness—Jim Bridger, Tom Fitzpatrick, Joe Walker, Vasques, the Sublettes, Joe Meek, Bonneville—on leave from the army and probably under orders to spy on the British in Oregon—and others to whose names Mr. DeVoto gives the prominence they deserve in American history. These men were amazingly adapted to a horse-and-buffalo economy. They were expert explorers and astute diplomats in dealing with the Indians—the Sioux, Pawnees, Cheyennes, Flatheads, Gros Ventres, Blackfeet, Nez Percés. They were hardy roisterers and above all men who found deep satisfaction in their rugged way of life. It is well that they were infatuated with plain and mountain, for, with the

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exception of the "free traders," they were forever in debt to their employers, and their ultimate reward usually was bankruptcy.

The backers of the trade, however, accumulated princely fortunes, and no wonder. They generally marked up prices about 2,000 per cent. They sold coarse cloth for \$10 a yard and fine cloth for \$20, although domestic calicoes were worth only 14 cents a yard in St. Louis, and French calicoes from 20 to 35 cents. In St. Louis coffee brought 15 cents a pound wholesale, sugar 9 cents, and flour 2 cents. All three were sold at a rendezvous for \$2 a pound. Whiskey was forbidden by the government, but it was a leading item in the trade. The stuff sold was no more than raw alcohol diluted with river water. Alcohol was worth 15 cents a gallon in St. Louis, but firewater brought several dollars a pint in the West—and the more a man bought the thinner it was likely to be. Except when the trust wanted to keep furs out of the opposition's hands at all costs, this pricing policy was reversed when it came to buying the trappers' pelts.

The rendezvous, however, was—as Mr. DeVoto calls it—a Paul Bunyan's fair. The mountain men sauntered between booths full of tempting merchandise. Whole villages of garishly bedizened Indians arrived like so many sections of a circus parade. They as well as the trappers and traders engaged in noisy feats of skill. There was gambling all over the place, the Indians, men and women, being fantastically addicted to it. And whiskey. And squaws. And fights. And the trapper would remember not always in time that he needed an outfit for the next year—a horse, clothing, powder, lead, traps, tobacco, beads, scalpings, and other trading items.

Whatever his economic fate, the mountain man was not pathetic. Joe Walker led a party across the last mountain range into warm and opulent California. The men were welcomed by the mission friars and the señoritas. Their tables were set with the lush abundance of that sunny land. They were offered high pay for their skill in carpentry and other crafts. Yet after a few months of luxury the men turned their backs on it and headed again into the Rockies. Perhaps they had a sense of destiny. Perhaps they realized that they had to put

an end to all the silly Eastern talk about wild deserts, salt mountains, and Welsh Indians. Perhaps they knew what role they were playing. But they must have had a doubt or two when they saw the ravages of cholera and smallpox, the Indians dying and changing, the fur trade so depressed that they had to hire out as guides to quarreling missionaries on the Oregon Trail.

Still, the story of the life and times of the mountain men is romantic, thrilling, and important. It should live long in this book which Mr. DeVoto has written with such obvious gusto.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

The Rivals

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA. By Vera Micheles Dean. Harvard University Press. \$3.

THIS handy and readable volume in the series The American Foreign Policy Library provides up-to-date material for understanding Russia and Soviet policies. There are tables on Russo-American trade, a bibliography, and an index.

The link with the United States in the title is demonstrated more by way of parallels than by analysis of relations between the two. I miss the significant parallel between the slow and reluctant emergence of the United States from an isolationist position in regard to international administrative unions and the reluctance of the Soviet government to participate in what we now call specialized agencies of the United Nations.

The book describes Soviet planning along familiar lines. An elaboration of the inflation theme, mentioned on page 119 but not in the index, would have added interest and realism. If the bibliography had included periodical articles, serious references on the subject would not be wanting.

Mrs. Dean is diligent in seeking constructive elements in Soviet foreign policy. Useful as this may be for purposes of sympathetic exposition, nobody will be pleased by the remark on pages 205-06 that "Russia itself invaded Finland in 1939 on the ground that that country was to have served as a base for German attack on Russian territory." A broader approach in her chapter on The Atom Bomb and the Veto

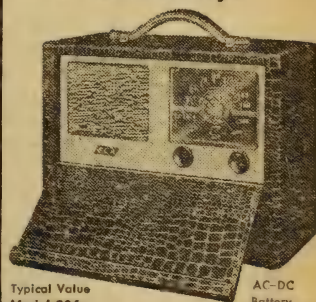
would have brought to light areas of agreement between ourselves and the Soviet delegation—for instance, on a working definition of aggression as conceded in the Soviet recommendations of February 18 last. Concentrating on the veto angle, Mrs. Dean misses an implicit answer to her plea at the end for "some adjustment, if not reconciliation, between two rival economic systems."

BJARNE BRAATØY

Drama Note

REVIVED after nineteen years, St. John Irvine's "The First Mrs. Fraser" (Shubert Theater) makes a pleasant enough little play which serves as an occasion for Jane Cowl to give a characteristic performance. Two decades is not, however, quite long enough to mature even a period piece, much less a classic, and I have serious doubts whether this particular play will ever be either. In its own day its special tone of half-moralistic, half bantering concern with the problem of multiple divorce no doubt seemed just right, but in order to last, the play should have

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been either less serious or more so. In 1947 it seems neither especially funny nor especially searching. Henry Daniell does very well a difficult job with the humorless Scotch hero, but the more convincingly he plays, the harder it is to believe that Miss Cowl would want him back or to consider the fact that she gets him a happy ending. He seems to be one of those exasperatingly solemn egotists whom only a Barry heroine could love, and that is perhaps the reason why his wife is, indeed, a bit Barryish. Frances Tannehill does very nicely as a particularly unlikable representative of what was the younger generation during the late twenties, and Reginald Mason gives one of his characteristically suave performances as a bachelor who has spent most of his life unsuccessfully proposing to Mrs. Fraser whenever she was not married to the first and only Mr.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

SOME of the kind of music by Stravinsky in which I used to hear only "expertly contrived aridity and ugliness" I have recently begun to find interesting and enjoyable—and nobody could be more surprised at this than myself. Trying to account for it I think that one of the factors was the Balanchine choreog-

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raphy for "Dances Concertantes," which was like the additional line of counterpoint that completes a musical texture and gives it the significance it lacked without such completion: when I heard another work I heard it with what such a Balanchine counterpoint would have imparted to it. Another factor was the score of "Le Baiser de la fée," which, even without what Balanchine imparted to it, had seemed to me years ago to be an unusually beautiful result of Stravinsky's manipulation of materials borrowed from other composers: now I was struck not only by the beauty of what Stravinsky contrived with Tchaikovsky's materials, but with its direct expressiveness, something almost unique in Stravinsky's music, which I could recall in only one other work, "The Firebird"; and I was fascinated by the way the beautiful and expressive details were contrived—which is to say by the operation of Stravinsky's mind. It was this operation of his mind that I began to be aware of, interested, fascinated, and amused by, in the *ostinato* figures and rhythms, the perverse accents, the distorted melodies, the strident harmonies and sonorities in "Dances Concertantes," the Symphony in Three Movements, and now the Dumbarton Oaks Concerto recorded by Stravinsky with a chamber orchestra headed by Alexander Schneider for Keynote (Set DM-1; \$3.85, on vinylite). That mind is evident in the powerfully controlled performance, the sound of which on the records is spaced out, clear, hard, and bright, except on side 3, where it is made fuzzy by the bad surface (a second copy had noisy surfaces throughout).

On a single record (K-2003; \$1.75,

on vinylite) Keynote offers Vivaldi's beautiful Concerto Grosso in D minor in its original form, for two solo violins and solo cello and a small group of strings. The performance led by Alexander Schneider—with Schneider, Eddie Bachman, and Bernard Greenhouse as the solo group—is very fine, except that the *Largo* is played *Andantino*, presumably to get the work on one record. Its recorded sound is spaced out and clear, but not natural and pleasant.

It may be that some day I will have the same experience with Bartok's music as I have had with Stravinsky's; but it hasn't happened yet, and my mind still cannot follow where his goes in his major works. But the piano pieces in Vox's memorial album (Set 625; \$5.25, on vinylite)—"Bear Dance," "Evening in Transylvania," and fifteen pieces from the collection "For Children"—all derived from Hungarian folk music, are intelligible, and sometimes engaging, but sometimes too burdened with the modernism of the arrangement. The records, processed from the recording of a broadcast by Bartok himself, reproduce his performances with clarity and good sound; their surfaces are not entirely quiet.

Beethoven's Great Fugue Opus 133, his original conclusion for the Quartet Opus 130, is a work in which also my mind cannot always follow where Beethoven's goes, but in which there are some wonderful moments. Musicraft has issued an excellent and well-reproduced performance by the Kroll Quartet (Set 73; \$2.85); but the records sent to me are very noisy and badly warped.

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Roman Totenberg with a small group of strings (Set 78; \$2.85). The ensemble performance is very good; and so is Totenberg's own playing in it, even with its occasional defects of tone. The recorded sound is a little coarse with the Astatic QT-J pickup, but quite good with the Brush PL-20; and the surfaces again are very noisy.

And another Musicraft set (84; \$3.85) offers harpsichord music—Rameau's charming "La Poule" and a not especially interesting Gavotte and Variations from his Suite in A Minor, Couperin's charming "Le Tic-toc-choc" and the occasionally engaging "Les Fastes de la grande et ancienne Ménestrandise"—played by Sylvia Marlowe. Miss Marlowe doesn't pound her instrument as she did in the Scarlatti set; but that means her playing is stodgy and dull. The records again are very noisy; and one is so badly warped that the QT-J cannot track—which the PL-20 manages to do.

The more normal Marlowe hammered-out spectacular sonority and nervous excitement in full blast spoil what should have been an outstanding set: the Gramophone Shop's of eight Suites of Purcell (\$11.50, on-vinylite).

•Leonard Bernstein's music for Jerome Robbins's "Facsimile," which he has recorded for RCA Victor (Set 1142; \$3), is not worth listening to apart from the ballet. The performance is well reproduced; surfaces are noisy with the QT-J, but not with the PL-20.

The Brazilian piano music recorded by Novas for Columbia (Set 692; \$3.75) is a series of little and light pieces—arrangements of folk-songs by Villa-Lobos, Pinto's "Memories of Childhood," a Toccata by Guarneri—which get to be tiresome. Her performances are charming and are well reproduced.

The performance of Bach's Suite No. 2 for flute and strings that Reiner has recorded with the Pittsburgh Symphony for Columbia (Set 695; \$4.60) is a sonorous large-orchestra performance, and a fairly good one of that kind, but without the sensitive inflection and inner animation of texture of the old Busch Chamber Players performance that the work calls for. The recorded sound is good, except for a slight sharpness of the violins, which is more pronounced with the QT-J.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Semantics and Revolution

Dear Sirs: I think that *Nation* readers, to whom democratic concepts of political justice presumably are not mere exercises in semantics, should expect a much more forthright treatise on Political Justice in Eastern Europe than appeared in the October 11 issue. It seems to me that Freda Kirchwey's muted alarm over "the mounting attacks on non-Communist leftists" in Soviet-dominated Balkan and Danube countries is little more than a whisper of the outraged protests *The Nation* should voice against police states which murder men for expressing pro-democratic sentiments.

Miss Kirchwey says she is unconvinced that such people as Nikola Petkov deserve to be shot, but she would welcome any "evidence" to the contrary, however post mortem. Meanwhile she points out that "Communists strongly advocate 'unity' among the left forces," and she accepts "as valid therapy the purge of those men who would, if they could, undo the revolution." In my book, at least, her "revolution" is the revolting process by which totalitarian governments by terror have been imposed on much of Eastern Europe.

WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, November 20

[It would be comfortable to simplify events in Eastern Europe as Mr. Baldinger has done; to dispose of a complex social-political upheaval—following a struggle which was at once international war, civil war, and revolution—in a pigeonhole labeled "revolting process." Comfortable but not very sensible. In fact I would think that only a person insulated from contemporary events and unacquainted with history could so easily ignore the realities of the revolutionary conflict now in progress in many parts of the world.

I am not going to waste space correcting Mr. Baldinger's curious distortion of my point of view. Interested readers can refer to the original edi-

torial if they still have it. But I would suggest that Mr. Baldinger, before finally dismissing as "exercises in semantics" views more "muted" than his own, take time off to read a good history of the French Revolution and perhaps one or two objective studies of the background of the struggle in Eastern Europe, Seton-Watson's "Eastern Europe Between the Wars, 1918-1941," for example. He might even read Rustem Vambery's "Hungary—To Be or Not to Be" for the context of recent events in that country.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

The Philadelphia Outrage

Dear Sirs: On November 1 I went to hear some speakers in Independence Square, Philadelphia. The meeting was sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America, a group with which I am not affiliated. As I stood there waiting for the speaking to start it became evident that there were elements present who intended to break up the meeting. When the speaking began the din grew louder—so that the speakers could scarcely be heard. Lines of men forced their way through the crowd. One of them stepped on my foot and another hit me a sharp blow in the ribs with his elbow.

One of the speakers was former United States Attorney Francis Fisher Kane, a man eighty-one years old, known to many Philadelphians as a loved and respected citizen. As he stood at the microphone he was pelted with pennies and other missiles. One of the missiles broke the glasses of another man on the platform, and I learned later that the Wills Eye Hospital removed a piece of glass from his eye.

A man behind me said in a voice choked with emotion, "I was in Germany when the Nazis rose to power. I never thought it could happen here—but this is it!" A sweet-faced, neatly dressed, elderly lady beside me was sure that Communists were breaking up the

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Crossword Puzzle No. 239

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Press it to raise your spirits. (7)
- 5 "_____ age and youth cannot live together." (Shakespeare) (7)
- 9 Expenses of indirect lighting? (7)
- 10 It begins with an indefinite one. (7)
- 11 A monster is headed this way! (5)
- 12 Press takes sides in the matter of the Constitution. (9)
- 14 One doesn't think it so splendid at court! (4)
- 15 Beastly, from bottom to top. (7)
- 18 He isn't subject to anything. (3)
- 20 Out of the stew? Out! (3)
- 21 Is this the price line we were to hold? (7)
- 23 Useful, but take it back. (4)
- 26 Announce your quarters on board. (9)
- 28 The proper kind are not commonly found. (5)
- 29 Wearing it like a god? (7)
- 30 Has made crestfallen. (7)
- 31 Engages in a revolution. (7)
- 32 Plights. (7)

DOWN

- 1 This was the way to keep a body warm. (6)
- 2 Sound advice to the gardener, as the tide does it. (6)

- 3 He knows the score of the first part. (9)
- 4 This finds us climbing over a pinnacle. (7)
- 5 Two fuels for one. (7)
- 6 Lost a part of the score on a low pitch. (5)
- 7 Rood. (8)
- 8 Up for a party, or down for a reprimand? (8)
- 13 Amidships. (8)
- 16 Sausage. (9)
- 17 Kind of butter. (3)
- 18 Weapon carriers. (8)
- 19 Dandy tube of paste. (8)
- 22 Runaway teams. (7)
- 23 Timothy hay? (7)
- 24 Don't leave a stone unturned after the barrel is tipped over. (6)
25. Iron out 12 after 10. (6)
- 27 Former French island? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 238

ACROSS:—1 CAMBRIC; 5 EFFUSES; 9 BULLPEN; 10 TALLIER; 11 CORRESPONDINGLY; 12 LOAFERS; 13 AUGUREP; 14 SEATTLE; 17 BATTING; 20 QUARTERSECTIONS; 21 ENLIVEN; 22 IDOLIZE; 23 SADISTS; 24 ENSIGNS.

DOWN:—1 CUBICAL; 2 MALARIA; 3 REPRESENTATIVES; 4 CANAPES; 5 ESTONIA; 6 FILLING STATIONS; 7 STINGER; 8 SPRAYED; 14 SEQUELS; 15 AVAILED; 16 BRRANDS; 17 BEELINE; 18 IRONING; 19 GASKETS.

meeting—she had heard that Communists did such dreadful things.

But it soon became evident that the disturbers of the peace were quite a different group. The Order of the Purple Heart announced itself, and the American Legion insignia were in evidence on a large piece of noise-making apparatus.

Apparently there are some people who do not realize that when they destroy free speech for someone else they destroy it for themselves also, who do not realize that when they destroy free speech they destroy democracy as well. Why couldn't the groups that disagreed with the Progressive Citizens of America have used democratic methods? Why couldn't they have said, "We will allow this meeting to proceed, but next Saturday we will hold a meeting in Independence Square and tell our side of the story."

Even if the American Legion and the Order of the Purple Heart apparently have no respect for our Constitution, some of us plain citizens have, and we are outraged by this demonstration against free speech.

MILDRED RYDER

Philadelphia, November 3

Overstated

Dear Sirs: I am sorry that in the rush of compressing three paragraphs into one sentence I made a slip in my article on the Catholic Church and Education. I spoke of the "complete support of all parochial schools by public funds, as in Ontario, England, and the Netherlands." That is, of course, an overstatement, and the phrase should read "direct support of parochial schools," etc.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Thetford Center, Vt., November 18

CORRECTION: The sentence in Wilbur H. Baldinger's article *Pattern for Union-Busting* (in *The Nation* of November 15), which read "... Schwab, famed for his part in the Battle of Homestead in 1892," ought to have read "... Schwab, who helped prepare the Battle of Homestead in 1892." "Actually," Mr. Baldinger informs us, "Schwab took no part in the Battle of Homestead, as such. He was named superintendent of the Homestead mill in 1887 and set in motion anti-union policies there which subsequently led into the 1892 fight. But by that time he had left Homestead and was running a Brad-dock mill."—EDITORS THE NATION.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

PROCEEDINGS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF the London conference provided little reason for revising the gloomy estimate of its success that we gave in our last issue. True, the Foreign Ministers managed to agree on an agenda—a task that had defeated their deputies—but in the discussion of basic issues there seemed to be no meeting of minds. The chief matter in dispute has been the form and scope of a provisional German government. All four powers—France, with many reservations—favor a politically and economically unified Germany, but at that point agreement ends. The United States, Britain, and France want a loose federation with large powers left to the constituent states; Russia, a strong centralized government. Both sides, of course, are concerned about the way in which the balance of power will be tilted by the new Germany. Russia fears that our aim is to build up the Reich as an American bastion in Central Europe; we dread a Communist Germany allied to the U.S.S.R. Since, unfortunately, neither fear can be dismissed as absurd, it would seem that Russia and the United States can hardly hope to make a joint peace with a unified Germany until they end their "cold war." The strong probability of stalemate in the present conference has been underlined by Molotov's demand that America and Britain renounce all thought of making a separate peace with a truncated Germany. Naturally, Marshall and Bevin have refused to commit themselves on this point. There is good reason to suppose that they are not anxious to play this trump card of dubious value, but at the present stage of the game they cannot afford to throw it away.

✱

THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT, WHICH has suffered some hard knocks lately, has good cause to be jubilant at the victory of its candidate, Sir Richard Acland, at the Gravesend parliamentary by-election. In the recent municipal elections, as Aylmer Vallance reminds us in his article on page 617, the Tories exploited popular discontent over "enforced austerity" with very gratifying results from their point of view. Their successes, they claimed, showed that the tide had turned against the Labor Party, and they looked to Gravesend to provide a clinching proof. They had some reason to be optimistic. Gravesend is not a typical industrial con-

stituency; it is a mixed urban, suburban and rural district at the mouth of the Thames, with large farming and middle-class elements to balance a considerable population of longshoremen and factory workers. At the general election in 1945, when Labor ousted a Tory who had held the seat firmly for twenty-one years, a Liberal had intervened, polling 5,000 votes. This time, there was a straight fight, and the Tories confidently expected most of the Liberal votes to go to their candidate. Another point in their favor was that the election was called just after the inauguration of potato rationing, an unpopular if necessary measure. The Tories made much of this issue, even though they could not explain how or why the Labor government had created last summer's drought which caused the potato shortage. It was, they tried to suggest, just another example of bad Labor planning, and they extolled, with Winston Churchill, "the marvelous results of sweeping away controls" in the United States. At this point, President Truman unwittingly provided Acland with a powerful counter-argument by his request to Congress to reimpose controls and rationing. That seems to have been the turning point in a ding-dong battle which Labor won with a reduced but handy majority.

✱

BOSTON IS A CITY THAT BLANCHES AT A naughty word in type and keeps a convicted crook for its Mayor. Normally, we would not be too exercised over a commutation of sentence that freed a seventy-two-year-old man a month before his eligibility for parole, and we would not even be vindictive in the case of the Honorable James M. Curley if his release were not enveloped in a cloud of dubious politics. It is not every prisoner who has the minority whip of the House of Representatives circulating petitions in his behalf. Still fewer have a champion in the Cabinet, as Curley did in the person of Robert Hannegan, recently resigned. And no jailbird we ever heard of had the mayoralty of a great city held open for him while he served his time. By commuting Curley's sentence after five months, President Truman not only assured the venerable Mayor of a Thanksgiving dinner at home, a touching sentiment in itself, but left intact his civil rights. Cynical Republicans, with an eye on Curley's usefulness to his party in 1948, may puff up in righteous wrath, as some already have

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done, but their indignation cannot be pushed far without coming up against the strange behavior of their own party colleagues in Massachusetts. After all, it was a Republican legislature that, in ninety minutes, rushed through the so-called "Curley law," whereby the city clerk of Boston was made temporary mayor until the moment the convict, specifically named in the legislation, should again set foot in City Hall. And it was Republican Governor Bradford who signed the bill, presumably out of gratitude to Curley for making him governor by quietly knifing his own party's candidate a year ago. Curley was greeted outside his home by a band playing "Hail to the Chief," but the country has still to hear an outcry from those forces of piety in Boston to whom mail fraud apparently is the merest peccadillo beside the monstrous sin of birth control.

✱

THE MOTION-PICTURE INDUSTRY'S BOAST that it has not produced anything un-American was blown to pieces when its "leaders," meeting in New York, announced to the world that they were firing the ten men cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer the questions of J. Parnell Thomas's egregious committee. There is good reason for taking into account the political beliefs of people employed in the policy-making departments of government; but when private industry begins to fire people for their suspected sympathy with, or membership in, a political group which is, after all, a legal party, every individual is laid open to an attack upon his right and his opportunity to work—and to think as he pleases. The actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities have been outrageous enough; complete subservience to its whims by the heads of Hollywood is even more so. Those heads have always touched their heels, as it were, leaning over backward to conform to the mores of morons, as laid down in the Hays code. But this time, their antics are not merely ridiculous; they are also dangerous. A court test is very much in order, and we hope it will be pressed. For the defendants are not just those few fellow-travelers who have the means to fight back and who don't mind being martyrs anyway, but everyone who does not hold the thoroughly un-American view that all's right with the world.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN, IN HIS MESSAGE TO Congress on November 17, asked that "some restraint should be placed on inflationary bank credit." In this generalized form, the request seemed one of the least controversial in the Presidential program, and even Senator Taft indicated willingness to support it. However, if Congress gets down to brass tacks on the subject, it is likely to find that "restraint of credit" can create just as much heat as price control. That fact has

been made clear by the loud protests of the banking community against a plan offered last week to the House Banking and Currency Committee by Federal Reserve Chairman Marriner Eccles. Mr. Eccles suggested that the Federal Reserve Board be given new powers to require all banks to hold special additional reserves of cash or short-term government securities. He proposed a maximum of 25 per cent against demand deposits and 10 per cent against time deposits, which, combined with existing requirements, could mean that banks would be obliged to keep in reserve 39 to 51 per cent of their time deposits, the actual ratio varying with location. This would increase the influence of the Reserve System on the money market and serve to constrict the banks' ability to make commercial loans, which have been expanding at a phenomenal rate in recent months. We can see certain technical objections to his plan, but, since maximum legal reserves have previously been moved up and down by Congress, there does not seem to be anything startlingly revolutionary about it. Nevertheless, the bankers view Mr. Eccles's idea as nothing less than "a step toward socialization of banking," and they obviously are prepared to fight it tooth and nail. Their chances of successful resistance are good, since Administration councils are divided, with Secretary of the Treasury Snyder taking his stand with his former banking associates.

The Meyers Crackdown

THE sudden ferocity with which his former comrades in top echelons of the armed services have turned on Major General Bennett E. Meyers (retired) must be a shattering blow to even so cynical a character as "Benny." Without the formality of civil trial or court martial, he has been denied further disability pension, stripped of his medals, and branded a "disgrace to the uniform" by his war-time commander. The self-portrait which the kiss-and-tell general painted in his curious "defense" before the Senate War Investigating Committee will still any protests which this summary crackdown might arouse among civil libertarians. Yet the haste and hysteria displayed are somewhat disturbing for other reasons.

General Meyers's version of his relations with Mrs. Lamarre and the resulting complexities will be weighed in the courts. On the record so far, we are inclined to agree with Senator Ferguson that the General's explanation is even more damaging than the charges against him; that if, in actuality, he promoted the Aviation Electric Corporation in order to retain the favor of the lady—and her husband—he was using government contracts to subsidize his sex life. This is not usually considered conduct becoming a model major general. Mrs. Lamarre, in turn, accuses Meyers of rank boastfulness and insists he steadfastly pursued profit, not pleasure. This narrow

dispute has undoubtedly buried some significant disclosures about the war-time A. A. F. But even so, the current military offensive against Meyers takes on a rather hollow sound when the following items are considered:

1. In the summer of 1945, an anonymous member of the Air Forces wrote a letter to the FBI offering plain clues to Meyers's "profiteering." It was promptly transmitted to the A. A. F., whose Major General Junius Jones, Air Inspector, has admitted that the charges were never investigated. With notable arrogance, he said he still thought it read like the work of a "reformer" and "crackpot," and he deplored the failure of the author to sign his name. On further questioning, it developed that General Jones is the author of a manual stressing the need for investigation of leads in all anonymous letters.

2. The letter was routed—inexplicably—to the office of General H. H. Arnold, war-time A. A. F. chief, where it gathered dust. Arnold had meanwhile sent a questionnaire to top procurement officers asking them to list their stockholdings. He assured them no "investigation" was contemplated; he wanted the material as the basis for a "public-relations" campaign to refute ugly "rumors" about the procurement setup. When General Jones was asked why no effort was made to look behind the replies, he said the Air Forces had no power to "force" an officer to divulge his financial records.

3. General Arnold, in his angry public condemnation of Meyers, confessed that the errant general had discussed speculation in government bonds with him in 1943. Yet the discussion apparently stirred no suspicions about the scope of Meyers's extra-curricular activities; Arnold simply declined to join in the deal.

4. Colonel John W. Price acknowledged that he wrote a memorandum earlier this year recommending that the Air Forces, having pigeonholed the anonymous letter, withhold it from the Senate probers. It was only by accident that the document fell into the committee's hands. General Jones thereupon announced that, "for reasons independent of this investigation," Colonel Price would be transferred to another post. Will General Jones get a medal?

General Arnold and Mr. Symington now express confidence that General Meyers was "just one rotten apple" in a big barrel. We are also told that a new day in procurement is at hand and that the unified services will prevent a repetition of these "errors." The reorganization referred to will be welcome. But we have a lingering fear that the archaic caste system will be only gently jarred in the process. It was that system as much as any other factor which protected General Meyers, sparing him such discomforts as inspection of his war-time financial operations. We hope the Senate investigators will not reduce the Meyers case to a saga of individual sin when they write their final report.

United Nations Victory

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE Palestine decision was a victory not to be diminished by the grimy background of intrigue and vote-trading from which it emerged. Nothing that went before can blur the outlines of the new Jewish state, defined in the language of the resolution, if not yet in structural form, and approved by more than two-thirds of the members. This is the Assembly's one great accomplishment, and it went far to restore faith in the capacity of the United Nations to act positively.

The decision has been challenged by the Arab states and rejected by the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, but many signs already point to ultimate reluctant acquiescence rather than all-out rebellion. Not one Arab state has said it would withdraw from the United Nations; as for the Arabs of Palestine, they may never accept partition but also they may not resist it—not, at least, as a whole people. Undoubtedly, there will be violence; the warlike threats and preparations of the Mufti, across the border in Lebanon, have already touched off ugly outbursts in Palestine and Syria. But his efforts may be partly offset by the activities of certain opposition Palestinian Arabs, known even now to be in contact with King Abdullah and ready to take advantage of a possible future absorption of Arab Palestine by Transjordan. Faced with a United Nations decision carried out by a United Nations commission, Arab intransigence is likely to fade.

In any case, the decision will neither be reversed nor nullified. Even Britain has officially stated its willingness "not to obstruct" any plan adopted by the Assembly. So we may assume that the Assembly plan will be put in effect, at least in Jewish Palestine, and that by October the new state—or states—will be in existence. Superficially, the result was achieved by eight weeks of parliamentary maneuver, lobbying, debate, and back-stairs trading; more profoundly, it was produced, as the oranges and phosphates of Palestine have been produced, by a mighty faith and iron endurance maintained through twenty-five years of Jewish struggle.

THE battle in the Assembly was the pay-off. In time, it will be reviewed and analyzed in these pages. Here, only a few major points can be made:

If Britain, which gave the Palestine problem to the United Nations, had cooperated in finding a solution, the matter could have been easily settled. The United Nations Special Committee had submitted majority and minority reports and a wealth of supporting material. The views of the opposing parties had been well aired last spring. But because of Britain's negative attitude, the whole procedure faced a series of roadblocks. The

British delegates—first the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, and then Sir Alexander Cadogan—kept repeating the formula on which the session began: the mandate would be laid down on a date to be determined in London; British troops would be withdrawn when the government saw fit (in his last speech, Cadogan set August 1 as the date of final withdrawal); Britain would not, at any stage, be responsible for helping establish or enforce a solution not accepted by both Arabs and Jews—that is, any solution conceivable. The subcommittee was left with the unhappy task of planning partition without knowing when, where, how, or under what authority the job could be accomplished.

Even this difficulty might have been overcome fairly easily if the United States had taken a clear, strong position at the outset. Unfortunately, until the last days, the United States followed a policy of deliberate ambiguity. No one knew just where our delegation stood at any given moment—including the delegates themselves. As always, the State Department wanted to string along with Britain, if possible. Influential men in the department, with the Defense Department and the combined Chiefs of Staff in the background, favored a solution as close to the status quo as changed events allowed. Oil and defense and old-fashioned imperialist interests were balanced against long-standing promises to the Jews, and President Truman's inclination—personal as well as political—toward a Zionist solution. The result was a formal indorsement of the majority plan offset by a long series of delays and reservations. For days on end, the United States members of the subcommittee sat silent while the other members fumed and privately expressed their annoyance at American passivity. It was only when the press criticized the shilly-shallying of our delegates that they were jolted briefly into activity. But the deliberations were so endlessly protracted that the energetic Dr. Evatt finally invaded the subcommittee, demanded a report, and got one.

How much of the trouble can be laid to the American members themselves, and how much to Washington, it would be hard to say. Certainly, General Hilldring, our delegation's excellent adviser, did his utmost to force the issue. The best guess is that most of obstructions originated in the higher reaches of the State Department.

That action was at last taken must be put down to the account of a handful of men. Apart from Dr. Evatt, whose tenacity and parliamentary skill were a major asset

THE NATION wishes to acknowledge the many letters it has received discussing the three articles by Paul Blanshard on the Roman Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex and Education. As soon as space permits, an extensive representative selection of these letters will be printed.

in the fight, great praise should go to three of the Latin American delegates—Jorge Granados, of Guatemala, E. Rodriguez Fabregat, of Uruguay, and Pedro Zuloaga, of Venezuela. Fabregat and Granados, having served as members of UNSCOP, contributed immensely to the success of the working committee which was set up to resolve differences and prepare the detailed plan of implementation; and all three showed skill in preventing serious divisions in the subcommittee. Equally effective was Canada's able Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson. Very hard-headed and direct, quick on the trigger, Pearson kept finding ways around the succession of barriers raised by the British and the Americans. Another man who deserves more credit than he got was Ksowery Pruszyński, the subcommittee's Polish chairman. Laboring under the handicap of a slow and reluctant English, Pruszyński nevertheless held the group to their appointed job—to prepare a report *based on* the majority recommendations. He was himself unwavering in support of partition, and his tenacious good faith kept others in line.

Finally, credit must go to Russia's Tsrupakin who, from the moment Gromyko announced his support of partition, did everything possible to hasten agreement. No one could accuse the Soviet delegates of obstruction or any attempt to play politics with the issue. They were conciliatory and reasonable all through, and at several critical points accepted compromise solutions, as in the matter of Security-Council authority over the Palestine commission, in order to speed action.

Throughout, the representatives of the Jewish Agency showed statesmanship and a restraint which was the more impressive because they had waited so long for the day of decision. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Chaim Weizmann ably presented the Zionist case in the general debate while Moshe Shertok carried the whole weight of day-by-day negotiation with a skill and patience that every member recognized.

THE commission was hand-picked by the United States. Four out of five of the countries named are generally counted in the British-American "bloc"—Bolivia, Panama, Denmark, and the Philippines. Czechoslovakia was chosen instead of Poland, which had earned a place on the commission. Bolivia was put on, while Guatemala and Uruguay were omitted—on United States insistence, after both had been recommended by the working committee.

But the value of the commission will be demonstrated in action; and its ability to accomplish the difficult task assigned to it will depend, in the end, not so much on its composition, though that is important enough, as on the attitude of the great powers toward its mission. How far will Britain go in maintaining order while its troops remain in Palestine? Will it

organize the process of withdrawal so as to facilitate the work of the commission, or pull out in the manner best suited to its own convenience? The answers to those questions will determine order or chaos in Palestine. Continued cooperation between Russia and the United States will play an immense role in insuring a successful transfer of power. Another factor will be American willingness to send arms to the Jewish militia. Since no United Nations force has been provided to keep the peace while the commission governs Palestine, it is essential that the Haganah be quickly supplied with equipment and prepared to defend partition as it is carried into effect.

The decision in the Assembly was won through the belated help of the United States, without whose help it could not have been won at all. Those Americans who watched the struggle at close range or, like the representatives of The Nation Associates, took an active hand in it, were not happy at the reluctant role their government played—particularly in view of past pledges and the evident necessities of the case. Now that partition has been adopted, the United States has an opportunity to see to it that the plan succeeds.

If raids and terror rule in Palestine, the Security Council will be called upon to take action—and this is the contingency the State Department has been most anxious to avoid. The best hope of order, and effective implementation of the plan offered by the Assembly, lies in putting arms into the hands of the Jewish forces—before the British troops withdraw.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Stassen, the What-Is-It?

HAROLD E. STASSEN, it appears, is unimpressed by the fate of the politician celebrated in the jingle of the late Keith Preston, to wit:

There lies beneath this mossy stone

A politician who

Touched a live issue without gloves

And never did come to.

Indeed, the device whereby Stassen keeps his name before the country without benefit of public office is to pick up live issues and publicly fondle them, much as a Kentucky snake cultist handles a mess of rattlers. Not content with stumping the country for the Presidency while rival candidates are still coyly hiding behind their fans, he has now written a book called "Where I Stand" (Doubleday, \$2) in which his principles are set forth for all to read. And in Milwaukee last week he paid his respects to certain unidentified Presidential candidates

who "hold that a position of photogenic availability should be maintained" until such time as delegates have been rounded up by skilful henchmen.

One would think that out of all this self-conscious, grimly determined frankness there would emerge a clear image of Harold Stassen and his creed, a picture easily recognized anywhere in the country. But this is far from being the case. In the course of a recent short stay in Wisconsin, where Stassen is staging a major drive for delegates, I found that he is as diversely viewed by the citizenry as the elephant by the blind men.

To the devotees of the Chicago *Tribune* Stassen is of course the heir of Wendell Willkie, which is to say, an enemy spy in the Republican camp, a New Dealer, and probably a "foreigner," a term not easy to define since Colonel McCormick has extended it to include Vandenberg and even Dewey. But it turns out that those who led the Willkie campaign in Wisconsin four years ago are as cool toward Stassen as the Colonel is. Their choice is Eisenhower. And the remnants of the old Progressive machine—not that I consider it a criterion—snort at the very notion that Stassen is a liberal. One of Phil La Follette's lieutenants assumed an air of perplexity as we talked of the former Minnesota governor. "I can't see anything liberal about the guy," he said. But he could still see something liberal in Phil, who in turn sees General MacArthur as "the greatest living American."

OFFHAND it might seem unreasonable to attribute the confusion about Stassen to that gentleman himself. Certainly he has been free with his opinions, and has displayed a tactical boldness that is refreshing beside the ragged conventions of the Deweys, the Warrens, and the rest. But in a large measure he is responsible for the ambiguity that characterizes his political reputation. He has managed to combine in a remarkable degree a liberalism in the abstract with a conservatism in the concrete. By lashing out at the "riders of regal reaction" and setting forth such objectives as "the better life," he deliberately makes his appeal as the daring and idealistic young hope of the party, determined to sweep out the mossbacks and bring the G. O. P. back to the glories of the first Roosevelt. Yet if Harold Stassen has ever harbored an idea that could not be swallowed by Robert A. Taft, the country has yet to hear of it.

Consider both his book and the Milwaukee speech in which he opened his formal appeal for Wisconsin's twenty-seven delegates. He is for a "free economy" in which there are "no booms, no busts," but he is so bearish on government controls that he "would much rather have large capital accumulations managed by individual citizens than . . . by government officials." He concedes that "there is some danger of going too far" in the direction of curbing labor, but the Taft-Hartley law doesn't

do it. Though a few minor amendments are in order, that statute is "the foundation for a fair, just, and well-balanced labor policy in America." And, like Knutson, he favors tax reductions in the higher brackets.

As a veteran and champion of veterans Stassen lays proper emphasis on the desperate need for housing, and he even concedes that the federal government "must break through to pry loose the log jam." But he is "unalterably opposed" to the government's becoming the "No. 1 landlord," and he puts the blame for the whole housing fiasco on government, the building industry, and the unions—on everyone, in short, except the Republicans who killed all the government's efforts to provide housing, and the real-estate lobby that called the tune.

It is particularly hard for Wisconsinites to take Stassen's concern with housing seriously—or his liberalism altogether, for that matter—because of the political company he keeps. His campaign for delegates in the state is led by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, an eager champion of the real-estate bloc. Miles McMillin of the *Madison Capital Times* recently described McCarthy as a man who, as judge, obliged his political supporters with "quickie" divorces, "who destroyed records of his court, and who failed to report some \$40,000 in income made from stock speculation." This last failing, incidentally, appears to be common among Congressmen from Wisconsin, several of whom have explained that they were simply "too busy" to make out returns.

If Stassen is even to cut much of a figure at the Republican convention, he will have to win the Wisconsin primary, which will be accepted by party leaders as an indication not only of his strength but of Dewey's and Eisenhower's as well. To this end McCarthy's men are already at work on district leaders and wardheelers, and from what I am told they are discounting their candidate's high-sounding pronouncements as "campaign oratory." Democratic leaders in the state, presumably neutral, expect Stassen to win the primary with the support of the Republican organization, with Dewey definitely weaker than in 1944 and MacArthur showing considerable strength. Stassen's recent and gratuitous attack on New York as a hotbed of communism was probably aimed primarily at Dewey, but it should also appeal to the anti-Eastern sentiments of *Tribune* readers who might be drifting toward the MacArthur camp. I would think that his lumping of socialism with communism—"two peas from the same confining pod"—and his remarkable proposal to refuse Marshall Plan aid to countries with nationalization programs were addressed to the same potential supporters. But there is more here than demagoguery. The plain truth is that Harold Stassen is first and foremost a champion of private capital in its purest form. Any resemblance to radicalism in his speeches or writings is purely coincidental, and any liberalism wholly secondary.

Scarcity Preferred

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 25

THE House committee on foreign aid headed by Representative Herter concludes smugly that "the greatest service the United States can render to the world at this time lies in maintaining a strong and powerful system of free enterprise in the United States." This happens to be true. An economic collapse in this country, by depressing prices and restricting markets the world over, will place a terrific burden on reconstruction efforts everywhere, irrespective of social systems. Unfortunately the Republicans, who dominate both houses of Congress, show no disposition whatever to make those minor sacrifices of private interest which are necessary if the American economy is to be stabilized.

This applies even to those in the Republican ranks who have been represented as in revolt against the Taft leadership. In last week's letter, *The G. O. P. Discovers Poverty*, I showed that two wandering Republican investigating committees were appalled at the poverty which inflation was creating at home and disturbed by the exorbitant profits resulting from the inflated prices. Yet neither committee had the courage to propose that anything much be done about it. The Flanders report went so far as to suggest an increase in the minimum wage and consumer rationing for meat, butter, and poultry, but without price control. The Bender report was against a return either to rationing or to price and wage control. All it proposed was that we "pare to the bone all government-financed export and military programs." The rebels—if they deserve so portentous a name—seem only to feel that Taft should not have slammed the door so resoundingly on the anti-inflationary controls asked by the President. Perhaps they fear echoes next November.

Reluctance to face up to the necessities imposed by any adequate program of European reconstruction is all the more evident in the Herter reports, which deal with the supply side of the picture. If all the current cant about "free enterprise" and "totalitarian controls" did not merely mask an unwillingness to forgo further inflationary profit, it would be obvious to the most conservative observer that the supply-and-demand mechanism of the market had temporarily broken down. Any program of foreign aid is rigorously limited on one side by the supply of food, which has about reached the maximum possible, and on another side by the supply of steel, where government intervention is necessary (1) to plan full utilization of existing facilities, and (2) to expand basic capacity. A combination of selective price controls, rationing, allocations, and planning is

required to meet this situation; all are anathema to the Republicans as they are to industry generally.

THIS is most striking in the case of Europe's greatest need, which is grain. The Herter report on France points out that the French bread ration is less than it was during the German occupation, and that there as elsewhere "official rations . . . can hardly go lower without serious effects on health and dangerous political repercussions." The Herter report on grain recognizes that the winter-wheat crop may fall to half last year's, not only jeopardizing the foreign-aid program but producing "critical domestic consequences and inflationary effects of a magnitude difficult to describe." Yet the committee cannot bring itself to draw what would seem to be the inescapable conclusion—the necessity of granting at once to the President emergency powers to control the price, use, allocation, and marketing of wheat and corn. It does advance, as questions for "preliminary consideration," some tentative ideas for planned expansion of food crops, fish, and nitrogen, for possible restrictions on the industrial use of grain, and for government procurement of all grains; but price controls—horrid phrase—are nowhere mentioned. Neither is rationing.

The only rationing the G. O. P. envisages is the rationing of misery and of abnormal demand abroad to fit the patterns of business as usual in the United States. The Republican majority, far from considering the questions timidly advanced in the Herter report on grain, is already taking to heart its warning that "the present danger is we may over-export." The Herter committee itself, when it gets down to cases, shows no disposition for any uncomfortable measures to expand available supplies. Thus it is content to dismiss as "unlikely" Secretary Marshall's hope that this winter we may ship enough wheat to France to restore its bread ration from the present 200 grams a day to the 250 grams which was—the Herter report tells us—"the lowest official ration under the German occupation." The Republicans are well aware of the need for maintaining wheat exports and some others if the bottom is not to fall out of the current boom. To this degree they favor "fighting communism" in Western Europe, but not to the degree that it would interfere with profits.

WITH regard to steel, the other basic item in the foreign-aid program, the facts are equally obvious. The supply of steel is the factor limiting the production and movement of fertilizer, coal, machinery, and

transport equipment. In the Administration reports—the Nourse, Krug and Harriman documents—one can see, by reading them carefully, that the steel supply is not just an emergency foreign-aid problem, that it must be expanded if a full-employment economy is to be maintained at home. One can also learn, most clearly from the Krug report, that steel output, instead of expanding, has been declining from the war-time peak; 4,000,000 tons of capacity have been shut down, and current production is 6,000,000 tons below that reduced capacity. There are problems in restoring the war-time peak, but the Herter committee is unwilling to recognize the part the government could play in easing if not solving them. The committee is unfriendly to steel expansion not only at home but abroad, though Western Europe must fabricate and sell more steel than it did before the war if it is to make up for its lost investments and lost empires.

Except in the case of Germany, which seems to be the favored nation of both the Herter and Harriman reports, there is suspicion of plans for steel expansion in

Western Europe. The Herter committee wants to review and revise downward the steel plans of the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux combination. "Is there not a real need," it asks, "to look at the prospects for marketing the capacity that will result and its probable contribution to a lack of world balance harmful to all concerned?" The Herter report reflects similar thinking in the case of petroleum. It fears that the refining equipment asked by the Paris proposals might be "supplied to foreign-owned but not to American-owned companies"; can't you see the poor little refugees of Standard Oil shivering outside the door? The Herter committee suggests either "curbs on Europe to prevent unreasonable increases in the consumption of petroleum" or "alternatively more production of petroleum equipment from Europe, particularly from Germany." The G. O. P. prefers a comfortable scarcity to adequate reconstruction in Europe, but if expansion there must be, it would rather see it in the Reich, where United States branch plants and cartel partners can share the profits.

Fiasco in Greece

I. Fruits of the Truman Doctrine

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

A FEW weeks ago Howard K. Smith, CBS's European news chief, reported from London that the execution of leftists in Greece had surpassed the rate at which opposition leaders were being liquidated in the Russian-dominated Balkans.

Strangely enough, President Truman's report to Congress on the progress of the Truman Doctrine, issued on November 10, didn't record this milestone. Nowhere in the report—or in the attached State Department document—was there mention of the increased violence in Greece since the Truman Doctrine was announced. That violence continues today, with wholesale executions, heads of partisans set up in public squares, and political prisoners used as "mine detectors."

The British, for all their blunders in Greece, had sufficient humanity to prevent political executions on trumped-up charges. Recently eighty-six Labor members of the House of Commons sent an appeal to King Paul to stay the wave of murders. In the United States, however, not a single official protest has been raised, and the Greek government openly suggests that its brutal tactics have the covert approval of the American embassy.

CONSTANTINE POULOS, former Balkan correspondent of *The Nation* and the *Overseas News Agency*, is now in this country preparing a book on Greece.

Mr. Truman neglected to mention a good many recent developments in Greece—the illegal arrest, imprisonment, and exile to barren islands of thousands of liberals, Socialists, progressives, and Communists, the complete suppression of the left-wing press, the slow but sure movement toward the suppression of the Greek trade-union movement. Thousands of labor leaders have been arbitrarily deported. A decree of the Ministry of Public Order on November 7 forbade a called strike and threatened to proclaim martial law if the strike were held and to draft its leaders into the army. At the same time the president of the teamsters' union, which had issued the strike call, was arrested because, in the words of the Minister of Public Order, he had recently returned from exile and "should be more careful." No other charge was made against him.

BUT what one finds most surprising in Mr. Truman's report is its failure to record the American mission's greatest accomplishment in Greece—the "broadening" of the Greek government. This event is worth examination if only as an illustration of the new "non-interventionist" attitude of our State Department.

Two significant hints of the "broadening" preceded it. Dana Adams Schmidt, the capable correspondent of the *New York Times* in Athens, wrote on July 23, "A leavening of the predominant right-wing Cabinet with Liberals, it is thought, might diminish the skepticism of public opinion in the United States and Great Britain regarding the regime." Again on August 26 Schmidt

wrote, "When Foreign Minister Tsaldaris returns from the United States, probably within a few days, the mission is expected to use its influence to 'broaden' the government." One of the purposes of such a move, Schmidt said, would be "to make a better impression on United States public opinion, which will in the end determine the continuance of United States aid." "Some observers think," he added, "that Mr. Dwight Griswold [chief of the mission] will be lucky if he liberalizes the government to the extent of getting rid of Napoleon Zervas, Minister of Public Order."

Seven days later the three mildest right-wing ministers—George Papandreou, Panayotis Kanellopoulos, and Sophocles Venizelos—prompted by the Americans, demanded the removal of Zervas. Tsaldaris refused, the three resigned, the government fell, and King Paul asked Tsaldaris to form a new government.

At this point the Americans in Athens got busy, but they also got their signals crossed. Griswold wanted to liberalize the Greek government, while the American ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, only wanted to "broaden" it. MacVeagh didn't believe any serious changes were necessary; he only wanted to make the government look better to the American people. He thought this might be done if the Liberal Party were to enter a royalist government controlled by Tsaldaris's Populists.

Themistocles Sophoulis, the old Liberal leader whom MacVeagh has disliked for many years, rejected this proposal. When Sophoulis demanded complete control of the government by his party, the embassy announced that such a government would not receive American support. To back a purely Liberal government headed by Sophoulis, a spokesman said, would be equivalent to supporting the "Communist minority."

Thereupon Tsaldaris determined to form a strictly Populist government. He was temporarily checked, however, by the increasingly nervous Americans, who asked other parliamentary leaders not to join or support such a ministry. Griswold bluntly told one ex-minister that a narrow right-wing government would be "inadmissible." Then Tsaldaris sprang his trap. He went to MacVeagh and insisted that the Americans declare in writing whether or not they objected to his projected government and, if they did, whether its formation would cause any change in their country's policy toward Greece. MacVeagh, of course, was forced to retreat. "My government," he said, "has no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of Greece." He assured Tsaldaris that Griswold ought to have said "inadvisable," not "inadmissible." Tsaldaris announced that "the Americans are not interfering" and proceeded to form a government made up entirely of Populist Party members.

At this critical moment Loy Henderson, chief of the State Department's division of Near Eastern and African Affairs, was hurried to Athens as a trouble-shooter. He

clarified Griswold's status and talked old Sophoulis into an agreement. Reversing his previous decision, Sophoulis consented to serve in the Cabinet with Tsaldaris and withdrew his former insistence on a completely free hand in the selection of ministers. Tsaldaris was handled differently by Henderson; he was simply bludgeoned by the threat that American aid would be cut off. Henderson also said that unless Tsaldaris agreed to give Sophoulis the premiership, Griswold would push for the appointment of that ancient *bête noire* of the royalists, General Plastiras. So Tsaldaris gave in. And that is the way we broadened the government in Greece.

Two of the men Tsaldaris brought into the Cabinet with him are more extreme right-wingers than Zervas ever was. Petros Mavromichalis, the new Minister of the Interior, is not only a direct representative of the vested interests but also the man who organized the first terrorist bands in the Peloponnese last year, after the elections. Admiral Alexander E. Sakellariou, the new Minister of the Navy, was removed from the first Greek government in exile by the then Prime Minister, Tsouderos, for declaring in London in 1942 that post-war Greece would have a regime similar to that of John Metaxas, the head of the pre-war fascist dictatorship. Tsaldaris men also hold the Ministries of War, Finance, Coordination, Welfare, and Reconstruction. No wonder Tsaldaris acceded to Henderson's pressure.

NOW the State Department has issued an announcement to the effect that the "differences" between Griswold and MacVeagh have been "worked out." The statement obviously is intended for Greek consumption. Griswold hasn't changed his approach to the Greek problem. Nor has there been at any time a question of his recall, as some reports have suggested. He wants to quit. After Henderson's September mission to Athens Griswold gave notice that he would serve as our Truman Doctrine administrator there for only six more months—long enough for the State Department to find someone more amenable to its views.

The State Department announcement reveals that MacVeagh will retain his strong hold over Greek affairs. He will censor Griswold's dispatches to Washington as he did Paul Porter's. He will support the camouflaged-as-liberal "super-dynamic" policy of the royalists. More important, he will shrewdly favor the military section of the American mission, and together they will press for a stronger United States military policy in Greece.

In March, 1948, it will be one year since the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed. Setting aside its international implications, what has it meant for the Greek people? The only answer is increased bloodshed. The Truman Doctrine was naive in its conception and has been naively executed. As long as Greece's big-money boys—who have a billion dollars cached outside the country, ac-

according to a report from Athens by Marquis Childs—control the Greek government, there cannot be sufficient economic reorganization to meet the basic needs of the people, and as long as those needs are not met, there will be guerrillas in the Greek mountains exploited by the Communists. The logic of the situation is clear, and Griswold seems to appreciate it.

II. Griswold's One Chance

BY A. W. SHEPPARD

THE Griswold mission in Greece did not start on virgin ground; the soil had already been worked by the British Economic Mission. As I read some of its reports in the American press, I think I am reading again old reports by the British mission. "The mission is trying to bring more land under cultivation through irrigation"; "steps are being taken to put seed-growing farmers back into business"; "spare parts are being brought in for tractors"; orders have been placed for nine plants to process foods"; "reconstruction of damaged roads, railways, seaports, and airfields is a slow and difficult job . . . progress is being made." All these hopes and plans, described in almost identical terms, other members of the British Economic Mission and I were recording from June, 1946, until April, 1947. None of them have yet been fulfilled. Only a few weeks ago President Truman said that so far the economic reconstruction of Greece had not started but that the groundwork was ready. We reported the groundwork ready month after month in 1946. (As a matter of fact, UNRRA had prepared the groundwork, under Buell F. Mabey, and prepared it well.)

"Mission investigators have discovered that equipment and supplies furnished by UNRRA have not always been used," says an American press dispatch. This is an old tale dating back to 1945. While spinning mills in Greece were closing down for lack of good wool and cotton, particularly during 1946 and the early part of 1947, more than 3,000 tons of wool and cotton brought in by UNRRA was lying in the warehouses. At the same time the Pega warehouse in Salonika was crammed with food, clothing, fertilizer, and spare parts for tractors and motor cars. The British Economic Mission tried in vain to get this out; now the United States mission is trying.

Mr. Griswold has announced that the Greek budget, soon to be presented to Parliament, will include tax schedules which will at last tax those best able to pay. But when Varvaressos prepared such schedules early in 1946, he was forced to resign from the Finance Ministry.

COLONEL SHEPPARD was head of the British Economic Mission in northern Greece in 1946-47. Before that he was on the staff of UNRRA in Greece.

Nor was anything done about the budget prepared under the guidance of Sir John Nixon, which provided for similar levies, to yield a revenue amounting to about \$700,000,000—the figure mentioned recently by Griswold. Instead, in the budget for 1946-47 provision was made to collect approximately \$10 per head of population—\$8 from indirect taxation and \$2 from direct taxation. Thus there is practically no income tax in Greece, and people with money, especially gold, live almost tax free. The British Economic Mission failed utterly in its attempts to tax wealth in Greece.

There is no organized "austerity" in Greece today except in the areas under control of the rebels. In Athens there are as fine cars as in New York, mainly driven by black-marketeers and former collaborators with the Germans. Confectionery shops and high-class restaurants sell better cakes and sweetmeats than I have been able to find in New York, Paris, Brussels, or London. But if there is no organized austerity, there is enforced austerity—enforced by wages that cannot keep pace with prices, by poor crops, by unemployment, and by the loss of income that is suffered when a majority of bread-winners are in the armed forces, the gendarmerie, or the security police, or have joined armed bands of "nationally minded citizens" or the rebel forces.

"Arrangements have been made by the mission for the establishment of a Foreign Trade Administration," said the State Department's report of November 7. This is the body which the British Economic Mission tried for eight months to set up as the "Greek-English Export-Import Corporation," but for which it could not get a ratifying bill through the Greek Parliament. Imports and exports have been controlled by a licensing system in Greece for some time; despite this, from June, 1946, to April, 1947, you could have searched the import list in vain for the lathes and machinery necessary to get Greece on its feet. But you would have found at the top of the list cosmetics, perfumes, colored scarves, artificial jewelry, motor cars, watches, and fountain pens.

For many years before the war Yugoslavia was Greece's sixth best customer. Although, to my certain knowledge, the Yugoslav authorities have suggested trade agreements on more than one occasion, no trade is carried on between the two countries except in the rebel-controlled areas. There is no trade with Bulgaria or Albania. How can one get peace in the Balkans without trade? Here is a real chance for the Griswold mission. First priority should be given to reconstruction of the railway into Yugoslavia from Salonika.

THE Griswold mission is following the same pattern as the British mission and will be equally ineffective unless a liberal democratic government is installed. Loans, grants and expert advice cannot solve the problems of Greece as long as there is internal dis-

unity. And you cannot bring about unity merely by destroying your political and economic opponents—each rebel executed in Greece, each liberal exiled, breeds ten more opponents of the government. Yet this is the only policy that has been pursued since Bevin forced the elections on Sophoulis and the unfortunate Greek people in April, 1946, completing the evil work begun by Churchill in 1942, when he decided to back the Greek king, come what might. Holding an election is not proof of democracy. As Bevin himself said in the House of Commons last May (not referring to Greece), "It does not matter how many elections you have; if you have a powerful secret police, responsible to one minister, you have no democracy, and you are not within miles of it."

After more than two years in Greece, in administrative positions which took me all over the country and gave me a knowledge of all political camps and friends in each, I am firmly convinced that at least 70 per cent of the people want neither communism nor the present government. But they have no means of bringing about any change, and the activities of the government are daily driving liberals into the arms of the Communists. The presence of British troops and American missions is a clear sign that Britain and the United States support the present government, and no amount of dialectical discussion at the U. N. or elsewhere will persuade the Greek man in the street otherwise. Since the two powers

can no longer safely withdraw, they should now intervene in a constructive way by announcing to the Greek people that they will give support only to a government prepared to sacrifice all personal aims to that of unity, and to make reconciliation its primary objective.

I have no mandate to say so, but I believe that a government headed by General Plastiras and John Sofianopoulos could be formed and could unite 90 per cent of the Greek people in two months at the outside. If these two men formed a service government, I am convinced that the rebels would lay down their arms. General Markos has said time and time again that he is not fighting to set up a Communist regime in Greece, that if a liberal democratic government is formed he will hand over his authority and end the rebellion. Now is the time for statesmanship. As soon as a democratic government has shown its ability to achieve reconciliation, all foreign troops should be withdrawn, control of the army should be restored to the Greek government, a proper election should be held under U. N. supervision, after a reasonable time has elapsed to bring about normal conditions; and then, perhaps, a non-political relief program could be carried through under U. N. direction.

If this is not done, Greece will remain another Spain. Its democratic forces will not be defeated easily, even if the United States and Britain play the role in Greece that Germany and Italy played in Spain.

London Newsreel

BY AYLMEER VALLANCE

London, November 20

THESE days, the operator of the political film turns his projector fast. In the past four weeks the British public has been treated, on the parliamentary screen, to an eventful newsreel. First came a King's Speech in which a somewhat humdrum program of legislation was enlivened by the challenge to the House of Lords' veto. Then came the somber "shots" of the Cripps plan and announcements of further food cuts, including the highly unpopular restriction of potato consumption to three pounds a week per person. There followed a sensational but questionably effective order by the Minister of Labor which was designed to conscript every "spiv" and "drone" for service in the national effort. Finally came the autumn budget, the Lucifer-like fall of Hugh Dalton, and the ascent of Sir Stafford Cripps to command on the ship's economic bridge.

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The audience in the reserved seats, by which I mean the Parliamentary Labor Party, has not applauded the performance. It has been uncomfortably aware that the results of the municipal elections—fought on national, not local, issues—showed that the Tories were successfully exploiting every popular discontent over shortages and enforced austerity, and that it was apparently easier for the opposition to mobilize the anti-Socialist vote than for the Labor Party to get its own supporters to the polls. Too little socialism, or too much? Debate on that issue between the left and right wings of the party continues. Both wings agree that the government's great record of social reform—national security, the health service, and so forth—is in danger of being obscured in electors' eyes by the unsolved economic crisis.

Whatever may be the merits of reducing the Peers' right of veto to one year, the fact remains that the bill was introduced largely to console Aneurin Bevan and the "Keep Left" group for their disappointment at the reprieve given to capitalists in the steel industry. Similarly, the loudly trumpeted assault on wealthy idlers

—an assault which they can readily circumvent by becoming nominally "occupied" in any of a hundred minor employments not included in Mr. Isaacs's short list of "unessential" trades—was undoubtedly prompted by the desire to compensate the trade unions for the fact that the only serious direction of labor so far enacted applies only to the unemployed. These measures gave little impression of coherent policy, and within a few days of the re-assembly of Parliament it was plain that there was no great enthusiasm among Labor back benchers for Mr. Attlee's reshuffled Cabinet. Add the fact that, before the budget *affaire*, there was considerable doubt whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister for Economic Affairs saw eye to eye on crisis policy, and it is not perhaps surprising that there was renewed talk of a move by the right to make Mr. Bevin Premier in Mr. Attlee's place, so as to have a strong hand at the helm. This gossip has been made irrelevant by the elevation of Sir Stafford Cripps to the position of dictator of Britain's economy. The whole future of the Labor movement depends on what Cripps will do and whether, in relation to the economic crisis, he can "bring it off"—with or without Mr. Marshall's aid.

AT THIS point I beg leave to reverse the film sequence. Mr. Dalton's resignation may have been inevitable from the standpoint of strict parliamentary punctilio. Whether, relying on the tradition that trusted parliamentary correspondents are safe recipients of confidences, he gave undue latitude to a journalist's normal urge to secure a "beat," or whether you make the editor of the *Star* the villain in a piece from which nobody drew profit, no government can easily afford to retain a Chancellor who has been involved in what was a highly unusual indiscretion. Perhaps the Cabinet would have rallied to Mr. Dalton's defense if it had not been wondering uneasily whether there was room for both a Dalton and a Cripps policy in the same administration. Certainly the autumn budget which the Chancellor had just introduced was illogical if it was intended to carry out the full implications of Sir Stafford's "all-for-export" plan.

The budget, it is true, represented a partial surrender to the anti-inflationists. It imposed fresh indirect taxation to the tune of about £130,000,000, much of which would fall on working and lower-middle-class incomes, hit additionally by the decision to terminate subsidies on wool, cotton, and leather and thus let the prices of clothing and footwear rise. But in the matter of the food subsidies Mr. Dalton stoutly refused to follow the advice of his Tory and big-business critics, who would have had him curb inflation and release more goods for the export drive by letting the price of essential foodstuffs soar, thus curtailing the purchasing power of the working class. Instead, he decided to "mop up" £47,000,000 from the more speculative class of *rentiers* by doubling the in-

dustrial-profits tax, and to tap, in the betting industry, a novel and potentially fruitful source of revenue.

For his refusal to be panicked into adopting the fatal policy of "cuts" foisted on the MacDonald government by the May committee in 1931, the Labor movement owes Mr. Dalton thanks. After the increases of the past six months in the cost of unrationed food, transport, and many other essential services, it is extremely doubtful whether the mass of consumers in Britain have in fact any "excess" purchasing power: the inflationary pressure arises from accumulations of corporate and personal capital which can be, and are, drawn upon for current expenditure on unessentials. For this the only remedy, in the view of an increasing section of the Labor Party, is a capital levy. Whether Mr. Dalton, had he remained Chancellor, would have included such a levy in his budget next spring is now an idle speculation. All that he said in his budget speech last week was that he hoped to make in April "readjustments" in the burden of taxation which would combine needed relief with added incentives, having regard to the fact that our society was still marred by "gross inequalities of wealth."

As it is, the autumn budget may be said to have dodged the big issues—the ultimate contributions which the rich or the poor are to make toward solving the crisis—by postponing decisions. The new Chancellor will have to make them; and Sir Stafford, it may be presumed, is as aware as the disappointed and infuriated Tory deflationists that increased taxes on consumers' goods which while stiff are not prohibitive will not do much to channel British production into his export markets.

MUST we then expect, next April, a budget of much more stringent austerity? The answer largely depends on what happens, not in Britain's Parliament, but in Congressional treatment of Mr. Marshall's aid program for Europe. As it stands, the Cripps plan, taken in conjunction with the autumn budget, does not add up to figures which make sense. At present the sterling balance of payments is still running a dollar deficit at the terrific rate of £900,000,000 a year. Even if his somewhat sanguine export targets for next year are reached, the import cuts which Sir Stafford has so far announced, combined with the £200,000,000 curtailment in capital developments, involve drawing at least £300,000,000 from gold and dollar reserves in the next twelve months; and though it is hoped optimistically that Britain's global balance of payments may be in equilibrium at the end of that period, the dollar deficit in 1949 will still be equivalent to £250,000,000 a year, with only £270,000,000 of reserves left to support the currency of the whole sterling area. These figures mean one of two things: there will have to be a considerable further descent into the spiral of restrictions of imports and cuts in raw materials for British factories and in rations for their work people,

or the American Congress will have to provide aid, either in the form of direct relief shipments to Britain or in the form of convertible dollars supplied to Europe which can be spent in payment for Britain's otherwise "unrequited" exports to the non-dollar area.

Can Sir Stafford count on finding himself in a position by next April to rely on such aid, direct or indirect? The omens seem against such an assumption, and as Cripps is a realist first and a Socialist second, we may look for further cold douches of austerity, both in the husbanding of Britain's resources and in the taxing away of purchasing power. Politically, the dictatorship of Cripps is a big risk for the Labor movement. If he follows a distinctively Socialist policy, imposes a capital levy, presses on with nationalization of steel, sets up a state monopoly to acquire and make bulk sales of export goods, and thus succeeds in developing trade with the U. S. S. R. and other potential suppliers of food and raw materials outside the Western Hemisphere, he may be able to get the British working class to accept temporarily lower rations and decreased real wages. Otherwise, there are heavy storms ahead: the relations between the Cabinet and the Trades Union Congress and between Sir Stafford and the left within the party will be strained to the breaking-point.

It is up to Mr. Marshall and Congress to determine the course of British policy in the next year; and it is difficult from here to discern what place they consign to Britain in their schemes. The impression created in the Parlia-

mentary Labor Party by many of the features which have emerged in the aid-to-Europe program is unfavorable. If adopted, the proposal to put all relief on a bilateral basis as between the United States and the recipient countries would go far to destroy the constructive conception of Western European collaboration which was a valuable part of the Paris conference report; and it is beginning to be asked with anxiety whether this or any other European country can really afford to accept from the United States assistance which may temporarily maintain higher standards of living than would otherwise be possible but will do little to promote radical economic reconstruction.

News of the "unavailability" of much American steel and machinery, coupled with the Harriman committee's suggestion that Europe's projected capital developments are excessive and that shipbuilding, for instance, should be restricted, have made people here wonder whether the United States wants to finance any recovery in Europe which would be competitive with American business. If it does not, would it not be more sensible to get down, here and now, to a real siege economy, tighten our belts, get what we can from the Empire and the rest of Europe—East as well as West—and follow the advice Professor Viner of Princeton has given us in the current number of *Lloyd's Bank Review*, that we should spend more, not less, in improving our capital equipment? These look like the great issues of debate here in the coming months.

Wind-up at Flushing

BY J. KING GORDON

Flushing, November 29

WE are still too close to the tense closing hours of the General Assembly to be able to form a fair judgment of its work. This last week has been the most dramatic, the most nerve-racking in United Nations history. In taking on Palestine the U. N. had tackled a task almost too much for its strength, and although the logic of its final decision was apparent weeks ago, when the hour of decision arrived it hesitated, sought an excuse for delay, looked for a way out.

It was Mr. Ilsley, the Canadian delegate, who on Wednesday formulated what must have been in the minds of many delegates. "Canada," he said, "was voting for partition as the best of our unattractive alternatives. These alternatives were: do nothing, set up a unitary Arab state, set up a federated state in accordance with the minority UNSCOP report, or create a Jewish and an Arab state. We dismissed the first alternative," said Mr. Ilsley, "as not worthy of the U. N., highly dangerous in its probable consequences, indeed, as virtually

unthinkable." The second alternative would ignore factors that could not be ignored—the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations mandate, the encouragement given to the immigration of Jews into Palestine, and their establishment of a well-rooted community of 700,000 into which they had put money, labor, and lives. The federated solution had originally appealed to Canada, which had itself succeeded in adjusting the differences between the two racial elements in its population under a federated system, but it had found no support in the Assembly. That left partition. Every responsible delegate was disturbed by the threats of reprisals and the talk of fire and sword. But the likelihood of disorder would be even greater under any of the other solutions proposed.

Many factors accounted for the wavering and vacillating votes during the last few days. There was a solidarity among the nations of Asia against the Western powers which were imposing a settlement on an Asiatic people. In this Assembly they had been given good grounds for

believing that the sense of superiority of the white race was far from obsolete. There was a cognate fear among colonial powers of the effect of partition on Moslems everywhere: the Netherlands and France with large Moslem colonial populations moved reluctantly from the abstention into the "yes" column. For many it was conscience that made them cowards, compelling them to accept France's last-minute proposal of postponement just in case reconciliation was still open. But in the end, even if, as the Arabs resentfully charged, United States pressure swung over a few votes, the great majority realized that months of study, heart-searching, and labor had carried them to one conclusion: partition was the most just and workable solution for Palestine.

SENATOR AUSTIN in his fervent and evangelical closing speech said that a useful contribution of this Assembly had been to clarify the world situation, to reveal its true character. Certainly it was no Assembly for gauze-curtain idealists.

Under the fierce Klieg lights of the Assembly debate, conflict rather than real accord was revealed in stark outline. Perhaps we should be grateful to Mr. Vishinsky for putting the Russian case with such colorful frankness. Unfortunately, the fire and brimstone of his language frequently scorched his listeners more than it illuminated his subject. We can understand his case against American policy in Greece because American liberals have made a similar case. His attacks on the Little Assembly, originally well founded, were in the end much too severe for the harmless little debating society that eventually emerged. His blasts against war-mongering peppered too broad a target and hit some quite innocent bystanders. And his assault on the Marshall Plan had the unfortunate result of convincing many formerly unconvinced Americans that Russia had designs of its own on Western Europe. For there are few Americans, as there are few non-Communist Europeans, who regard the Marshall Plan as a grandiose attempt to enslave Europe to American imperialism.

The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union has been fully exposed at this Assembly. The roots of that conflict, the true aims of foreign policy behind the distrust and suspicion, have not been made clear. Some persons still think that these two giants can find ways of living peacefully in the same world, that they need not start preparing for a new war. In fact, a neglected angle of the U. N. debate was that many of the smaller nations—and, indeed, some of the larger ones—kept saying as much.

One tragically plaintive note which kept running through this Assembly was that international economic cooperation, which loomed so large in the Charter, seemed to be getting nowhere. To blame the United States for proceeding with the Marshall Plan outside of

the United Nations is of course to mistake symptom for cause. Until political fears and suspicions are banished, economic cooperation, whether through the Marshall Plan or through specialized agencies, must be of a partial character. Russia's boycott of the special agencies must unfortunately be viewed in connection with its attacks on the Marshall Plan.

An unpleasant reality brought out during the Assembly was the continuing solidarity of the colonial powers and the consequent neglect of the rights of colonial and non-self-governing peoples. South Africa's response to the earlier U. N. request to bring Southwest Africa under the trusteeship council was understandable for domestic political reasons. So, too, was its elegantly frank defense of race discrimination in the case of its treatment of Indians. What was shocking was to see that India's defense of human rights received no support, but rather opposition, from the very powers which in other contexts were so valiantly defending the rights of man. This record may explain to some extent the colored and the Asiatic peoples' skepticism of the humanitarian motive of the Western nations in the case of Palestine.

NO ESTIMATE of the Assembly's work can be complete without some reference to personalities. We have mentioned Mr. Vishinsky, easily the most vivid and forceful if not the most helpful delegate. In debate his only near match was Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, brilliant in rebuttal and adept in producing that compromise proposal which is the objective of the parliamentary process. Gromyko, incidentally less spectacular than Vishinsky, is a much more useful Soviet delegate.

For sheer brilliance in presenting a case Zafraullah Khan of Pakistan was outstanding. He argued the unpopular side of the Palestine issue persuasively and with a moderation not characteristic of his Arab colleagues. On the partition side, and playing quite a different rôle, Lester Pearson of Canada must be singled out. His amazing ability in committee work—plus an unflagging sense of humor—was largely responsible for bringing about agreement between Russians and Americans on the implementation plan. Mme Pandit and Mrs. Roosevelt stood out as able exponents of the one-world idea. Of the other Americans, General Hildring and Herschel B. Johnson deserve mention; of the British, Hector McNeil, Cadogan, and Shawcross, whose parliamentary and Foreign Office training showed up to advantage in debate.

But on the whole the caliber of the delegates was not high, not high enough for the responsibility they carried. With the exception of Aranha, there was no outstanding chairman; hours were wasted in futile talk and procedural snarls which a good chairman could have avoided. The member nations must be prepared to send better representatives. From the standpoint of world peace the U. N. must be considered a top-policy matter.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Those British "Loafers"

LECTURING the British is a popular pastime these days. American politicians, publicists, and business men are telling John Bull that he should get back to work instead of leaning so heavily on Uncle Sam. Assiduously the impression is being spread that Britain's industry is wound up in red tape; that its chief activity is the production of forms; that British workers are sitting on their hands; that nationalization of industry has failed hopelessly and is leading to chaos.

It is about time, I think, that we took a look at the record to see what actually has been happening to Britain's economy since V-J Day. A useful summary is to be found in the September-October number of *Labor and Industry in Britain*.* The whole of this special issue is devoted to a sober factual "Report on Britain" which provides a needed corrective for some of the inaccurate stories published in this country.

In regard to developments in British industry since the end of the war, the report concludes: "The over-all picture . . . is of steadily expanding production in most fields of industrial activity. The shortages at home are due not to inability to produce but to the unfortunate need to export a major part of output to pay for essential imports." I shall devote this article to quoting some of the evidence supporting this statement.

The actual working population of Britain at the end of June was only 2.45 per cent higher than in June, 1938, after deducting from the gross figures at both dates the men in the armed forces and the unemployed. Yet in its issue of August 2 the *Economist*, a magazine not given to over-optimism, estimated that total national output was 10 to 20 per cent higher than in the pre-war year. This clearly means that productivity per man in industry as a whole is improving, not deteriorating. Figures of output per man-hour for separate industries are not readily available in Britain, but the following table taken from the October Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics shows that in a number of trades some very striking advances have been made since the war.

OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR

	1938	July, 1945	Oct., 1946
Iron ore.....	100	125	129
Pig iron	100	95	105
Tinplate	100	153	197
Bricks	100	47	110
Tile	100	53	81
Cotton spinning.....	100	95	99
Cotton weaving.....	100	81	97
Rayon yarn.....	100	145	156

The marked improvement, even in those cases where pro-

ductivity lagged below pre-war standards, between July, 1945, when reconversion had barely begun, and October, 1946, will be noted. The industries with the poorest records are those in which production was deliberately reduced during the war. Their low productivity was partly a reflection of the high average age of the workers that had been left to them. In the case of cotton textiles war-time depletion of the labor force is still the chief factor holding down both total output and output per man-hour. Before the war wages in this industry were low, underemployment was chronic, plants were antiquated, and conditions unpleasant. Consequently, many textile operatives who shifted to war plants have been reluctant to return to their old factories.

For this reason cotton and to a lesser extent wool still remain dark spots in Britain's industrial picture. But in nearly every other industry total production is well above pre-war and in a number of cases the advance has been very striking indeed. Thus the tonnage of merchant shipping under construction in September was nearly two and a half times the 1938 monthly average. In the latest periods for which figures are available output of trucks was 192 per cent of the 1938 average, of freight cars 140 per cent, of farm tractors 525 per cent, of superphosphate 180 per cent. Most important of all, perhaps, is the mounting output of steel, which in the week ending October 25 exceeded the previous all-time record of "Dunkerque week."

Such figures suggest that British industry is not quite as decadent as some Americans assert. Even in coal-mining, the chief butt of the critics, the corner seems to have been turned. Since the National Coal Board took over the mines on January 1, 1947, total output has been some five million tons greater than in the comparable period of 1946. In the week ending November 8 production was 97 per cent of the 1938 average, though the available working force was considerably lower. Since the five-day week was introduced last May, absenteeism has declined and over-all output per man-shift risen. Now the miners have voluntarily agreed to extend their working hours and have also withdrawn their opposition to the use of foreign labor. During the coming year some 30,000 European immigrants are expected to enter the pits, and this additional man-power, coupled with the new machinery which is being installed as part of the Coal Board's modernization program, should mean a steady improvement in production.

Government plans called for a coal stockpile at the beginning of the winter season of 15,000,000 tons—50 per cent above 1946. Actually on October 31 more than 16,250,000 tons were on hand; so that there is good reason to hope that Britain will avoid another "winter crisis" and next year will again be contributing to Europe's fuel needs. Plans call for the export of six million tons, which will be an important aid to recovery on the Continent as well as a valuable item in Britain's export trade.

The British, then, if by no means out of the woods, are not lying down and waiting to be rescued. They are working, and working hard, on a lower average diet than they experienced in the worst days of the war. They deserve, it seems to me, a little less nagging and a little more appreciation of their accomplishments and understanding of their problems.

* Available free on request from British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

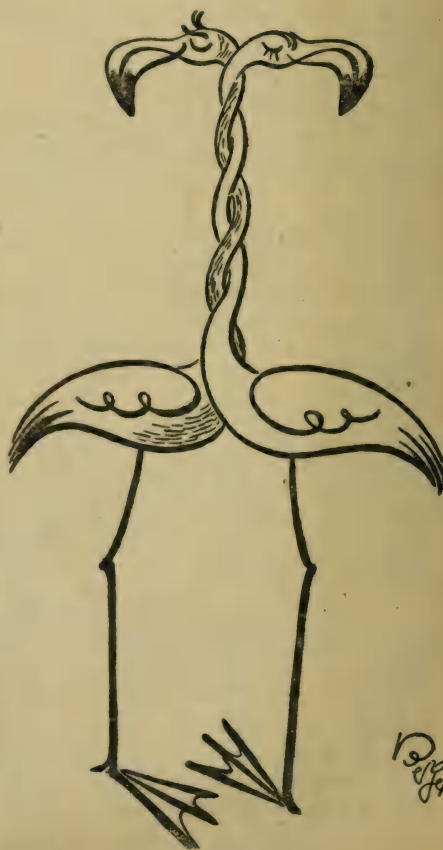
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BOOKS and the ARTS

Boston as Symbol

THE PROPER BOSTONIANS. By Cleveland Amory. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.50.

IN 1828 Bronson Alcott, who had peddled Yankee notions in Virginia and New York, approached at last, in breathless awe, the city of Boston. It surpassed his dearest hopes. "There is a city in our world," he was soon to write, "upon which the light of the sun of righteousness has risen. . . . It is the same from which every pure stream of thought and purpose and performance emanates. It is the city that is set on high. It cannot be hid. It is Boston!" This was indeed Athens, with culture, Mr. Emerson, and the Athenaeum.

In 1855 a more realistic student of "Anglo-Saxon" Boston, himself one of its intellectual glories, declared it the central battleground of all America, "for here the two extremes meet in closest contact, in sternest strife." To Theodore Parker Boston was Athens not so much because it produced culture as because it generated passion and conflict. Respectable Bostonians could then drag Garrison through the streets with a rope around his neck, burn a convent, finance half the railroads in America, outsmart bankers everywhere, and formulate the manifestos of liberal Protestantism. Parker, the far from temperate leader of one extreme, had a name for the other: "Call that opposition Hunkerism; call the opponents Hunkers." Hunkers obliged their foes to show a vigor equal to their own: "Talk about the Catholics voting as the bishop tells! . . . There are a great many bishops who never had a cross on their bosom, nor a mitre on their head, who appeal not to the authority of the Pope at Rome but to the Almighty Dollar, a pope much nearer home." Nineteenth-century Boston, in short, was a boom town, plenty tough, and thus it made both history and money.

By now all this seems far away and long ago. What could have made Alcott lyrical or Parker furious? Old-family Boston, State Street Boston, proper Boston, is no longer culture or Hunker-

ism; it is comedy. It is the last Puritan, George Apley, and the old lady who goes to California by way of Dedham. It is peopled with amusing eccentrics, who above all have no relation to present social problems. It is an island of complacency, almost as ideal a refuge for nostalgia as Father Day's parlor. It has achieved the apotheosis of a literary stereotype, a theme for witty books that undoubtedly circulate more copies in Omaha than in South Boston.

It ought to be a commonplace of scholarship—too often it is forgotten—that a literary convention on this level of popularity is primarily a creation of the public that embraces it. The lay figure may bear no close or even any resemblance to the subject he is supposed to represent; he is a symbol of what the audience wants, not of the fact. Buffalo Bill was an invention of American mythology, only incidentally Colonel Cody. Sometimes the Colonel Cody strives to merge himself with the legend until he ceases to have any self, but often the original, if he can keep his mouth shut, finds a certain protection, not to say profit, in the existence of his alter ego.

For reasons that it would take a sociological treatise to expound, the banker and the merchant no longer become heroes very easily. This may be disconcerting; Hunkers prospered enormously while being denounced as Hunkers, but can they operate with confidence when they are supposed to be on the way out? Then it begins to appear that the new figure of comedy will do as well as, maybe even better than, the image of the Hunker. Any group will try to survive, by one means if not by another. Against a declining economy or against new competitors, if it can be established as quaint and queer, it may remain as a fixture. So Boston society, to judge by the documentation, appears to be offering itself up as a willing sacrifice. Again it is pioneering a stage in the history of the middle class by arraying itself before the delighted public as a curiosity, an almost extinct but still amusing species in the American zoo.

Actually, of course, it is doing nothing of the sort. But the legend serves,

and perhaps internal tension in Boston can be handled behind this façade more neatly than in Detroit. There is indeed a local idiom, but the realities of Boston, as experience teaches and Mr. Gunther confirms, are astonishingly like those of Chicago. Ultimately one most regrets the vogue of this convention because among readers in other parts of the nation it encourages the superstition that regional differences are fundamental. It obscures the fact that they all grew up in the age of Hunkerism.

The latest addition to this literature of Boston is Mr. Amory's "The Proper Bostonians." It is weak on history but rich in anecdote, and written *con amore*. It is great fun to read for about half of it—any half. Thereafter this convention, like any other convention of local-color fiction, like Bret Harte's miners or Colonel Carter of Cartersville, when kept going too long, becomes repetitious and tedious.

PERRY MILLER

Making the Record Clear

THIS IS PEARL! THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN—1941. By Walter Millis. William Morrow and Company. \$4.

AN EARLIER book by Mr. Millis, "The Martial Spirit," was an ironic and admirable study of the way we got into the war with Spain and destroyed Cervera's fleet, stormed San Juan Hill, and in general carried out the instructions of Manifest Destiny. Mr. Millis was very severe in his criticism both of the Hearst press, which he thought was mainly responsible for the war, and of the bungling but finally successful efforts of our admirals and generals to assert our superiority over the ill-equipped forces of the Queen Regent.

"This Is Pearl!" is a ripper and wiser book. It tells two stories—one of the diplomatic negotiations which led up to the Japanese attack on our Pacific fleet, the other of the incredible lack of preparation at Pearl Harbor, which alone made the attack a success. The two stories are interwoven with the skill of a Dumas; by frequent references to the

Japanese preparations—their task force was assembling in the Kuriles, it was steaming toward Oahu, its planes were warming up on the flight decks—he gives heightened significance to the account of the negotiations in Washington.

It is typical of the disillusionment which has already seized America that some people now contend that President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull deliberately "forced" the Japanese to attack us and with Machiavellian cunning left the commanders on Oahu uninformed so that the Japanese attack would succeed. The object, we are told, was to get us into the war with Germany, and the Roosevelt-haters have not dropped the story, even though Hitler and Mussolini followed up Pearl Harbor by declaring war on us.

Any decent American feels unclean from merely setting down such calumnies, and we are all in debt to Mr. Millis for making the record clear. There are, as he admits, gaps in his narrative, and the publication of all the documents in the archives of the State Department and the Combined Chiefs of Staff will no doubt alter some details. But the many volumes of the Pearl Harbor investigation, together with the memoirs of Grew, General Brereton, and others, were available to Mr. Millis, and this would appear to be the definitive account, for our time at least.

Mr. Millis is convinced that the July 25 order freezing all Japanese assets in the United States rather than Secretary Hull's note of September 26 was the turning-point of the negotiations, and that from then on the Japanese militarists, who had been torn between the northward program against Russia and the southern program against the Dutch, the British, and ourselves, knew what they had to do. He emphasizes his belief that economic sanctions, instead of slowing up the militarists, only made them hasten their preparations, and he thus seems to uphold the State Department's policy of not cutting off scrap iron or oil until the eleventh hour.

All in all, Mr. Millis's account must inevitably increase the world's respect for the President and his Secretary of State. He concedes that they followed "policies which, under all the circumstances, made the Japanese attack virtually inevitable," but adds that, to his mind, "the Roosevelt Administration

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had no other choices than those which it successively took." In view of the sentiments expressed at the time by Herbert Hoover, Charles A. Lindbergh, *et al.*, which Mr. Millis rescues from oblivion to explain the difficulties of standing up to aggression, Americans can congratulate themselves that they had such leaders—and that the folly of the Japanese attack vindicated their leadership.

Not all was perfect, of course, in Washington. It was a loosely knit government, and Mr. Stimson did not know until the next day whether Mr. Hull had actually delivered the first United States note. Since we were intercepting and decoding all the Japanese instructions to their Washington envoys, the failure of the War and Navy departments to require real preparedness at Pearl Harbor was a blunder. General Marshall and Admiral Stark were busy building up an army and navy to fight a year later, and their war plans and intelligence officers were not equal to their heavy responsibilities.

Still, as Mr. Millis points out, Short and Kimmel—together with Rear Admiral Block, commander of the Pearl Harbor base—had only to read the newspapers to know that war was approaching. As he says, they "somehow managed to violate nearly every precept of history and of military security, and thus to lay the great base as open as possible to the precise form of attack which all of them had recognized, theoretically, as the most to be feared." It is a shocking story. Americans have a right to be proud, however, of the G. I. on Oahu who spotted the attack by radar, of the navy lieutenant in Washington who tried to make the top brass understand the significance of the hour when the Japanese would give Mr. Hull their final answer—which was dawn at Pearl Harbor. Mr. Millis, incidentally, holds General MacArthur responsible for the still more inexplicable lack of preparedness in the Philippines, when the Japanese, hours later, followed up their attack on Pearl Harbor by destroying the precious B-17's on Clark Field.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

and women of good-will and intelligence differ profoundly on the question. But none among them merits a more attentive hearing than Louis Fischer, who for twenty-five years has traveled up and down the planet, going wherever he might deepen and broaden his understanding. Many of those years were spent in the Soviet Union, and few other Americans, if any, are as well qualified as he is to sense the tendencies and assess the meanings of the Russian Revolution. The book under review deals largely with the Soviet challenge to democracy.

Mr. Fischer sees the crisis of our time as essentially moral. The choice, he thinks, is not between socialism and capitalism but rather between freedom and dictatorship. While recognizing the clear necessity of achieving radical institutional changes, he insists that we must at the same time hold fast to those things which are good—particularly individual integrity and respect for human beings. Like Victor Gollancz in "Our Threatened Values," Mr. Fischer is profoundly disturbed by the Western world's apparently growing callousness to brutality, cruelty, terror, and deceit. "Nothing in the nature of government or economics," he says, "can quickly inculcate a love of mankind." For him the old antithesis between good and evil, between dictatorship and democracy, is exemplified in the persons of Stalin and Gandhi.

The Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 under the banners of international socialism—a movement which in the course of several generations had endeavored to bring into a synthesis the essential values, insights, and energies of the Hebraic-Christian ethic, the humanistic tradition, scientific method, technology, and democracy. Although the dictatorship from the beginning cast a dark shadow over the prospect, the declaration of the revolutionary leaders that they were intent on abolishing forever the exploitation of man by man stirred the minds of idealists and raised the hopes of the oppressed everywhere. The passing of the years, however, was marked, not by a "withering away of the state" as the supreme coercive force in society, but rather by a steady growth of both the reach and the ruthlessness of the dictatorship. In Mr. Fischer's view, as long as the dictatorship was

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APPLETON-CENTURY

Choices and Chances

GANDHI AND STALIN, by Louis
Fischer. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

THIS book is concerned with the
supreme issue of our time—the sur-
vival of the liberal, humanist, democ-
ratic tradition. That this tradition
stands in great and growing peril in
the contemporary world requires no
labored documentation. Every issue of
the daily paper bring fresh evidence of
impending disaster.

The course to be followed to avert
this disaster is by no means clear. Men

recognized in Russia as a temporary and regrettable necessity, as it was in the early years, hope remained. But with the adoption of the new constitution in 1936, which actually changed nothing, despotism came to be called liberty and a monstrous fraud was perpetrated on mankind. At the same time nationalism was made the central value in Soviet theory and practice. As a result of these and other developments, according to Mr. Fischer, the line distinguishing communism from fascism was largely erased. "State control over all capital, plus secret-police dictatorship, plus nationalism," he writes, "are national socialism, even though its leaders speak in the name of the proletariat."

Mr. Fischer consequently regards as a perversion of truth the often-repeated pronouncement that the peoples of the world must choose between communism and fascism or between communism and reaction. This, he says, is no choice at all. The real choice is between dictatorship and democracy, and Soviet communism can be identified in no sense with the latter. In similar fashion he disposes of the well-worn suggestion that "we must meet the Russians halfway." He contends that we have already gone 90 per cent of the way—during the war, through lend-lease, at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Korea. They have swallowed an empire in Eastern Europe. Apparently they are moving to swallow the rest of the Continent.

The fact is, according to the author, that the political struggle between dictatorship and democracy is well advanced. This struggle cannot stop before one or the other wins. To assume that they can cooperate in rebuilding the world is to engage in wishful thinking.

In order to win, democracy must be "true to itself" in all its operations. It must strive honestly and effectively to achieve "decent relations between countries and between persons." In the words of Gandhi, it must "turn the searchlight inward." At home it must enrich itself and apply its basic principles of individual worth and freedom to the entire range of institutions and human associations. In the economy this means a combination, experimentally determined, of public, private, and cooperative enterprise designed to bring security and opportunity to all while

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keeping a wide distribution of power.

Abroad democracy must repudiate even the appearance of imperialism and move as rapidly as possible toward some form of limited world government founded on international law, supported by an adequate police force, and devoted to the "advance of prosperity, personal freedom, and peace" everywhere. If possible, this should be done through the reform of the United Nations; if not, through some new international organization. Mr. Fischer is of the opinion that such a world government is "practically impossible" with Russia. He is prepared therefore to proceed without Russia. Only "international democracy," he says, "can win over national communism."

"Gandhi and Stalin" is a sober and honest, an informed and courageous book. The present reviewer continues to hope that the Politburo will change its course, but the current policies and practices of the Soviet dictatorship are not calculated to encourage this hope. On the contrary they serve only to strengthen Mr. Fischer's arguments and to reinforce the validity of his analysis and program.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IN "Eastward in Eden" (Royale Theater) the author faces more than the normal hazards of the biographical play. In the first place, her subject is a poet, and poets are notoriously difficult to make convincing. In the second place, Emily Dickinson was a woman whom everyone is tempted to "explain" despite the unfortunate fact that explanation tends only to explain her away. Perhaps it is merely that her mystery is more interesting than any rational accounting for it can be. Or perhaps she lived in a self-imposed solitude because she was by congenital temperament a solitary, not because, to adopt the usual explanation, she was disappointed in a love which went out toward some shadowy but not impossible he. Perhaps, in a word, she knew in advance that she would inevitably be disappointed in any love she might be tempted to risk and so, poet like, reaped the fruits of an experience she never needed to have.

On some such assumption as this a

play might possibly be written. The present author, Dorothy Gardener, has chosen instead to accept one of the current theories which puts Emily somewhat conventionally in love with a married minister who fails her to the extent that he follows his "duty" instead of following her. Miss Gardener brings him back, once in a dream and once, at the very end, in the flesh, when he comes, a dying man, to confess that he has never been able to forget her.

All this provides an obvious action and, on the whole, a not uninteresting one. It brings Emily down to earth. To some extent she is humanized and made less disturbing to contemplate. But it leaves at the very least a question still open. Ought the author of those poems to be humanized? Do we want the phenomenon robbed of its terror? Is it not equally probable as well as rather more impressive when we assume that Solitude Becomes Emily in just that same sense that Mourning Becomes Electra?

With these exceptions duly noted—and I think that they are very important ones—"Eastward in Eden" does nevertheless manage to sustain an interest and produce an effect. It certainly escapes,

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as few such plays do, an air of mere absurdity when the poet speaks some of the lines she was later to write; and if it does not actually create a heroine one feels to be great, it does create one who is not, like most poet or musician heroes, manifestly incapable of great works. Miss Gardener's Emily has eagerness and wit and charm even though one must take her genius on faith, and she engages our sympathy as a woman even though one must call upon what one knows to believe her a great poet as well. Nor can there be any doubt that Beatrice Straight, an actress but little known in New York, carries the very difficult burden of her role with extraordinary competence. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine just what the play would be without her. Thanks to her presence the central character is vivid enough and sympathetic enough to sustain the interest of an audience to the end.

To the inevitable practical question, Is that enough for Broadway? the answer, I fear, is no. Considered merely as a play, quite aside from its subject, "Eastward in Eden" is interesting but not quite interesting enough. To seem important, it needs the knowledge that its central character wrote certain memorable works, and I am not sure that the average spectator is wrong when he refuses to assume the responsibility of bringing with him into the theater any knowledge upon which the playwright can safely draw. A biographical play does not really justify itself except when it carries its own adequate proof that the subject really has heroic stature. Few biographical plays actually do that, and "Eastward in Eden," though it comes nearer than some, does not quite do it either.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE rising general level of advanced or "radical" art in this country is on the point of becoming a substantial fact. The even more rapidly declining general level of the standard expressionist-impressionist sort of painting that is shown so plentifully at the Whitney, Carnegie, and Pepsi-Cola annuals should not conceal this fact from us, should indeed make it even more

visible, since the growing inferiority of the one serves to clear the air for the other. The issues become plainer, and the areas in which serious and ambitious modern art can still be produced, easier to define. Except in the hands of a few gifted individuals, survivors who gather up the threads of a previous generation, descriptive art is pretty well finished. Art, which succeeds in being good only when it incorporates the truth about feeling, can now tell the truth about feeling only by turning to the abstract. I do not say this out of dogmatism—art cannot be prescribed to—but only because the incidence of good art has become so much greater in the area of the abstract than elsewhere.

The most recent evidence to support the supremacy of the abstract was provided by Adolph Gottlieb's latest one-man show at the Kootz Gallery and Hedda Sterne's latest show at Betty Parsons's. The second show is even more striking testimony than the first, for whereas Gottlieb proved himself as a painter on a high level several years ago, Miss Sterne is now taking her first steps in abstract painting and would seem to have as yet little more to bring to bear than a delicate sensibility and a careful taste. Nevertheless, this show of hers contained at least five pictures whose sureness and originality lift them far above the general run of stuff on Fifty-seventh Street. Admittedly, this art lacks force—but force is not everything; there is also room for delicacy.

Miss Sterne's success is due principally to the instinct with which she fits her open and economical draftsmanship to the off-shades she favors in color: tans, ochers, gray-whites, off-blues. Everything is handled with a nice flatness, an insistence on keeping the picture very close to its surface that insures decorative unity before anything else. Miss Sterne's art is not quite enough as yet; there is a danger that it will content itself with decorative successes: the effect is of panels rather than of easel-pictures. More emphasis is required, and more "ideas." None the less the chief issue at the present moment lies in the high level her painting reaches. And her level is her triumph.

Adolph Gottlieb, though still confining himself to his formula—a set of juxtaposed rectangles on which hieroglyphic forms are inscribed—increases

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in strength as well as felicity with every new show. That he can get the variety he does within the narrow and too decorative design to which he limits himself becomes more and more surprising. Two of his new canvases—the large "Water, Air, Fire," with its novel color, and "The Oracle"—achieve a power that belies the timidity we otherwise feel too frequently in his work. And "Vigil of Cyclops" and "Pursuer and Pursued"—the latter a departure in the direction of deep, translucent color—also succeed, with less force.

Gottlieb is perhaps the leading exponent of a new indigenous school of symbolism which includes among others Mark Rothko, Clifford Still, and Barnett Benedict Newman. The "symbols" Gottlieb puts into his canvases have no explicit meaning but derive, supposedly, from the artist's unconscious and speak to the same faculty in the spectator, calling up, presumably, racial memories, archetypes, archaic but constant responses. Hence the archaeological flavor, which in Gottlieb's painting seems to come from North American Indian art and affects design and color as much as

content. I myself would question the importance this school attributes to the symbolical or "metaphysical" content of its art; there is something half-baked and revivalist, in a familiar American way, about it. But as long as this symbolism serves to stimulate ambitious and serious painting, differences of "ideology" may be left aside for the time being. The test is in the art, not in the program.

Gottlieb has produced enough successful pictures by now to demonstrate that he has an original and valid gift. These pictures of his aspire, however, to be more than minor successes; in some of them at least one senses the possibilities of a large art. It is just here that dissatisfaction intervenes—dissatisfaction with a policy of limited objectives. It is as if Gottlieb might go on forever refining, dividing, and elaborating a sensation that remains identical throughout. Each painting is different, it is true, but the difference becomes the less essential part. The design, which is always the same in principle and which—notwithstanding the subtlety and surprising range of Gottlieb's mat, Indian-like color—always delivers the main blow, assures the artist a certain safety that he should neither desire nor need. However numerous the sub-sensations he can discover within this safety, they count only as the phrases of a single statement. We have the right to ask of Gottlieb that he tax himself to say more.

a help in achieving it: the timing and force of one sound in such a coherent progression strongly implies, for the players, the timing and force of the next, so that sounds fall into place in the succession with inevitability and ease. But each new performance is a newly created series of sounds which do not come out exactly the same as the last time; hence the need of not only marshaling the flow along but watching over it and controlling it. For this he uses gesture—principally the plastic, sensitive movements of his right arm (with its extension to the point of the baton), which delineate the flow in much of its subtly inflected detail, and literally conduct the orchestra through it—their effectiveness in this being due not only to their explicitness in conveying his desire at every moment, but to the compelling personal force which they also convey. While the right arm makes these marshaling movements the left is in constant activity of a different kind as the instrument of the watchfulness and control—exhorting, quieting, warning, suppressing. All this is fascinating to watch as the unself-conscious operation of complete competence; it is also moving as the manifestation of powers like none we have encountered or are likely to encounter again; and it is moving for an additional reason: not only is every movement completely equal to the situation, but it never is more than equal to it; those extraordinary powers operate, then with an economy that is an honesty in relation to the situation and material; and in this way the performance is, in addition to everything else, a moral experience which is intensely moving.

What I thought Bernstein might learn from watching Toscanini is to do no more than he needs for what he wants. And what led me to this thought was Bernstein's conducting of the New York City Symphony in a performance of Beethoven's Second, which struck me at times as being far in excess of what was needed. The orchestra might be moving along with a clear tendency that required only a confirming indication—instead of which he suddenly wound himself into a Koussevitzkyan paroxysm—and this to achieve a crescendo from *p* to *mf*. What happened in such a case was that the orchestra disregarded the paroxysm and produced the

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Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT IS evident from Leonard Bernstein's conducting movements that he has watched and learned from Koussevitzky; and it seems to me that he would do well now to watch and learn from Toscanini.

From my observation of Toscanini I would describe his objective in performance as the realization of the composer's intention, as he understands it from the printed score, in a plastically coherent flow of sound in time. Once having set such a flow in motion he marshals it along, watches over it, controls it to make it come out as he planned. The strong plastic coherence of the flow is

mf it was supposed to produce—which is to say that at that moment Bernstein was not really conducting the orchestra but carrying on a performance of his own.

At the same concert Bernstein gave the first New York performance of Prokofiev's Fifth Piano Concerto, much of which is like a caricature of Prokofiev's piano concerto style in the way it flings itself about on the piano. The soloist was a new French pianist, Samson Francoix, who increased the effect of caricature with his spectacular flinging of his hands about.

In striking contrast to this outpouring of facile brilliance was the playing of Greta Sultan in a Haydn sonata, in which a powerful musical intelligence created a musical continuity from one sound to the next that held one's attention from the first sound to the last. The first movement of Beethoven's Opus 111 did not come out well: as I recall it the approach was too analytical and there were technical insufficiencies. But in the second movement there was again a sustained continuity that was wonderfully effective.

The Griller Quartet, when I heard it last year in a broadcast from the Frick Collection, impressed me as first-rate. And so I was entirely unprepared for performances of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 at the opening New Friends of Music concert and Mozart's K. 421 at the Y. M. H. A. in which the first violin played with disturbing affectation in phrasing and with faulty pitch. The Hindemith String Trio No. 2 played at the New Friends concert by Alexander Schneider, Milton Katims, and Benar Heifetz was characteristically ugly and arid; with the exhaustive survey of Hindemith's chamber music the New Friends audience is in for an unpleasant year.

Thomas Scherman, in the one concert of his series with his Little Orchestra that I have heard, revealed genuine powers as a musician with his conceptions of the works he played, his shaping of them, his tempos and phrasing, and as a conductor, with the way he got the orchestra to execute his conceptions, and in particular the way he carried it though so unfamiliar and difficult a work as Schönberg's Kammer-symphonie. What he seems to lack is any capacity to estimate value or interest in music



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for the purpose of making programs; and I will rest my case on the program I heard: a Bruckner string quintet—boring to the point of being lethal; a Leclair concerto for flute and strings—with no more than a mild charm that was extinguished by the flute-playing of René Le Roy, whose technical difficulties with his instrument made it impossible for him even to play in correct time and in step with the orchestra; a new harp concerto by Norman Dello Joio—com-

pletely without musical interest; Mozart's Concerto for flute and harp—one of the most undistinguished of his jobs of commissioned hackwork; and the Schönberg Kammer-symphonie. This was the one work of real consequence of the entire program—but largely by virtue of the impressive powers that were involved in it, rather than by the artistic communication these powers produced. And this, for me, is not good program-making.

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The Wallaces of Iowa. By Russell Lord. Houghton Mifflin. \$5.

Portrait of Edith Wharton. By Percy Lubbock. D. Appleton-Century. \$3.

Einstein: His Life and Times. By Philipp Frank. Knopf. \$4.50.

The James Family. By F. O. Matthiessen. Knopf. \$6.75.

Montgomery, A Biography. By Alan Moorehead. Coward-McCann. \$4.

Freud: His Life and His Mind. A Biography by Helen Walker Puner. Howell, Soskin. \$4.

Lincoln the Liberal Statesman. By J. G. Randall. Dodd, Mead. \$4.50.

Juarez and His Mexico. A Biographical History by Ralph Roeder. Viking. 2 Vols. \$10.

Koussevitzky. By Moses Smith. Allen, Towne, and Heath. \$4.

The Showman of Vanity Fair. The Life of William Makepeace Thackeray. By Lionel Stevenson. Scribner's. \$5.

For the Defense. Thomas Erskine, the Most Enlightened Liberal of His Times, 1750-1823. By Lloyd Paul Stryker. Doubleday. \$5.

[This is the first section of Books of 1947. The second will appear next week.]

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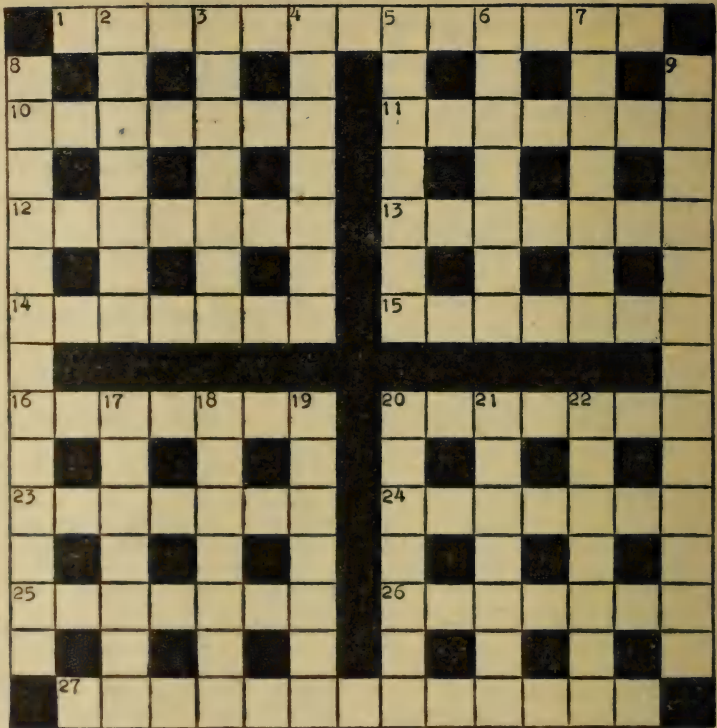
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Buy More Bonds**Crossword Puzzle No. 240**

By FRANK W. LEWIS

**ACROSS**

- 1 Is the musician who has it completely in the dark? (8, 5)
- 10 Slice is as you will, it still brings out something. (7)
- 11 Mr. Turk. (7)
- 12 I've a car, and a passion for riches. (7)
- 13 Philadelphia emmet? (7)
- 14 Not outings where they might hold a race for the 13. (7)
- 15 Box with brown finish. (7)
- 16 Be equal, and get even. (7)
- 20 Not one of Hammett's "Stout Fellows." (4, 3)
- 23 How a careless grammarian might make a verbal mistake? (7)
- 24 Error one might make on flight? (7)
- 25 Smart since it's become a metropolis. (7)
- 26 Cause to sour. (7)
- 27 The wrong crypt? (1, 5, 7)

DOWN

- 2 A great place to keep it in mind. (7)
- 3 Nothing to hold, but often held. (7)
- 4 Should such coats be orange-colored? (7)

- 5 What your child does in great form on the Ides of March? (7)
- 6 She's of the blood royal. (7)
- 7 Study with address, to touch on a subject. (7)
- 8 Tossing out your mother-in-law (perhaps in the absence of 1)? (8, 5)
- 9 Disproving the phrase "as deaf as a post." (9, 4)
- 17 Knotty problems are solved by it. (7)
- 18 A "B" and an "A". (7)
- 19 An ugly object rose up in view. (7)
- 20 Apt in my responding to a blow on the head. (7)
- 21 Examine pins, etc. (7)
- 22 Pick this, but there's no point to it. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 239

ACROSS:—1 SPRITES; 5 CRABBED; ■ AC-COSTS; 10 ARTICLE; 11 HYDRA; 12 IRON-SIDES; 14 FINE; 15 LEGHORN; 18 HIM; 20 RAG; 21 OPALINE; 23 TOOL; 26 STATE-ROOM; 28 NOUNS; 29 FROISIVE; 30 ASHAMED; 31 SWIVELS; 32 ENGAGES.

DOWN:—1 SWATHE; 2 RECADE; 3 TOS-CANINI; 4 SUSPIRE; 5 COALOIL; ■ AL-TOS; 7 BACKDOOR; 8 DRESSING; 13 HIP; 16 GROUNDHOG; 17 RAM; 18 HOLSTERS; 19 MACARONI; 22 ELOPERS; 23 TIMBALE; 24 NUTMEG; ■ ASIDES; 27 EXILE.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE BRITISH made certain things clear: They would lay down the Palestine mandate when they pleased; until they did, they would govern and maintain order exclusively through their own agencies; they would withdraw their forces at whatever times and places they found it convenient to do so. This attitude obviously precluded any U. N. intervention until the mandate was ended, and imposed upon the government of Palestine an inescapable responsibility to keep order with all the forces at its disposal. Events of the first week following the adoption of partition indicate that Britain either will not or cannot do so. Arab attacks on Jews and Jewish property, mounting as the days pass, have been carried out with little interference from British troops or police. Haganah, the Jewish defense force, with occasional support from hastily formed Arab civil guards, has tried to suppress riots and prevent clashes. But the British have gone so far as to interfere with Haganah's efforts, and to arrest and even fire on its members, on the ground that it has no authority to exercise police functions. Meanwhile, Syria threatens full-fledged war, as the Arab states meet in Cairo to determine their policy toward partition. What the situation needs is firmness and clear evidence that the British intend to cooperate in the implementation of the United Nations plan. The Arabs will accept partition only if they know the decision of the Assembly has the unqualified backing of the other nations; they will keep order only if they know order will be enforced. If the British fail to act, they will share responsibility with the Arabs for sabotaging the Palestine solution.

★

OUR ADMIRATION AND RESPECT FOR THE National Association of Manufacturers is not exactly overwhelming, but we must admit that for bounce and brass it has no living rival, except possibly the Politburo. After its performance in 1946, when it loudly assured the public that the OPA was the only obstacle to higher production and lower prices, we had expected the N. A. M. to be a little diffident about making new pronouncements on inflation. Not at all! It is right back on its old stand in New York's Waldorf Astoria, ready to sell the only genuine and infallible cure for inflation. We have, unfortunately, insufficient space to analyze in detail the twelve-point program submitted by President

Earl Bunting to the Fifty-second Congress of American Industry sponsored by the organization. It advocates moderate foreign relief but urges that foreign-reconstruction loans be financed through the World Bank or by private sources rather than by means of taxes. How increased competition in capital markets will discourage inflation, the program does not explain. It suggests, however, that interest rates should "seek their own levels free of government domination"—a step which might serve to damp down credit expansion but only by adding to the cost of the national-debt service and so offsetting much of the government economy demanded by the association. While all the experts agree that reduced taxes at this time would add to inflationary pressures, the N. A. M. demands a substantial cut in individual income taxes. Turning to its own special field, the association proposes that unions forgo further wage demands unrelated to increased productivity and that management strive for lower unit costs and pass on the benefits to the customers. An admirable idea, this last suggestion; but although we know of many manufacturers who have reduced costs, we have heard of very few who have cut prices unless forced to do so by consumer resistance.

★

AS LONG AS BIG BUSINESS RETAINS ITS RIGID orthodoxy, it is almost inevitable that labor should display similar inflexibility. The net result is a cause-and-effect cycle of inflation that is bringing us closer by the week to disaster. The latest step in the process is Philip Murray's announcement that the C. I. O. is about to launch a drive for the third round of wage increases since the war. There is no doubt that the unions make an excellent case. As Murray points out, industrial wage-earners may find more dollars in their pay envelope than they did two years ago, but in terms of purchasing power they are poorer by some 18 per cent; Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach testifies, on the other hand, that profits, already swollen to record volume, continue to outstrip real wages, which "have not regained what they lost in the decontrol period." Regardless of the precise degree to which either high prices or increased wages are the responsible factor in the spiral, it is a simple fact that labor is willing to see controls applied to both. Business, for the most part, is not. Schwollenbach implies that labor will probably call off its demands for new wage increases if it is given "some real assurance that price rises will be checked." Robert R. Nathan, formerly

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economic consultant to the C. I. O., is even more pointed. Given a 15 per cent cut in the cost of living, he told the Senate Banking Committee, there would be only the most "dubious" case for further pay rises. And Murray himself is known to favor the President's anti-inflation program, which includes wage controls in "special cases." The C. I. O. chief may be sending up a trial balloon, as his opponents suggest, but if it serves to frighten industrialists into accepting a program of controls, it will prove a highly patriotic maneuver.

✱

LABOR'S NEW MAGNA CHARTA, AS THE TAFT-Hartley act is known in good Republican circles, has just produced a few major freedoms. Invoking the Communist-oath provision, the National Labor Relations Board has freed the Remington-Rand corporation from any further obligation to deal with the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, a C. I. O. union that includes the great majority of the company's employees in its membership. It has freed a small independent machinists' union, claiming only an insignificant fraction of the company's employees, to contend for the right to represent all of them in collective bargaining, unhampered by having its rivals on the ballot. And it has freed the members of the U. E. itself to revert to the pre-Wagner-act law of the jungle, namely, recourse to strikes without benefit of collective bargaining. There is little doubt that this particular union is vulnerable under the anti-Communist provision, and the unwillingness of its high officers to sign the required affidavit is easily understood. But the issue far transcends the political views of a handful of men at the top of a union. What is decided today with respect to the U. E. can be applied tomorrow to the United Mine Workers under Lewis and the Steelworkers under Murray, neither more of a Communist than J. Parnell Thomas. Acting under the law, the board is inviting the kind of industrial chaos that ripped the country in the early thirties. The irony of the situation is that the provision which opens up this dismal vista is one that even Senator Taft tried to eliminate, its legality being extremely dubious. The hope is that the Supreme Court, when it inevitably reviews the law, will decide, first, that members of a legal party, however obnoxious, cannot be denied equal protection under the law; and, second, that the rank and file of a union must not be penalized for the attitudes and decisions of a union hierarchy.

✱

DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS, THE PUBLIC has been given an instructive lesson in the logic of anti-communism. At the time of the Washington hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the New York Herald Tribune's Heptisax expressed the

opinion that the committee was violating rights secured by the Constitution. Shortly after his article appeared, however, the motion-picture industry, under the goading of Eric Johnston, decided to discharge or "suspend" the writers, directors, and producers who had been marked by the committee. After pondering this decision for a while, Heptisax realized that he could hardly justify the action of the industry in terms of what he had previously said about the committee. Driven into a corner, he proceeded to qualify his earlier conclusions. "For the sake of our own intellectual integrity," he writes, "I think we'll have to 'finger' the reds and call them 'the enemy' by legislative action"; that is, outlaw the Communist Party. Others who have criticized the committee but upheld the action of the industry will be driven by the logic of their position to similar or even more drastic proposals. And why not? For such conclusions, applied to Communists or to other groups holding unpopular views, follow quite logically once it is conceded that a Congressional committee of inquiry has the right to inquire into an individual's political beliefs and affiliations. In short, anti-communism is a one-way through street. Once you enter it you either proceed to the end or you back out—quickly.

✕

YOU CAN FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE SOME of the time, but you can't fool the good people of Massachusetts forever, as a recent event there shows. Five years ago, stunned by what Paul Blanshard in these pages has called "one of the most fantastic campaigns of misrepresentation in the history of American politics," Massachusetts voters rejected, by a seven-to-five margin, a revision of the law which would permit doctors to give birth-control information to married women for the protection of life or health. Now, in response to a new drive conducted by the Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts, more than 80,000 citizens of the state have filed petitions with the Secretary of State asking that the question of amending the law go on the agenda of the Legislature which convenes in January. The number of signatures required for such an action is only 20,000. But all over the state, the League reports, "hundreds of volunteers sprang into action to obtain signatures. . . . [It is a] truly democratic expression of public opinion. . . . Tribute should be paid to the hundreds of town and city clerks and registrars of voters who co-operated so splendidly in certifying so promptly the thousands of signatures." The Roman Catholic church in Massachusetts, as Mr. Blanshard also reported, has started its usual counter-offensive against this move. But leaders of the movement have high hopes that it will become law, at long last, by referendum in November of 1948, if the Massachusetts Legislature surrenders to the threat of clerical political power before then.

Displaced Americans

WHEN we think of Navajos, we think of blankets with beautiful figures executed in strong bright colors, the product, it would seem, of a vigorous and contented people. Set beside that picture, please, you Americans who think you have "taken care" of the Indians, another picture containing a quite different set of figures. To wit:

There are 60,000 Navajo Indians, though there were only 9,000 or 10,000 when they were settled on their reservation after the treaty of 1868. They are a vigorous people. The present reservation comprises 24,000 square miles of land. Even allowing for great stretches of desert, that would seem to be enough for 60,000 people. It was, for a time, when the Navajos were free to build up their flocks of sheep. But in 1933 it was found that the range on which their prosperity was based was rapidly being destroyed by over-grazing. There followed a reduction and conservation program. It saved, or will save, the land, but it reduced the Navajos to a poverty so abject that it is not even picturesque. This poverty was disguised in the thirties by allotments of money from WPA, PWA, and CCC; in the war years, by the availability of jobs off the reservation even for untrained Indians with scarcely any English, by the allotments of men in the services—3,600 Navajos served in the war and 300 died—by the high prices for what wool and lambs there were.

Now the false prosperity has faded like a mirage and poverty has taken over. Today, thousands of Navajos are literally facing starvation. The diet of the tribe as a whole averages 1,200 calories, against 3,450 for Americans generally, against 1,500 for Germans in the American zone. Today, the resources of the reservation, vast though it is, can support only 25,000 of the 60,000. Only 161 out of 11,000 Navajo families own herds large enough to maintain life even at the subsistence level.

By the treaty of 1868, the government is obligated to provide medical care and to furnish adequate school facilities and a teacher for every thirty Navajo children. Yet on the whole reservation there are only six hospitals with 316 beds for general patients and 135 for tuberculosis patients—the tuberculosis death rate in the sunny land of the Navajos is fourteen times the rate for the whole United States. There are no field doctors. The experts disagree on the number of field nurses on the reservation. Some say one, some say two!

Of about 25,000 children of school age, fewer than 6,000 can be accommodated, and these go to overcrowded schools manned by overworked teachers.

Most of these facts are taken from an article by Oliver La Farge in *Harper's* for November. "The only solu-

tion to the Indian problem," says Mr. La Farge, "is to build up their health, their economic condition, and their competence until we can honestly say that they no longer need special care and federal protection." He proposes a long-range program which would make the Navajos self-supporting on or off the reservation. The development of all the irrigable land on the reservation would provide permanent, stable livelihoods for about 5,000 of the 11,000 families. Education and training would make it possible for those who cannot subsist or do not wish to stay on the reservation to make their living elsewhere.

The House Public Lands Committee has now drafted a bill to provide \$2,000,000 for immediate relief, and there is at least a chance that it will be passed during the present session. Write your Congressman. Meanwhile, President Truman has said that he will ask Congress to enact in the January session a ten-year program designed to lift the standard of the Indians to the level of other Americans. It is high time.

Behind the French "Insurrection"

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE waves of strikes in France, accumulating last week-end to a threatening crest, seem to be subsiding. As we go to press, representatives of the General Confederation of Workers and the Minister of Labor are discussing terms of settlement. But if Americans greet the end of the so-called "insurrection" with an accurate idea of what it was all about, it will not be the fault of their press and radio. With a few creditable exceptions, American newspapers and broadcasts have played down all the issues except the one that suits the dominant pattern of anti-Russian fanaticism.

I have read five editorials in the *New York Times* published between December 1 and December 7—the days of greatest tension in France. Not one of them discusses the level of wages or the effects of inflation. Not one mentions hunger. Not one even deals with the general economic plight of the country. What the *Times* has concentrated on, as have most of its contemporaries, is the Communist threat implicit in the whole strike movement. Since the Communists themselves openly acknowledge their political objectives and since their demonstration of power is undoubtedly a threat to orderly government, one cannot quarrel with the press for driving these points home and emphasizing their significance. What one can quarrel with is its failure to explain why two million French workers flocked into the streets, tying up services and production, on the decision of a group of leaders whose revolutionary purposes they share only to a limited extent. Or its failure to point out that even the leader of

the non-Communist wing of the C. G. T., the redoubtable Léon Jouhaux, who is heading up the "workers' force" revolt against Communist control of the federation, has steadfastly defended the right of organized labor to strike against starvation wages and insufficient rations. Communist tactics are by-products—not causes—of an economic situation and economic policies which have pressed so heavily on the city workers of France that they are ready to risk everything rather than continue to endure without protest their growing misery and sense of frustration.

A FEW correspondents have, it is true, brought out a few of the underlying facts in occasional news stories from France; one of the most conscientious, incidentally, has been Charles R. Hargrove of the *Wall Street Journal*. But the best analysis of the economic background of the strikes was given by I. F. Stone, writing from Washington, in *PM*. Stone quoted the Herter report to Congress to the effect that the present French bread ration of 200 grams (about 8 ounces), is "lower than the lowest official ration under the German occupation," while the average city worker must spend from 70 to 80 per cent of his income on food. An unskilled laborer receives only 295 francs a day, and the daily diet is estimated to cost 290 francs.

The situation was bad enough when the Herter committee presented its figures. It is much worse now. The attempt of the French government to balance the budget has sent living costs shooting up. To quote from Mr. Stone's story:

Cost-of-living subsidies were abandoned. Two days later, price controls were removed from 473 items. Five days later, gas and electricity rates were raised 45 per cent, railroad and subway fares 25 per cent, and freight charges 28.5 per cent. The price of coal went up from 1,160 francs a ton to 2,160 francs a ton. The price of bread went up from about 15.5 francs a kilogram (2.2 pounds) to 24 to 28 francs.

All this since November 7.

Undoubtedly, those papers which have insisted on the "purely political purposes" of the strike movement will attribute its collapse "purely" to the French government's strong measures. Again they will be wrong. The emergency powers granted by the Assembly, the heavy penalties imposed on sabotage and violence may contribute to the subsidence of violence. But only because other tactics—tactics of conciliation and restraint on the part of responsible officials on both sides—are beginning to reduce tension and isolate the extremists. Hunger, too, which drove the workers into the streets, will help drive them back to the plants when they see that the government is making a genuine effort to meet their legitimate demands.

Whether the strikes will end in a troubled truce or in

a real armistice depends on many things outside the control of the workers or their leaders. Internally, it depends on the capacity of the government to halt inflation without lowering still farther the standard of living of the urban workers. That it can accomplish this before American relief arrives in quantity is most unlikely. What is needed in France is more food and more production generally. Only then will prices drop and wages seem worth working for. Meanwhile, Daniel Mayer, the Socialist Minister of Labor, has promised to establish a wage-price relationship to cover the first six months of 1948; he sticks to the former, so-far-unacceptable offer of a 1,500 franc monthly inflation bonus. The C. G. T. is asking for a review of cost-of-living and wage rates every three months and a bonus of 2,500 francs. The differential is not too wide to be bridged by a reasonable compromise, and one may be reached within a few days.

But the long-range hope of political and industrial peace depends upon Washington. The adoption by Congress of the emergency-aid measure must be followed by quick action. And it must be the sort of action that will rebut the Communist argument that American capital is plotting to dominate the Continent. The visit to Paris of John Foster Dulles and his meeting with De Gaulle, however innocent its purpose may have been, was certainly ill-timed if the United States wants to convince the

French people that it intends to keep its fingers out of their political affairs. During these weeks of bitter struggle, the Communists have undoubtedly weakened themselves by allowing Moscow's international objectives to overshadow so obviously the immediate and desperate needs of the French workers. But if they can now proclaim that the United States is dallying with De Gaulle and using relief as a carrot on a visible political stick, their own mistakes will begin to fade.

In London, too, the Russians have damaged their prestige and popularity with the French by openly bidding for German favor. But, again, if the American delegates try to harness France to their announced plan to step up production in western Germany, while ruling out the socialization of German industry, French Communists will be able to concentrate fire on this highly unpopular aspect of the Marshall Plan and distract attention, in part at least, from Russia's demand for a centralized German government.

The trouble in France is probably simmering down, but Americans must realize that it will not be ended by any show of force or ruthless policy of deflation. Political peace will come only if the great powers, but America above all, pursue a policy that offers a chance for economic recovery on terms the ordinary French worker can understand and trust.



THE OPTIMISTS

Mr. Denham Plays God

BY PAUL KLEIN

Washington, December 4

THE first emasculation of a labor union under the Taft-Hartley act took place here two weeks ago. It is unlikely that the National Labor Relations Board's general counsel will do much about it, for the union is that of his own employees and it was the counsel himself, Robert Denham, who performed the operation.

Since 1938 the board has had a working agreement with the independent NLRB Employees' Union. Although prohibited by law from the right to strike, the union has had a say in the posting of vacancies and in seniority and grievance regulations. The Civil Service Commission has taken the position that "a simple, orderly procedure should be provided within the department whereby it will be possible for the employee to present his grievances either individually or through representatives of his own choosing."

The old board operated under these general principles. But after the passage of the Taft-Hartley act, and the appointment of Denham, a change in policy developed. The new law does not clearly say the general counsel shall hire, fire, or promote personnel. The board, however, delegated those powers to him. Denham then hired several employees without regard to existing seniority practices, and without previously posting the vacancies for the information of lower-level employees.

The union protested, and Denham granted its representatives a brief conference on November 17. According to the union's transcript of the proceedings, Denham began negotiations by saying, "Let's get this straight; I'll agree to nothing; there is no place for agreements in the federal service. . . . Promotion and appointments are management prerogatives, and I don't propose, nor will I permit any of my subordinates, to agree to anything."

When the union asked if Denham intended to determine unilaterally in what instances vacancies would be posted, he replied, "Yes, unilaterally, if you want to put it that way." He added that he always seeks the most qualified person to fill a job. The union's reply was: "We want the best men in the jobs, too. . . . That is why we propose the continuation of the posting system. We hope to convince you that posting is an orderly way to achieve that end, and that selection could be based on certain predetermined standards of service and efficiency." Denham answered, "We don't have time for that." Nor for establishment of a grievance procedure, he added.

"Show me where I've made a mistake," he continually said. "I haven't made any mistakes yet." He closed the meeting with the words: "I will not justify my selections to anyone, and I will not permit anyone on my staff to justify or explain their selections to anyone."

Since that conference Denham has posted some vacancies and indicated that he will listen to grievances. But he emphasizes that this does not mean an agreement to do so; he will do it only when, as, and if he feels like it. The union has now asked the NLRB either to rescind the authority it gave to the general counsel or to condition it upon Denham's consent to bargain collectively. The request will probably not be granted; even if it should be, Denham may fight the matter through to a court decision, which some legal experts here think would go in his favor. It looks as if the man selected to handle the nation's labor affairs had succeeded in busting his own organization's union.

NONE of this should come as a surprise, in view of Denham's record and the new climate in the NLRB resulting from the Taft-Hartley legislation. Denham, of course, warmly advocated passage of the act. As a trial examiner in the old days, he dismissed a higher proportion of complaints than any of his colleagues. A former supervisor in the trials section of the NLRB estimated that 80 per cent of the complaints brought before an examiner resulted in a finding of unfair practice, since the charges were subjected to a thorough screening before they reached him. Denham's record was just about 80 per cent dismissals.

In 1943 a judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals described an action before Denham in these words: "We cannot agree that respondents have had a fair trial by a disinterested, impartial trier of facts. His general attitude was not impartial but partisan . . . [He] had a wholly improper attitude for a judge or examiner. . . . [His] remarks evidence bias and prejudice."

Since his appointment he has invoked injunctions in a relatively high number of cases, while giving lip-service to the doctrine that injunctions are dangerous. In one of these instances Denham's legal staff argued, in a District Court in Kentucky, that an injunction *must* be issued, without a hearing on the facts. The court replied that under this reasoning the next step would be to order injunctions over the telephone, and subsequently to omit the court altogether and issue injunctions at the whim of the labor board.

Complementing Denham's general attitude is his fondness for a highly technical administration of the labor act. He has kept his promise to Congress to fill every vacant regional director's post with an attorney. I heard here that he requested the resignation of one experienced West Coast director on the grounds that he didn't "want a layman at a post so far from Washington."

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Orders issued from the general counsel's office have emphasized this trend, particularly the notorious G. C. Field Order 15, which provided that all unfair-labor-practice charges would be dropped unless a prima facie case were brought in and witnesses produced within seventy-two hours. Perhaps the best comment on the new legalistic regime was made recently by Dr. William Leiserson, a former member of both the NLRB and the National Mediation Board, who said the only helpful labor law is one which operates "in such a way that employers and workers or their ordinary bargaining representatives can present their cases in laymen's language, tell their stories, and question each other without legal technicalities. . . . The injection of lawyers . . . promises to retard . . . amicable settlements by collective bargaining, cooperative compromises, and mutual give and take." Yet the NLRB's current budget request calls for fifty new positions for lawyers.

Although as a trial examiner Denham often refused to apply the board's previously expressed rulings, and

although as an employee of the NLRB under the Wagner act he felt justified in offering Congress suggestions for the new legislation, he testified before a Congressional committee that he would discharge anyone who opposed his administration: "If there is anyone on that staff who is unwilling to subscribe to the principles and policies and theory of the act as I conceive it to be, I don't want him around."

Many of Denham's decisions, in cases where racial questions have been raised, have been subjected to criticism. This feeling is based on such judgements as the one in which, as a trial examiner, he ignored the testimony of several Negroes and accepted that of a white witness. In his written draft report, in words later deleted, he explained this by saying, "Close and intimate contact with the Negro has taught the white [man] to recognize when a Negro is lying!"

The hostility he has aroused among associates was revealed when one said as he passed, "You've heard this before, but there, but for the grace of God, goes God."

America—1947

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, November 30

AMERICA bestrides the world like a colossus; neither Rome at the height of its power nor Great Britain in the period of its economic supremacy enjoyed an influence so direct, so profound, or so pervasive. It has half the wealth of the world today in its hands, it has rather more than half the world's productive capacity, and it exports more than twice as much as it imports. Today literally hundreds of millions of Europeans and Asiatics know that both the quality and the rhythm of their lives depend upon decisions made in Washington. On the wisdom of those decisions hangs the fate of the next generation.

Yet, seen from this tragic continent of Europe, powerful America does not appear to be a happy America. The main decision-making seems to be in the hands of those whose purpose is to return to the principles of that "golden age" when Coolidge was President and Herbert Hoover was preparing to tell the American people that the problem of poverty had been solved. The Republican Party is still fighting the shadow cast by Franklin Roosevelt's Presidency over the divine right of the business man to do what he will with his own. Business not only rejoices in incredible profits; it fights angrily for decreases in taxation so that the costs of government need not be borne by those who are in the higher brackets of income. In the Taft-Hartley act the Republican Party has sought to raise a barrier against further progress by

the trade unions. It is trying to cripple strikes by the reintroduction of that judicial power of injunction which pre-war America believed the Norris-LaGuardia act had laid finally to rest. It is eager to break the hold of the TVA on the public mind; and those who have dreamed of a Missouri Valley Authority to match the remarkable achievements in the valley of the Tennessee will have no consolation except their right to dream for some time to come. There is to be no federal aid for education, urgently though it is needed. Not even the recrudescence of lynching will persuade this Congress to grapple with the corrupt electoral machines of the Southern states and their gangster tactics. If to these be added the hostility of the Republicans to the control of prices and their grave failure to tackle the problem of housing for tenants of small income, it becomes difficult to realize that we are approaching the nineteen-fifties, and that the nineteen-twenties are almost a generation away.

For the international policy of the American government both parties share responsibility, though the administrative responsibility belongs chiefly to Mr. Truman and his party. Here, obviously, there are credits to be entered, as well as debts. The American share in UNRRA was typical of that capacity to be magnanimous in a crisis which is a striking feature in the history of the United States. The Lilienthal plan for the control of atomic energy will be recognized, perhaps in the relatively near future, not only as an outstanding contribu-

tion to peace-making but as a supreme example of wisdom in international planning. I know of no effective case that has been made against it by Russia or by any other power. And I am convinced that the persistence of the American demand for justice for the pitiful remnant of European Jewry—in the face of Mr. Bevin's invective and despite some obvious faltering in the State Department—is the reason why the British government never dared to break the Zionist experiment into pieces and offer its ruins as a claim to the good-will of Arab feudal lords who are not only the sworn enemies of Great Britain but even more the sworn enemies of the purpose embodied in its government. That Mr. Bevin's record in Palestine is not worse than it is—and I say this while accepting to the full the condemnation of the unpardonable terrorism there—is due not to the courage of his colleagues but to the pertinacity of President Truman, which has kept him awake to the significance of American public opinion on this unhappy theme.

BUT the debits are heavy debits. From the conclusion of hostilities the American government has shown hardly a sign of grasping the big issue which confronts it—the need to achieve a *modus vivendi* with Russia. Russia has been suspicious, difficult, arrogant, secretive; yet its rulers have obviously recognized that the cost of victory has imposed a strain upon its internal economy which will not only take long years to overcome but leave it helpless, if alone, in another major war. That was why Russia sought to ring itself round with satellites; that was why its leaders resented the virtual monopoly of authority exercised by General MacArthur in Japan; that was why they observed with alarm the rearming of reaction in China; that was why, perhaps most vitally of all, the Russians watched so suspiciously the growth in the United States government of a determination both to rebuild Germany's industrial potential and to prevent its being socialized, when the alternative was inevitably its joint direction by big business in the United States and Germany.

No doubt all this has made Russian policy a matter which needed to be handled with imagination and courage. I do not see that the American government has so handled it. It has helped to create an anti-Russian feeling among its own people which has reached fantastic proportions, preventing them from realizing that to seek terms of friendship with Moscow is not the same thing as the appeasement of Hitler. It has encouraged most of the reactionary forces in Europe. It has punished Poland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia for not cutting themselves adrift from an alliance which is their main safeguard against counter-revolution. While it has denounced every Russian move as imperialist expansion, it has justified its own strategic imperialism as the defense of democracy and freedom; though it is difficult for a

foreign observer to regard military subsidies to Greece and Turkey in this light. The full meaning of the Marshall Plan no one yet knows, but it is perfectly easy to see, even by the tenor of the debate in Congress, that help in the form of American credits may easily entail political subordination to the United States incompatible with the independence of the nations selected to be its beneficiaries. If the governments of countries where there are Socialist majorities, like Great Britain, should become so bound by the power of the dollar that they were compelled to act not under the conditions their peoples had chosen but under those American finance-capital was prepared to indorse, civil war could easily result all over Europe.

This is a long-term problem which Washington has not yet begun to face. America's productive capacity is so immense that the unbalance of world economy as between the Western and the Eastern Hemisphere means crisis after crisis, until there has been a large-scale integration of the present inequality. Europeans and Asiatics cannot sell to America unless they can buy from America; that means both an America which abandons its protective tariffs and a Europe and an Asia which gain rapidly in productive power. The first is obviously complicated enough; in spite of agreements at Geneva, it will require something like a surgical operation on the American business mind. The second, in my view, is only possible if the government of the United States is magnanimous and imaginative enough to devise a peace-time scheme of lend-lease which includes Soviet Russia. Without participating in such a scheme, neither Europe nor Asia will be able to continue buying goods from America; and that will mean, among other things, an American crash, even bigger than in 1929, or else an American New Deal which will make the effort of Franklin Roosevelt seem petty by comparison. As there is no serious evidence that either political party in the United States believes American business would support a great program of social experiment, the question—assuming peace is maintained—is not whether there will be depression in the United States, but when.

IT IS all this that makes so tragic the atomization of American liberalism. At the very moment when the world needs so urgently the corrective it could apply to the relentless and impersonal drive of the American economy, there is no organized movement of the left in America to supply it. I know that there are innumerable men and women of liberal faith in the United States—in Congress, like Senator Morse of Oregon, and out of it, like Leon Henderson and Mrs. Roosevelt. I know, too, that there are many inside the labor unions, both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. My point is that they all lack coherency of an organic kind. Anyone who examines the working of the P. A. C. during the Congressional elec-

tions of 1946 is bound to agree that it was just one more pressure group, trying, like the N. A. M. or the Roman Catholic church, to win pledges from the Republicans and Democrats, both nationally and locally. Not only are the liberal groups without any effective unity, but this lack minimizes their influence on the party machines.

It is perhaps an audacious thing to say, but I cannot avoid the suspicion that the present condition of American politics is above all a proof of the political immaturity of the American working class. I infer that not merely from the feebleness of the Socialist and Communist parties. I infer it even more from the fact that there is no effective intellectual differential between the two major political parties. Each of them is essentially a machine to capture power and, with power, jobs for its followers; and each offers to the electorate the candidates and the program which it thinks most likely to attain this end. To a foreign observer, for example, it is fantastic to watch Governor Dewey, whose passion to be in the White House is universally known, not only refusing to admit that he is a candidate for the nomination at the same time that he labors with all his might to organize his pre-convention support, but taking the greatest care to prevent the American people from knowing his views on any controversial subject lest this prejudice his chances of being chosen. Similarly remarkable is the spectacle of Governor Warren of California, breathing general goodwill but remaining obstinately silent on all the issues upon which he would have to give a lead if, as he hopes, a deadlocked convention should make him the Republican candidate next year. I do not think it can seriously be argued that *omne ignotum pro magnifico* is a valid principle of political action. An Englishman at least would be surprised if Mr. Eden kept silent upon a major political issue before the House of Commons on the ground that to speak might jeopardize his chance of succeeding Mr. Churchill as the leader of the Tory party.

No foreigner can look at the American political scene without realizing that a large-scale reorientation of political parties is overdue there. What is needed is either a genuine conservative party or a genuine liberal party; it is now an anachronism to rely upon the chance emphasis a new President will bring to his task as the one person who can be the effective leader of the nation. I would, indeed, go farther and say that the American Constitution is in need of wholesale revision, that both the institutions it has created and the operative formulas by which they live, not least the present division of power between Washington and the states, are historical anomalies which gravely hinder American development. Institutions, as they work, ought to be a source of popular political education; in their present condition those of the United States often have the effect of miseducation.

While I agree with Justice Frankfurter that the investigating power of Congress is an invaluable instru-

ment, the range and strength of which it is desirable to maintain, one can hardly deny that this power is being recklessly abused. It was abused in the inquiry into the disaster at Pearl Harbor; it has been gravely abused by the Dies committee and its successor, the Rankin-Thomas committee. The hysteria of 1919 is not one of the most creditable episodes in American history, but the way in which anyone from a subscriber to Spanish Republican relief in 1938 to a member of the American Veterans' Committee in 1947 may find himself today regarded as dangerous and probably under the orders of Moscow would be pitiful if it were not so alarming. There are foolish people in the House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies; there are unworthy people, too. But neither body is so organized procedurally as to provide the foolish and unworthy with the instrumentalities necessary to make the greatest possible use of their bad qualities, giving them the power to spread poison out of all proportion to their strength. Nor must one forget the additional evil this involves in a time when the media of mass communication are so vital to the community.

TO THIS I add, with both hesitation and regret, my feeling that a good deal of what is most reactionary in the political and social life of America today is directly traceable to the influence of a militant Roman Catholic church, which is as much the expression of the purposes of a foreign power as any influence exerted by the Communist Party. No other body has the same grim responsibility for the tragic fate of the Spanish people. No other body has devoted itself so consistently to poisoning the relations between Russia and the United States. It protects child labor; it is building, from infant school to university, its own educational *imperium in imperio*. It has immense influence over the movie industry, not least where films of a political complexion are concerned. It plays a major part in the repression of freedom of speech. That it has done so little to make impossible the anti-Semitism of Father Coughlin or the adolescent gangsterism in Massachusetts and New York is a painful thing to anyone who remembers the large-mindedness of Archbishop Ireland and Monsignor Ryan. It is attempting with subtlety and skill to establish a concealed control of trade unions in cities where there is a large Roman Catholic population. I doubt whether there are three Americans today whose authority, direct and indirect, counts for more than that of the Cardinal-Archbishop of New York. And to this must be added the curious and significant fact that the members of the Roman Catholic church seem able, like their coreligionists in Great Britain, to obtain pivotal posts in the Foreign Service, exercising a power of infiltration which must make members of the Communist Party feel that they are infants at the game. Anyone who measures Roman Catholic strength in the United States today with

what it was a generation ago cannot fail to be impressed by its growth, as well as perturbed by its direction. Spain apart, I doubt whether there is any country in the world today in which its authority is greater than in America.

I AM too much in earnest for either humility or vanity," wrote Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes at a vital moment in medical history, "but I do entreat those who hold the keys of life and death to listen." It is in that spirit that all of us ought to approach the grave problems of this hour. It is one of the supreme turning-points of history, not less than when Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms, or when the States-General met at Versailles in 1789—an hour as decisive as when Lenin descended from the "sealed train" at the Finland Station in Petrograd. No power is likely to exercise a more critical influence upon the destiny of this civilization than is the United States. Its position involves special responsibilities. It has not been battered and torn by the tempest of war; its economy is alike unimpaired and unsurpassed. Its people have a long experience of democratic prac-

tices, and yet not so long a one as to permit them to forget that they had to fight a revolutionary war to give them the right to that experience. They have been a singularly fortunate people. Nature provided them with an empty continent and boundless resources; history gave them in the first forty years of their republic a group of leaders unsurpassed in sagacity and courage. Their national independence has twice been threatened; and, in both 1861 and 1941, fate gave them a leader who commanded the veneration of the whole world. They are a people full of vitality, quick to experiment, eager in their enthusiasm, and swift to be generous when they hear the call of pain. Wise Americans ought to hear the call now, for it sounds unmistakably over the five continents of the world. Americans must recognize without delay that they hold the keys of life and death in their hands. Never has it been so urgent for them to listen; never has their power to understand what they hear been fraught with consequences so momentous.

[This is the second article of a series. The third, "Russian Realities," will appear in an early issue.]

Negroes at U.N.'s Door

BY A. G. MEZERIK

ON December 3, in Geneva, a subcommittee of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights rejected, by a vote of eleven to one, a Russian proposal to investigate the Negro problem in the United States. So ended the first act of a drama which must some day be played through to the end. The action began in October in New York, when certain Negro citizens of the United States wrote a letter to the world telling the bloody story of race relations in this country and asked the United Nations for action. Entitled "A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress," the mimeographed volume of 150 pages was prepared by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and presented to the Social and Economic Council. Each of the fifty-seven delegations to the U. N. was given a copy and requested to consider the plight of Negroes in the United States.

What a case is presented! The document is partly an indictment of the government of the United States by a large section of its citizens. Government has failed the Negro at every level, from the local sheriff to the Su-

preme Court. Most especially the Supreme Court, though on its dignified home is boldly emblazoned "Equal Justice Under the Law," is found in this record to have been the great diluter of Negro rights, the great negator of constitutional guaranties. From Revolutionary days the Supreme Court has taken the attitude that the "Negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect," a dictum incorporated in Roger Taney's justly infamous Dred Scott decision.

The constitutional amendments which followed the Civil War were designed to abolish slavery and make the Negro a citizen and a voter, but they were soon interpreted in such a way that, instead of serving to protect the newly emancipated slave in the exercise of his citizenship, they helped the states to constrict, limit, and even prohibit the rights he had been granted. By its biased interpretations of these amendments the Supreme Court has permitted Negroes to be deprived of the right to vote: from its decisions stem the poll taxes, separate primaries, "rotten boroughs," and other voting restrictions which are still in wide use throughout the South. The right of Negroes to sit on juries when Negroes are being tried has been nullified on the simple theory that the proof of discrimination presented to the august court was not satisfactory. Separation of races in intra-state travel has been encouraged by the court's verdict that this was but a "valid exercise of the police power of the state."

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," wrote a series of articles for The Nation last summer called *Dixie in Black and White*.

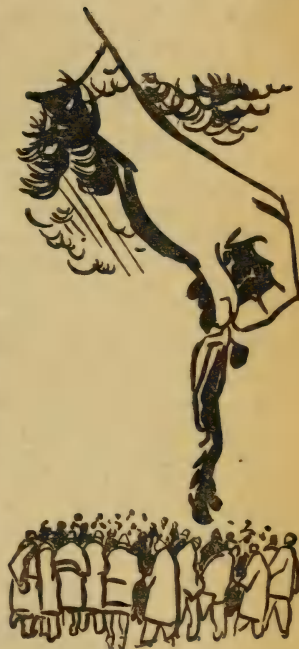
The Supreme Court has denied the Negro his civil rights on the ground that Congress was given no power under the Fourteenth Amendment to regulate the acts of private individuals in the states—this from the same institution which held that the language of the Fourteenth Amendment, "Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," protected corporations. The corporations have been under the benevolent wing of the court ever since, coddled into monstrous growth by decisions which have made the famous Fourteenth Amendment their most valuable legal aid. Monopoly has won—and the Negro has lost—as a result of the interpretation of a constitutional amendment intended to emancipate the slaves.

Piling indignity on injury, it was the Supreme Court which invented the theory of "separate but equal" facilities. Acceptance of this vicious theory was of course the certain guaranty, not of equality, but of its opposite, segregation, and out of it have come the separate school systems, separate toilet facilities, separate quarters in hospitals, trains, and practically everywhere else, including graveyards. On every hand the South offers proof that these separate facilities are unequal and are the cause of much of the disease, ignorance, and poverty of the Negro. And this proof of the responsibility of our highest court provides final refutation of the often repeated allegation that the basic reason for the discrimination suffered by the Negro is the prejudice and ignorance of our lowest government officials—the county sheriff, the justice of the peace, the company-town mayor. These share the guilt—incident after incident cited in the N. A. A. C. P. volume demonstrates their complicity—but the shocking truth is that their basest acts have been sparked and encouraged by the Supreme Court.

After recounting the evils for which the government must be blamed, the statement describes the intimidation practiced by ordinary non-office-holding white men who in defiance of the law have beaten and shot and lynched Negroes without interference. The records, accurate only since 1882, show that thousands of Negro men, women, and children have been burned, hung, or flogged to death by mobs. And not one white person has ever been convicted for participating in this mass murder. In fact, until last year not one was ever arrested for the crime. The U. N. delegate who read this document must have found a clear parallel with Nazi S. S. methods, particularly as the story goes on to reveal how Negroes are beaten up every day in Northern as well as Southern cities; often by the police, and how such occurrences are so taken for granted that the press rarely bothers to report them. Every sector of white America is implicated. Labor's record is cited: twenty-one Negroes wounded or killed because they refused to give up to whites their jobs as firemen on railroads.

The N. A. A. C. P. has already been criticized by

Southern newspapers for "washing all this dirty linen in public." And there will be cries that this is ammunition for Russian propaganda against American democracy. But the United States has evaded the problem for so long that Negroes here are looking beyond it to the world. The statement presented to the United Nations was the effort of a people to document the indignities to which they have been subjected. Its legal phrases conceal a smoldering anger which, fanned by another "Uncle Tom's Cabin," might sweep the world. The framers of the appeal have not shrunk from its implications. They speak of themselves as forming a nation within a nation. "We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia or the whole of Scandinavia, including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. . . . We are a group which has the right to be heard; and while we rejoice that other smaller nations can stand and make their wants known in the United Nations, we maintain equally that our voice should not be suppressed or ignored."



Golden

WITH this challenge the Negroes of the United States begin their march as a group, demanding their rights in the council of the nations. Their new course is a long step away from the usual N. A. A. C. P. policy, which has believed that enlisting the aid of influential whites was the key to the advancement of the Negro. It is a return to other historical methods, to those of the Reconstruction era, when Negroes acting as solid communal groups resisted the attacks of the Ku Klux Klan. The present challenge is presented by a militant and united people, conscious of their aims and unafraid, for perhaps the first time, of stirring up a red scare. Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, in the statement's opening chapter, disposes of the red bogey: "It is not Russia that threatens the United States so much as Mississippi, not Stalin and Molotov but Bilbo and Rankin; internal injustice done to one's brothers is far more dangerous than the aggression of strangers from abroad." Whatever the

Russians make of this, and by espousing the Negro cause at Geneva they indicated it would be a great deal, action will be up to us. We must cure ourselves of our Rankins. The friendship of the dark peoples of the world is at stake. And whoever wins them will win the world. The N. A. A. C. P. plans to publish the statement in five languages, and as its news spreads, our government, unless it moves forward at an unprecedented pace, will find itself convicted of talking democracy to peoples in Asia and Africa while condoning a police state against their brothers within our borders.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, one of our delegates to Geneva, is on the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. Since she offered no constructive proposal of her own, she must have had to subordinate her well-known personal feelings to this country's historical anti-Negro policy. Her dilemma is not new. It has frustrated many of our able political leaders. It is perhaps responsible for our American proclivity for delivering moral lectures to other countries. Much of our ranting about the imperialism and callousness of other countries may be the expression of a subconscious sense of guilt growing out of the ever-present disabilities of the Negro. By our words on the international scene we have tried to compensate for our deeds at home.

THE shadow of this indictment hangs over the United Nations as well as the United States. For the yardstick by which the world's oppressed peoples will judge the United Nations is the fervor with which it will defend the dignity of man. If the U. N. does not eventually give this petition a place on its agenda, it will be apparent that there is no organ in the world to which oppressed people can turn for an ultimate redress of their grievances.

The American delegation, for obvious reasons, finds the demand of the Negro people of the United States difficult to deal with. Other delegations may face equal difficulty for other reasons. Interference in the affairs of another country could be charged, and though there are precedents for this in the resolutions against Franco's dictatorship in Spain and the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, so far no case has involved one of the major powers.

The difficulties ahead are great, but Negroes are not dismayed. In spite of all the roadblocks to progress so graphically catalogued in this indictment, the Negro people have produced scholars, artists, writers, scientists, and athletes in numbers and of a quality which command the respect and admiration of the white men who hold them down. Their record promises as long and persistent a fight before the U. N. as may be necessary to win the right to be heard when they demand that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in the United States no longer be "for whites only."

Rebirth of General Medicine

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

AS SOON as people find out that I am a physician they ask, "What is your specialty?" The question embarrasses me increasingly as the years go by, because I more and more dislike being a specialist. I fully subscribe to the well-known definition that a specialist is a man who knows more and more about less and less. He is likely in the end to be reduced to a remote and limited corner of life, to lose his social usefulness and his sense of reality.

I have devoted about twenty years, or a substantial part of that time, to the study of skin diseases; I have written about seventy papers on the subject, and a few books; I have investigated hundreds of varieties of skin ailments; and if I thought there were any such thing, I would call myself a legitimate specialist in dermatology. Dermatology is a fairly recent specialty. It started when skin ailments began to be given Latin names and tissue changes were described and classified in all their variety. If a patient loses his hair, one now diagnoses alopecia; if he itches, he suffers from pruritus; if his skin is inflamed, he has a dermatitis. Dermatology separated from internal medicine about sixty years ago, but after many years of practice I am convinced that it is still a part of internal medicine.

During these years I have become actively interested in the relationship between the skin and surgery, allergy, epidemiology, public health, social hygiene, psychiatry, neurology, pediatrics, the history of medicine, radiology, immunology, gerontology. A knowledge of all these specialties is essential for a physician who wants to be a good dermatologist and treat an itch according to the standards of modern medicine: we cannot get around the fact that a human body is a coherent working unit—and we cannot operate an engine if we are nothing but specialists in combustion mechanics.

There is a strange tendency to call anybody an expert who says or prints the same thing twice. To become an expert is a wonderful way for lazy people to make a living. They are recognized and flattered by a small but self-assured group of fellow-experts, and they have a perfect excuse for not worrying about anything outside their expert function. I wrote my doctor's thesis about the historical origin of syphilis, and I could have spent a lovely lifetime being a member of a select group of syphilis historians, brooding over folios in libraries and participating in an erudite controversy that has gone on for several hundred years.

Of course, experts—in medicine as elsewhere—are necessary. Experts are needed for brain surgery, shock

treatments, corneal transplantations, fenestration of the inner ear, anaesthesia, and so on. There is nothing more admirable than the skill of a medical expert. However, I would say that it is even more difficult, though more interesting and more rewarding, to be a good general physician than a good specialist.

"It has been shown that 85 per cent of the conditions for which persons seek medical advice can be diagnosed and treated effectively by a good medical practitioner. Yet according to available statistics, only about 60 per cent of physicians are general practitioners" (*New York Medicine*, October 20, 1947). There are enough specialists for lung extirpation and frontal lobectomy, but there are obviously not enough doctors for less interesting ailments, and the trend toward specialization is rapidly growing; so that there is danger of the whole medical profession's becoming an accumulation of specialists more or less helpless without the coordinating wisdom of the general physician. Many hospitals—haughtily and foolishly—limit their staff appointments to physicians certified by specialty boards. And the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association saw reason to report on May 3, 1947, that "such policies are detrimental to the health of the people and therefore to American medicine."

My own individual preference is encouraged by some recent occurrences. The A. M. A. in 1945 established a Section on General Practice as an official part of its Scientific Assembly. Some 150 general practitioners have organized the American Academy of General Practitioners, which requires from its members evidence of continuous postgraduate work.

I am happy and proud that I know a little bit more about skin diseases than other people, and my eyes will always gleam with satisfaction when I discover something like a case of Epidermodysplasia Verruciformis. But lately I have felt that I might be becoming sufficiently mature and experienced to change from a dermatologist into a general practitioner.

I am quite certain that to be a good medical practitioner is the most difficult achievement for a physician. Perhaps it should be attempted only after a lifelong medical education in research, in technical skill, in special knowledge, in public health. It will be very difficult for our medical generation—which has been brought up so wrongly—to reach the distinction of a truly modern medical practitioner. But we can urge the people responsible for medical curriculums to prepare the way for future generations. It should be a privilege and an honor—after long and recognized activity in special fields—to acquire the title of General Practitioner.

Jinnah's New Republic

BY ANDREW ROTH

Karachi, November 15

ITS creator and governor general, M. A. Jinnah, has described Pakistan as "the biggest Moslem state . . . and the fifth biggest sovereign state in the world." Though the second point might be disputed, Pakistan is unquestionably worthy of attention, for it is situated just where the Anglo-American and Soviet orbits touch in the strategic Central Asian theater.

Seldom has a new state been created under such contradictory pressures or with such a load of full-grown problems. Control of the government is vested in a few top officials, supported by a powerful bureaucracy, but Britain has a say in matters of defense, finance, and foreign policy. Already the government is shot through with corruption and nepotism. Social life is dominated by Mohammedan concepts, including the subjection of women. The structure of the state, however, has not yet

had time to harden, and internal strains may reshape it in another image.

Although Mr. Jinnah exaggerates when he describes his dominion as "blessed with enormous resources and potentialities," Pakistan is undoubtedly "workable" economically. With an area of 230,000 square miles, one-fourth larger than 1933 Germany, it has a population of 70,000,000, about the same number as 1933 Germany. It produces an agricultural surplus and can export part of its wheat and rice and a good deal of its valuable jute crop. It also has some oil and chromite and considerable potential water power. Industrially it is the most backward part of the whole under-industrialized subcontinent. There are scattered woolen, cement, sugar, and cotton mills, but cloth and most other manufactured goods must be imported; some 85 per cent of the raw jute of all India is grown in Pakistan, but the jute mills are in Calcutta. Pakistan has no known coal or iron and only one modern port, Karachi. The people are largely illiterate; only 4 per cent can read as against 12 per cent in India. Among the well-educated, here as in India, are too many lawyers and too few engineers.

ANDREW ROTH, roving reporter for The Nation, has spent several months in India. He has lately arrived in Siam after visiting Ceylon and Burma.

Close and friendly relations with the Indian dominion seem essential to the development of Pakistan's potentialities.* The Congress Party, indeed, finally agreed to partition, after years of deadlock, partly in the belief that Pakistan could not exist as a separate state. "Let them have their Pakistan," it was argued, "if they'll take it without the eastern Punjab and without Calcutta and western Bengal. They won't have any coal, capital, or industries, and we can throttle them economically. After a few years they'll come crawling back!" This attitude, although not shared by the entire Congress high command, has certainly pervaded the partition operations. In the division of assets the Moslems have had to make a separate fight for virtually every typewriter and ream of paper. Difficulties have even been raised over the handling of mail.

Pakistan's economic troubles have been immeasurably increased by the bloody communal conflicts and the resulting influx of refugees. Almost every Moslem League leader from Mr. Jinnah down believes that this refugee inundation was part of a plot to swamp the Pakistan government before it could get established. "I'm sure that Nehru isn't a party to this plot," one declared, "but I'm just as sure that it has the backing of Patel [India's Home Minister] and Baldev Singh [the Defense Minister and a Sikh]."

WITH enormous problems, Pakistan has only a very ordinary set of leaders to cope with them. The brilliant Mr. Jinnah, of course, must be excepted, but he is over seventy and has been in poor health since a severe pneumonia attack two years ago. His voice can barely be heard ten feet away, and he chose to become governor general rather than premier partly because it was an easier post. He has repeatedly told subordinates, "I have done my part of the job; I've given you Pakistan. It is up to you to build it."

Premier Liaquat Ali Khan is a competent administrator with the conservative social views of a typical feudal landlord and a strong belief in a political and economic alliance with Great Britain. He had to choose a man of technical ability for his Finance Minister, but the other members of his Cabinet are all mediocrities. So far-fetched was the appointment of the Calcutta hide merchant, Fazlur Rahman, as Minister of the Interior and Education that an old friend, seeing him in a front seat

* As this issue goes to press, reports from New Delhi and Karachi bring word that the two Indian dominions are about to sign a pact covering economic and other basic relationships.



at the Independence Day celebrations, cried out, "You're in the wrong row; that's for the Cabinet!" Top officials are in the main from the landlord class, with a sprinkling of lawyers and merchants. The sole modern-minded industrialist in the dominion, Hassan Ispahani, is being sent out of the way as ambassador to the United States. Provincial officials are of the same kind: the Punjab Premier is the Khan of Mamdot, the province's largest landholder.

Considerable opposition to this leadership is manifesting itself, although it is still unorganized. After 1944, when the Moslem League be-

came a mass movement, clerks, small shopkeepers, mechanics, and poor peasants thronged to its meetings, and it was they who finally obtained partition. Many of them were recruited through religious appeals; others through the promise of better living conditions. The economic discontent formerly directed against the commercially dominant Hindus and Sikhs—it still provides much of the fuel for the Moslem arson gangs—is gradually being turned against the wealthy Moslem League leaders. The story is told that when Mumtaz Daultana, the brains of the West Punjab ministry, went to his huge Multan estate in August, his Moslem tenants, all staunch League members, congratulated him on the achievement of Pakistan, and landlord and tenants feasted together. But a pall was thrown over the festivities when a peasant asked, "When will the land be given to us?" This question is being asked repeatedly, for agrarian reforms have been promised by the League.

Similar resentment against the rich is voiced in the towns. A Moslem clerk who is the local secretary of the League in his ward is made conscious of social differences when he goes from his filthy, overcrowded tenement home to the palatial residence of the provincial leader. At a recent meeting in Lahore a fervent young Leaguer exclaimed, "The rich are finished! Let us shoot them!"

Some of this radicalism is spontaneous; some of it is the work of the progressives in the League, who are influential throughout Pakistan but especially in the Punjab. These agitators are usually well-educated, modern-minded young people with a war-gained knowledge of foreign countries, a strongly nationalistic point of view, and a liberal approach to social problems, including the position of women. One of the most prominent is Mian Iftikharud-Din, known as "Ifti," a wealthy, radical Moslem who was formerly president of the Congress Party in the Punjab and twice jailed by the British. Now publisher of the *Pakistan Times* and a member of the

Constituent Assembly, he is looked up to by young, progressive Moslems but kept at a distance by League leaders. The tactics of the young progressives have reached a stratum of Moslems never before interested, and at Lahore and Peshawar there have been mass demonstrations of Moslem women clad in the ghostly looking white burqas, a cover-all garment with a net eye-slit which enables orthodox Moslem women to appear in public without being seen. The League leaders welcomed such mass support in fighting for Pakistan—although many had prejudices against women in politics—but now they are embarrassed by the claims of the awakened and demanding millions.

During the Lahore riots some of the inflamed young Moslems asked the League progressives for guidance. "We tried to slow them down," a leftist Moslem leader said, "but we couldn't oppose them openly. The Communists attacked us for this, saying we could not be considered progressive if we did not openly fight Moslem communalism, but we know that would have meant isolating ourselves from our people."

A MAJOR conflict is now looming over the question of how closely Pakistan should be tied to Britain. Nationalist-minded Pakistanis, among whom are most of the young people and the new League rank and file, are dismayed by the number of Britons in the administration. Three of the five provincial governors, five of the nine departmental secretaries, and all the high officers of the armed forces are British. Informed nationalists think it necessary to keep certain Britons for their technical skills but do not want this to be carried too far. Army officers do not object to serving under British generals temporarily, but are concerned that the army should continue to be equipped solely with British matériel and indignant that promotions have been left in British hands. Some nationalists charge that when Premier Liaquat Ali Khan was in London a year ago he committed Pakistan to remaining within the British economic sphere.

In the Punjab even the League right-wingers are anti-British, because the British governor there kept the League out of office for over a year and because the boundary award is considered unfair. In consequence a substantial number of Britons have been dismissed, but many of these have turned up with the central government at Karachi. The railway specialist, A. G. Hall, for example, was put out by the Punjab government but is now director general of railways for all Pakistan. To protests about the great number of Britons in the Pakistan service, the Premier is reported to have replied: "Before the transfer of power Lord Mountbatten had both the League and the Congress members of the interim government promise to keep on all British officials who wanted to stay and against whom we could not make a specific case." It is interesting to note that of those who have

stayed, the great majority have chosen to serve in Pakistan. While this may be due in part to the fact that opportunities are greater in the less-advanced state, there is certainly a feeling among the British that although India will probably declare its independence, Pakistan may be kept within the empire. The likelihood is enhanced by the character of the League leaders, almost none of whom are known for militant nationalism.

Since Pakistan's establishment, League officers have been cautious about declaring where they stand with respect to the conflict between Russia and the West. Pakistan is nearer to the Soviet border than to either Britain or the United States, and substantial segments of public opinion show an interest in the U. S. S. R. Even orthodox Moslems are watching developments in the Soviet Moslem areas, such as Bokhara, which are close to Pakistan culturally as well as geographically. Not all the League progressives are pro-Communist, but many seem to feel that some sort of socialism, usually referred to as "Islamic socialism," is necessary to make Pakistan a strong modern state. There would certainly be overwhelming opposition to allowing Britain and the United States to use Pakistan's military strength or strategic position to further their own designs.

The future of the Moslem League is already a subject of dispute. Old League officers, fearing that the impoverished Moslems will follow the progressives if the government does not soon grant their demands, are tending to abandon the organization which brought them to power and to rely increasingly on the bureaucracy which they inherited from the British and on their new powers of bribery through job distribution. Moslem religious leaders are attacking young, modern-minded progressives as "anti-Islamic," and telling the women to forget about politics and go back into *purdah*. But it is not easy to turn back the clock. "We have learned that even women have power, and they can't make us forget it," said a Lahore housewife to me.

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The NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Del Vayo—The Antwerp Conference

Antwerp, December 4

IF THE International Socialist Conference at Antwerp had been a public meeting, it would have been hardly worth flying from New York to attend—at least from a journalistic point of view. (Politically and personally it was valuable for its discussion of Spanish Socialist unity and the possibility of moving the Socialist parties represented in governments, particularly the British, to take a stronger position on Spain than that adopted by the United Nations Assembly.) But the conference met behind closed doors, and your correspondent had a chance to hear a most fascinating and outspoken debate between the two tendencies which today divide Socialist thought throughout the world.

The moment could not have been more dramatically chosen; while the discussion was going on one could see French delegates hurriedly leaving the room to take telephone calls from Paris. Before my eyes was still the scene of the early hours of the day before in Paris: workers grimly entering the back door of the Galeries Lafayette, where in darkness and cold the Spanish delegates awaited transportation by car to the Belgian frontier (the railroad strike was already in full swing) and the bitter words of one worker to another, "Remember the other day what that *salaud* of a Paul Reynaud said to a reporter—after he'd lost out on the Premiership—'When the Socialists have silenced the Communists, my time will come'?" Grumbach, chairman of the foreign-affairs committee of the French Assembly, came back from one of his telephone talks with Paris, and I asked him how things were looking. He replied, "France still exists." It was in this atmosphere that Harold Laski, determined from the start to prevent a break in the conference, opened the debate on socialism and democracy.

He began by trying to make the representatives of the Western parties appreciate the special situation of the Socialists of Eastern Europe, who in his opinion are rendering an important service by remaining in their governments even though they must swallow many things that are hateful to them. Laski was not merely playing the diplomat; his words came out of deep conviction. I met him last year returning from Warsaw greatly impressed by the Polish Socialists and by Poland's Socialist Premier. He knows that murder and abuse of democracy are not all that is going on in Eastern Europe, that there are areas of constructive revolutionary accomplishment in which good Socialists can share. But for Laski the condition is that they do not cease to be Socialists and become a mere tool in the hands of the ruling party. In this connection Laski launched a direct attack against the behavior of the Communists toward the Socialists and against the language used by the journal of the newly instituted Cominform about Attlee and Blum.

Laski took the middle road between the right-wing Socialists, represented by the Dutch and Belgians, and the left, represented by the Poles and Italians. The former have a pleasant idea of socialism: they would bring their countries back to normality, accept without reserve the blessings of

the Marshall Plan, and limit international Socialist solidarity to money contributions without getting too much entangled in major foreign issues. Their attitude was well expressed by Belgium's leading Socialist, Premier Spaak, who told his comrades at the latest Belgian Socialist Congress: "For heaven's sake, don't make out of Greece another 'Spanish issue' in the party." As Foreign Minister during the Spanish war, I had to deal with my Belgian colleague; so I could appreciate better than anybody else the real significance of that remark.

The left position was ably presented by Pietro Nenni. Nenni has two oratorical personalities: the stirring speaker who at mass-meetings in Italy on the same platform with Togliatti makes the Communist appear a sober lecturer, and the quiet, subtle advocate, whose head seems a monk's head, whose hands move in arabesques as if to caress his opponents. He adopted the second manner at Antwerp. Quoting Laski's statement that "the present moment is characterized by the advance of counter-revolution," he argued that a Socialist has no higher duty today than to secure the unity of the workers; in Italy a break between Socialists and Communists could only lead to extremist action either from right or left. "This being my deepest conviction, what kind of policy would you advocate?"—Nenni was looking directly at the Belgian and Dutch delegates—"a break with the Communists, handing them the entire leadership of Italian labor, or a policy of collaboration that preserves socialism in Italy as a positive element in national politics?" An interjection by Max Buset of Belgium about Russian policy in Eastern Europe gave Nenni a chance to turn the discussion to the thorny subject of big-power policy in Europe. "I am against any kind of intervention, but the historical fact remains that where the Russians advanced they armed the people, while in Italy the Americans and British disarmed the people. They prevented us from liquidating fascism; the result is the advance of counter-revolution everywhere to which Laski referred."

Nenni's argumentation apparently had some effect, to judge by an article in the Brussels party paper, *Le Peuple*, on December 2, written by Louis de Brouckere, chairman of the conference and former head of the Second International. Said Brouckere: "What today threatens France and Italy, what tomorrow will perhaps menace all of Western Europe, is not Communist dictatorship, which is an impossibility, but a dictatorship of the right under the pretext of anti-communism."

The conference did not produce, and nobody expected, the rebirth of the Socialist International, but it went beyond the Dutch proposal to limit future action to maintaining contact through an exchange of information among the various parties, West and East. After passing a resolution condemning the division of Europe and the policy of blocs, the delegates instituted a permanent committee which will call a new conference sometime in the spring in Vienna or in Rome and meanwhile will keep the parties together.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Golden Tide

THE Canadian Parliament, which reassembled on December 5, has before it a measure for subsidizing gold production. The proposal calls for payment of a premium of \$7 an ounce for all gold mined in the dominion in excess of the output for the year ending June 30. This is one item in the Canadian government's program for rectifying the nation's adverse trade balance with its southern neighbor, and its sole purpose is to stimulate production of the one commodity which can always be exchanged for United States dollars.

It is an expedient which can hardly be defended in terms of rational economics. There are other Canadian commodities—metals, newsprint, food—of which the world is in dire need, and it would seem far more sensible to stimulate their production rather than that of gold. Nevertheless, the Canadian government can put up a good pragmatic argument for its plan. It can point out that while undoubtedly the present demand for newsprint is tremendous, it takes a long time to build new plants, and there is no guaranty they won't be redundant when recession hits the American newspaper business. On the other hand, barring a revolutionary change in the financial system of the United States, there will always be an assured market for gold. Moreover, Canada needs all the United States dollars it can scrape together in the next year, and the authors of the subsidy plan evidently consider that gold-mining can be more rapidly expanded than any other dollar-earning industry. In 1946 production of the precious metal was little more than half the 1941 record of \$187,081,000; so that there is scope for a large increase, though some Canadian mining engineers think that the subsidy is not big enough to do the trick.

Whatever the outcome may be, I have reason to believe that Washington Treasury and banking officials are definitely disturbed by the Canadian government's move. For one thing, they can already hear the envious mutterings of our own mine owners, and they can expect that before long Western delegations will be descending on Washington to demand that Congress "do something for gold." There is, of course, nothing that we need less than more gold, and a subsidy here would be pure boondoggling; indeed, it would be more sensible to pay the companies for not digging the stuff. However, we cannot be sure that Congress will see it that way: after all, it set a precedent by insisting on an equally uneconomic subsidy for silver.

Another Treasury worry is that the Canadian action will be imitated by other gold-producing countries, with the result that it will be called upon to buy even greater quantities of the metal than at present. Certainly this is a possibility, but a more probable eventuality is the devaluation of sterling to bring it down from the present official exchange rate of

\$4.02 to the "free-market" rate of a little over \$3. The result would be an increase of 20 to 25 per cent in the sterling price of gold, which should prove a powerful stimulus to production in South Africa, Rhodesia, West Africa, and Australia, which together account for well over two-thirds of the world's output. It is true that the British government has recently denied that it is planning to devalue sterling; on the other hand, some influential Republican leaders are anxious to make "realistic" valuation of currencies a condition of aid under the European Recovery Plan.

In any case, whether gold production is boosted or not, a large part of the existing gold stocks of foreign countries seems destined to move into our vaults during the next few years. The golden tide, which flowed steadily and strongly toward our shores in the inter-war period, ebbed a little from 1941 to 1945. During the era of lend-lease our cash imports fell below cash exports, and we settled the balance by delivering gold. But since V-J Day the \$2,700,000,000 "lost" in the war years has practically all returned. On December 3 the Treasury gold stock stood at \$22,680,000,000, very close to the pre-Pearl Harbor peak.

Still bigger accretions to our hoard are in store, since nations hungry for American food and other goods are likely to ship gold to this country as long as any remains in their coffers. Britain has just announced the sale of another \$192,000,000 worth, making a total decline of \$412,000,000 in the sterling area's gold reserve during the past three months. As a result of drastic cuts in imports it hopes to get along with sales of not more than \$100,000,000 a month from now on. And Britain is only one among many nations compelled to change gold for dollars. From all sources, Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board told a Congressional committee recently, we are likely to receive between \$2,000,000,000 and \$3,000,000,000 in the course of the next twelve months.

Some people may ask: Is this anything to worry about? If gold is "a good thing," can we have too much of it?

The answer is that an excess of gold, like an excess of any other form of money, is inflationary. The Treasury is obliged to buy all gold offered to it at \$35 an ounce. That leads to an increase in bank deposits, and since banks need to hold only 14 to 20 per cent of their demand deposits in reserve, each \$100 of deposits provides the basis for five or six times that amount of credit. In the past twelve months the Treasury has been combating credit inflation by using its cash surplus to retire government securities, but the effect of this move has been almost wholly offset by the credit-expanding influence of gold imports. Now Secretary Snyder is talking about "sterilizing" gold by paying for it with surplus cash instead of with new gold certificates. But it is difficult to see how this will improve the position, since Treasury balances employed in this way obviously will not be available for reducing the debt. A more effective method of neutralizing additions to the gold reserve would be the sale by the Reserve banks of equivalent amounts of government securities. But such action would disturb the market and conflict with the Treasury's policy of holding down interest rates. So Mr. Snyder stands between the incoming gold tide and the frowning cliffs of the national debt. Is there a way of escape? That is a question I shall discuss next week.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Mountaineer or Bohemian?

THOMAS WOLFE. By Herbert J. Muller. New Directions. \$2.

THERE are few literary exercises more thankless than a critical work on Thomas Wolfe, a fact Mr. Muller forlornly admits at the beginning of his study. For all its passion and abundance Wolfe's work lacks the dark, tantalizing complexity that inspires creative criticism. As Mr. Muller says, "His elemental powers are remarkable but they are also obvious; so are his elementary faults." Furthermore, Wolfe's novels require very little exegesis, and his ideas—"I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found"—are so grandly abstract one can do little more than paraphrase them.

Mr. Muller seems to have been inspired to write his good-natured appraisal by the fact that Wolfe has been excessively scorned and excessively flattered. This is to be a more cautious study, and it is indeed that, sometimes painfully so, since Mr. Muller has the dizzy habit of building up a defense of Wolfe and then immediately rushing in to attack him. Also he likes to work out careful comparisons between Wolfe and other writers only to show that little comparison is possible. Typical of this exasperating method is a comment upon Wolfe and Homer which leads up to, "We must then add, of course, that Wolfe was no Homer."

In order to overcome the tedium of his project some fancy diversions on the nature of myth are introduced. Muller apologizes for the looseness of the term and then redefines it quite as vaguely and without making its relevance to Wolfe entirely convincing. However, Muller's dilemmas are perhaps a true reflection not only of Wolfe's unevenness but of the state of criticism at the moment. Muller is a sympathetic reader, and yet he seems afraid that mere admiration of Wolfe will make him appear unsophisticated, and so he drags in all sorts of references to the criticism practiced by Brooks and Blackmur. This desire to be "modern" results in the fantastic notion that perhaps Wolfe too

is a metaphysical poet! However, in the final analysis Muller's ideas on Wolfe are a bit more sober. He presents him as our closest approach to an epic talent, a writer at home in the native tradition and yet aware of the complications of modern life, a fairly representative American, above regionalism, and yet not falsely European or completely alienated.

I am not quite sure that Wolfe was the indigenous spirit he wanted to be. He certainly liked to think of himself as a clairvoyant yokel surrounded by effete artists and insincere intellectuals. He talked of his loneliness, his humiliations, his inadequacy, but it is not always easy to take him at his word. In a way this awkwardness seems to be a mask, and a successful one, worn so that he might have the privilege of being always right, always pure, always superior. There was something terrible and fascinating in Wolfe's character, something more to the point than these false, second-hand sorrows, but Wolfe repressed more than he told. Everything interesting in him became the highly idealized suffering of the artist, a perfect displacement, realized on a glossy, almost inhuman level. He could not bear to think of himself as anything except innocent, and for that reason he is the most brilliant and thrilling historian of the sophomore, an age less perverse than childhood and less ironical than adult life.

Muller sees that Wolfe obviously exaggerated his difficulties, but nevertheless he tends to accept him as a sort of primitive, more deeply rooted in his native soil than the other writers of his time, and consequently more "American." Wolfe did leave a great many wonderful portraits of Americans and some marvelous descriptions of the terrors and beauties of the American scene; and yet his analysis of his portraits and his comments upon the scene are rather impure and synthetic. For one thing he wrote so much about writing that he often annihilated America by reducing it to the dimensions of his own career. The best example of this tendency is his treatment of Esther Jack. Wolfe shows

her passionate sense of good workmanship and her brilliant energy, and she is probably the best record we have of the artisan-artist type that has had such great influence on American taste and culture. But he allows her only a few breaths before smothering her with his incomparable vanity, as though her only significance lay in her inferiority to him.

And is Wolfe really the blundering, brilliant mountaineer hopelessly confused by the world of fashion? In so many ways he seems to have been just the arty young man he despised, and perhaps there is more Greenwich Village in him and less North Carolina than he realized. He thought everyone was trying to corrupt him, that love would emasculate him, that money and power and middle-class society existed so that he might have the glory of resisting them. These are not the platitudes of a great folk artist, a hill-billy genius, but the clichés of bohemia, that area Wolfe pretended to be too much of a stuttering provincial to comprehend, but many of whose notions he uttered more clearly and uncritically than any other writer. For these reasons it is hard to see Wolfe as the "myth-maker" of America.

On the other hand it would seem easier than Mr. Muller believes to insist—and without the dubious effort to make him a respectable philosopher or a national image—that Wolfe achieved a great deal more than his present declining reputation suggests. The best parts of Muller's book are those that show simply and without apology his enjoyment of Wolfe's art.

ELIZABETH HARDWICK

Mr. Lippmann and Mr. X

THE COLD WAR. A Study in U. S. Foreign Policy. By Walter Lippmann. Harper and Brothers. \$1.

IN A tract of sixty-two pages composed of twelve articles from his column in the New York *Herald Tribune* Mr. Lippmann offers a meticulous examination of an article in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs* on The Sources

of Soviet Conduct, since reprinted in *Life* and in "The Foreign Affairs Reader." The article is attributed to Mr. X, who is generally believed to be George F. Kennan, director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. Mr. Lippmann assumes that the article dates back to mid-March.

Mr. Lippmann concentrates on what he considers to be the specific thesis of Mr. X and, by implication, of the State Department—namely, that the task of United States foreign policy is to "contain" the Soviet Union. To Lippmann this implies the use of American military might along the land frontiers of European and Asiatic Russia. It means neglecting the Atlantic community that is part of Mr. Lippmann's Shield of the Republic. It is "unsuited to the American economy, which is unregimented, and uncontrolled, and therefore cannot be administered according to a plan." It implies the destruction of the United Nations.

This critical analysis strikes a popular note. By not denying the authorship of the *Foreign Affairs* article the State Department has certainly helped Mr. Lippmann, in effect, to solidify a view of United States foreign policy that has been dinned into the ears of the public at home, abroad, and at Lake Success. He has saved himself much time and trouble by seizing on an individual text for exegesis, an opportunity that no working journalist will begrudge him.

Two considerations reduce the value of his effort. A State Department memorandum does not necessarily express State Department policy. And State Department thinking, as expressed in one memorandum, is not necessarily United States policy, even if it seems to find at least partial confirmation in a Presidential statement (the Truman "Doctrine" of March 12). At the time when both documents were being prepared the United States was launching the final preparations for the International Trade Organization, heralded by a broad and critical review of American policy in Mr. Truman's statement on Peace, Freedom, and World Trade, which Mr. Lippmann of the 1918 American Commission to Negotiate Peace should have been peculiarly qualified to appreciate. At Lake Success, on March 28, Ambassador Austin fitted the Greek and Turkish aid program into

the broad perspective of United States relief and reconstruction policies and of relations with the U. N. along policy lines that have since been confirmed in the Marshall Plan and the European recovery program. Already it was clear that a narrow policy of containment did not cover the ground.

In the circumstances Mr. Lippmann's constructive suggestions can hardly be expected to offer an alternative to United States foreign policy, only to the policy of containment as he understands Mr. X. His alternative is a settlement in Europe that means the withdrawal of British, Russian, and American occupation forces. He admits that "the Communist parties would remain, to put it bluntly, as a Soviet fifth column. They will be assisted, we may take it, by Soviet agents and by Soviet funds and Soviet contraband weapons and by Soviet propaganda and by Soviet diplomacy." But their pressure would, he says, "no longer be backed up by overwhelming military power throughout Eastern Europe and by the threat of military intervention in Western Europe." Our mission then is "to emancipate the ancient and proud continent of Europe from the military control of non-European powers." How the execution of this mission would avoid the implications of a policy of containment is beyond the understanding of this reviewer.

BJARNE BRAATØY

Fiction in Review

OURS being such a "know-how" culture in all departments, a civilization so brilliantly skilled in turning out anything it sets its hand to and yet so appallingly ignorant of what is worth making or to what uses the things it makes should be put, we cannot be surprised that our literature, too, shows such a marked ascendancy of craft over conscience. Probably there has never been a time when so many people wrote so "well" as now, but to such meager purpose; when, indeed, the emptier a novel's content, the surer its technical proficiency. It has reached the point where, remembering the great novels of the past—how dreary and inept they could be for long passages; how varied and nubby were their textures—I think we can be forgiven the

perversity of seeking out the *inexpert* performance as promise that here, at last, will be a book with something to say.

Certainly in the case of Josephine Herbst's new novel, "Somewhere the Tempest Fell" (Scribner's, \$3), there is a significant connection between an author's perception of life and her faults of performance. I do not mean that Miss Herbst's technical mistakes are to be taken as the measure of her good achievement, or—on the other hand—overlooked. There is no question that her novel would have been infinitely better for rigorous rewriting—if the dangling ends of narrative had been caught up, if there had been a sounder proportion between important incidents and trivialities, if the characters had been better projected, if—even its mad punctuation had been corrected. But I do mean that Miss Herbst's gravest faults have their aspect of virtue, because they proceed from a sense of urgency and a zest for experience and an acceptance of life which are all but gone from modern writing.

Partly because its bony structure is never fully articulated, partly because no large and ambitious narrative can ever be properly boiled down, "Somewhere the Tempest Fell" is difficult to synopsise. It is primarily about a mystery writer, Adam Snow, who under the pseudonym of George Wand has become a great popular success but who, in the middle of the war, suddenly wishes to reestablish himself in his own identity. Long resident in Italy, Snow had won the confidence of several members of the anti-fascist underground; he believes that he unwittingly betrayed one of them into Mussolini's hands. Now that he has returned to America, this specific guilt becomes the symbol of his general guiltiness about his life. His impulse to expiation finds its outlet in championing, against his wife's counterclaims, his seventeen-year-old daughter's budding love affair with a jazz musician.

But this is only the central theme of the novel, against which numerous other themes are counterpointed—the story of the Brady household, connected with that of the Snows by Mrs. Snow's wealthy uncle who restores his sense of possibility by playing benefactor to one of the Brady daughters; the stories of various friends of Ada Brady; the stories

of the swing musicians who meet for jam sessions in Ada's basement. It may be—it undoubtedly is—that these multiple strands of Miss Herbst's narrative join a bit haphazardly; but this very haphazardness is not the least of the signs of Miss Herbst's creative generosity. The right to be a victim of accident is, after all, one of the great freedoms with which a novelist can endow his creatures and, by extension, his readers.

Unhappily, it is a freedom which is rarely granted in modern fiction. The mood of most contemporary story-telling is suffocatingly static, almost claustrophobic; one has the impression that the current novelist, like a neurotic parent, thinks he will lose prestige if he loses dominance over his fictional family; that once he permits his characters to take their chances in the world he himself will cease to amount to anything. There is no such self-concerned author-figure in "Somewhere the Tempest Fell"; throughout her story Miss Herbst is present only by such light as reflects from the people about whom she is writing—which is very unfashionable. Equally unfashionable is Miss Herbst's prose, which is designed, not to call attention to Miss Herbst, but solely for purposes of communication. And similarly remote from the style of the day is the quality of Miss Herbst's fantasy. Whereas in most current writing the imagination is like nothing so much as a series of dye-pots in which the author successively dips his own image, each time bringing it up with fresh surprise at how pretty it looks in *this* color, in Miss Herbst's novel imagination is an instrument for coloring the objective universe.

In other words, "Somewhere the Tempest Fell" proceeds from an attitude toward novel-writing which I so much admire that I could only passionately wish it had had the support of more self-criticism, so that it could have fulfilled its own best promise. It is unfortunate for the whole movement of contemporary writing and not only for this single book that it cannot more confidently be pointed to as good example—that in refusing the false and petty restraints of what nowadays passes for artistic taste Miss Herbst also refused the necessary discipline of all good art; that in accepting the happy mess of life she herself produced something of a

mess; that in giving her characters the license to be free she did not also give them the gift of being more compelling.

And I especially regret that, in padding the flesh of her book to the weakening of its basic anatomy, Miss Herbst obscured the portions of her story which concern the jazz musicians. Jazz culture enters often into present-day fiction, but its ramifications in present-day life are not usually very well understood. "Somewhere the Tempest Fell" is the first novel I have come across which seems to me really to show a perception of the complicated values that are involved in it—both its decent and its disturbing political overtones, the marijuana route it travels toward criminality, the personal and artistic idealism it both satisfies and frustrates. It would have been a fine accomplishment if Miss Herbst could have communicated this insight fully and boldly.

DIANA TRILLING

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IN HIS interesting book on "Shakespeare and the Actors" A. C. Sprague remarks that "since the introduction of heavy scenery" the stage history of "Antony and Cleopatra" has been "profoundly discouraging." The particular difficulty there referred to is solved very well in the production now current at the Martin Beck. By judiciously combining two or three massive but uncluttered settings with a free use of mere "acting spaces" for the shorter scenes, Guthrie McClintic has kept the play moving and achieved an impression of splendor without weighing the whole thing down or smothering it in scenery and properties. He has, moreover, thereby achieved two very important results. In the first place, the play's "story line"—so much less inevitable and unbreakable than the line in "Hamlet," "Othello," or the other more often played tragedies—remains one which the mind can follow. In the second place, he manages physically to represent that "spaciousness" which so many critics have singled out as one of the most significant aspects of the special character of this particular play.

What the adjective means can per-

haps best be explained by a comparison with Shakespeare's only other love tragedy, "Romeo and Juliet." In the latter also the hero and heroine are, by the convention of the time, necessarily "important people." But they are such only by convention. So far as anything which counts is concerned they are merely private persons involved in a private catastrophe. Their story is, as completely as anything in the Shakespearean manner can be, a merely domestic occurrence. But Antony and Cleopatra are always aware of the fact that their stage is the world. The fate of thousands is dependent upon them. Messengers ply back and forth across the known world; the eyes of nations are upon them. Antony could not feel what he does feel if he did not know that he is throwing an empire away. At the very beginning, "Let . . . the wide arch of the rang'd empire fall!" he exclaims; and at the very end Cleopatra is morbidly—if also exultantly—concerned with the "quick comedians" who "extemporally will stage us." No staging of the play will do if it does not suggest both the grandioseness inherent in the public importance of the two lovers and their own almost indecent awareness of the fact that their amorous dalliances are conducted in a spotlight. Mr. McClintic's production is almost always very fine indeed so far as everything visual is concerned, and within the meaning of the term I mean to include not only what is itself striking to the eye but also whatever can contribute to the illustration and reinforcement of the intention of the play. His massive architectural scenes and his free employment of open sky add to a fine effect of spaciousness.

If all this be true, why, then, does the total effect fall so far short, why is one only occasionally moved, and why does one leave the theater with a sense of disappointment, almost of depression? The answer, I think, lies almost exclusively in the acting—is the result of what one hears as opposed to what one sees. And sadly it must be admitted that it is in the case of Cleopatra herself that the lack is most painfully evident. Miss Cornell will not add to her reputation by the present performance. She was an admirable Candida, and she was excellent in the modernized "Antigone." She was less good as Juliet than

in either of the two just-mentioned roles, and she is far less satisfactory in the present play than she was as Juliet. Indeed, it would appear that the closer she approaches the grandest style the more obvious her limitations become.

Several of the other roles are much more satisfactorily performed. Kent Smith's Enobarbus has a vigor and a clarity which deserve high praise even though the part is, of course, relatively an easy one. Ralph Clanton's Octavius is rather pettish, almost effeminate, but it was probably Shakespeare's intention to minimize Octavius as fortune's darling rather than a man of great stature, and I found the interpretation not unsatisfactory. Godfrey Tearle as Antony I found better than that. He is not young, but neither was Cleopatra's lover, and he has great dignity as well as intelligence. His Antony seems to know what he is, what he is doing, and what it is that Shakespeare has given him to say. One understands Mr. Tearle's speeches and one believes them. But, to put it bluntly, one does not by any means always, in Miss Cornell's case, either understand or believe.

All critics have of course recognized that the part presents almost unparalleled difficulties. Cleopatra's "infinite variety" ranges all the way from mere coquettishness to regal splendor. She is sometimes a queen and sometimes merely that special kind of female for which the only modern term seems to be "a cutie." But the trouble here is not that Miss Cornell is not all these things but quite simply that she is not really any of them. As is always the case with her performances, the visual effect is admirable. She knows how to dress, how to pose, how to move. Her pantomime is often excellent. But she simply cannot speak Shakespeare's lines with even moderate effectiveness. Whole sentences are not only ineffective, they are not even intelligible; and even the great set pieces like "Give me my robe, put on my crown" would not, to anyone who knew this production only, be so much as recognized as potentially what they are. Enobarbus makes more of the famous but merely descriptive passage about the barge than Miss Cornell does of great dramatic speeches. The difficulty, what is more, seems to originate in something as elementary as mere elocution, in the failure to put the

stress upon the words which should receive it if the sense is to be clear. Miss Cornell's voice does not appear to carry very well. She was laudably determined to fill the rather difficult auditorium of the Martin Beck. But the necessity of shouting did not make it any more easy for her to manage her emphases. Her voice rises and falls. It changes to some extent its tone and color. But all too often there seemed to be no relation between these changes and the meaning of the sentences being spoken. Sometimes it seemed almost like the performance of a singer singing in a language she did not understand. And without a Cleopatra who is a lord of language the play must fail.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

LUIGI ZAMPA'S "To Live in Peace" is less thoroughly worked out and less acutely put on film than "Shoeshine" and "Open City," but in some important respects it is even more remarkable. It is the story of what war meant to an infinitesimal Italian hill town and especially to a peasant family which, on pain of death, sheltered two American fugitives. I think that in spirit and basic understanding it is the wisest and most deeply humane movie of its time.

Its central characters are wholly unpolitical men, whose chief concern with history is to try to scrape it off their shoes. It is suggested that this is the ordinary condition of ordinary men, against which political men, good or bad, must take their measure; and that at best this measure is relatively puny. These central characters are what is known as simple men, a dangerous kind for contemporary artists to fool with; I have never before seen simple men presented with so much kindness, immediacy, understanding, and freedom from calculation and self-deceit. They are presented so richly in their weakness as well as their excellence that it is unimaginable that it occurred to anyone who worked on the film that they were doing a "balanced" job. The work is obviously done in that fundamental innocence which comes from a genuine love for and realism about human beings; which is the natural air that any

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half-sane artist, or man, has to breathe; and which is breathed in most parts of the world, by now, about as freely as in the Black Hole of Calcutta. To choose only one of many examples, a Negro soldier, hidden in a wine-cellar while a German soldier visits the terrified peasants, gets stinking drunk and very noisy. This results in the death of the hero of the picture, and of the German. Archer Winsten of the *Post*, whose reviews, regardless of certain areas of disagreement, I warmly like and recommend, thought this action psychologically questionable. He wrote that it was impossibly inconsiderate and ungrateful of a soldier in that predicament. No doubt it was. But there is no evidence that the Negro, the peasants, or even the people who made the film ever looked at it in that light. To all of them it was, unfortunately, the most natural thing in the world; and one of the glories of the picture is the complete simplicity with which the whole thing is done and passed over, without any psychological or moral elaboration. As a native of this country, with more than enough experience both of the South and of non-Southerners who think they mean well by Negroes, I am like many other Americans particularly impressed by the whole treatment of the Negro; it is the only pure presentation of a man of his race that I have seen in a movie. As a human being, who would rather be a citizen of the world than of the United States, I am as deeply impressed by the treatment of the German; as for the peasant father, he is beyond "treatment," a great character and symbol.

This same fundamental innocence, coupled with a broad, almost operatic (and sometimes hammy) theatrical vitality, boldly clashes extremely discordant attitudes and styles, anything from desperate seriousness and majestic satire through passionately improvised slapstick. During the long climax these clashings blend in such a way that the picture, faults and all, soars along one of the rarest heights possible to art—the height from which it is seen that

the whole race, including the observer, is to be pitied, laughed at, feared for, and revered for its delusions of personal competence for good, evil, or mere survival, as it sleepwalks along ground which continuously opens bottomless chasms beneath the edges of its feet. This seems to me one of the truest conceivable perspectives on the human predicament.

The man in the film who evidently understands it best, and who evidently realizes also the prodigious animal power to endure, and the unlimited fertility of the heart and spirit through which man is indestructible and victorious even in his downfall through this insanity, even in his absurdity, is Aldo Fabrizi, who plays the peasant, and who collaborated on the script. I infer that he understands it neither intellectually nor aesthetically, but so thoroughly that it does not even strike him as particularly interesting. This is the most mature way of understanding it that I can conceive of; and this healthy, casual, and unvalued wisdom so generally illuminates and invigorates the film that many of its inadequacies are transfigured and many others are made to seem negligible. I don't agree with those who talk of Fabrizi as a great actor. As an actor he seems thoroughly experienced, astute, uninhibited, and no more. His grandeur is as a man. His good luck is his solid equipment as an artist and his magnificent equipment, in face, and lowering head, and burly body, to make visible certain kinds of greatness. The performance is merely a very good one. The embodiment is heroic: one of the few towering archetypes I have seen on the screen. I wish that this tremendous character, so close to "type" yet so far beyond it, had been given material through which it could have been much more thoroughly explored and exhausted. But one of the wonderful things about the film is the casualness with which this figure is examined and tossed away, as if the sea were stiff with fish as good and better. It is. But how many fishermen, where else in the world, know it? And of those who know it, how many are competent to haul them in?

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

MUSICRAFT sent me a copy of its recording of Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony (Set 83; \$8.85), but didn't send with it anything to get myself drunk on; and it took several weeks to nerve myself to listen, cold sober, to a little of a few sides—enough to report that Steinberg's performance with the Buffalo Philharmonic is well reproduced by quiet-surfaced records. As for the merits of the performance, I don't think I could tell whether a performance of this work was effective or not, and I can't see that it matters; certainly I can't imagine it making a difference to the person who likes the work.

From RCA Victor there is a new recording of Haydn's Symphony No. 94 ("Surprise") (Set 1155; \$4) which demonstrates again Koussevitzky's helplessness with this kind of music—his complete innocence of any subtlety of phraseological inflection or accentuation, resulting in a first movement with unvarying accent on the one and the four of each six-eighth measure. The beautiful sound of the Boston Symphony is well reproduced; the surfaces of my copy are poor.

And from Columbia there is still another recording of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony—this one made by Bruno Walter with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 699; \$4.60). The performance brings to mind the remark once attributed to Toscanini—and true even if he didn't make it: "When Walter comes to something beautiful he melts. I suffer!" I am aware of the beauties in this work that are responsible for the melting softness of Walter's performance; but I am aware also of what calls for the steadiness, control, and strength that the performance lacks. Its recorded sound on a wide-range machine is spacious and rich, the best Columbia has achieved with this orchestra; on the limited-range Zenith it is muffled. (Concerning the recent Columbia recording of Schubert's Symphony No. 9 the printer had me saying, in the November 22 issue, that the work was "not at all well played" by Walter; but what I wrote was that it was "not all well

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played"—meaning that part was well done and part not.)

RCA Victor also has issued a set (1143; \$5) with some of Ravel's elaborately contrived trivialities: the "Valse Nobles et sentimentales," which anticipate "La Valse," and the rarely heard Suite No. 1 from "Daphnis et Chloé," played by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony. The performances seem good and are richly reproduced; but the English Decca set of the two "Daphnis" suites offers even finer orchestral playing and recording, such as is offered by the set (ED-33; \$5) of Ravel's "Bolero," played much more slowly than we are accustomed to by Muench with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra.

From English Decca there is also a set (ED-34; \$5) of the Polovtsian Dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor," excellently performed by the London Philharmonic under Fitelberg, and richly recorded. And on single discs a little Symphony in E flat by the eighteenth-century composer Anton Filitz—with a charming middle movement and a mildly engaging finale—well played by the Boyd Neel Orchestra (K-1680; \$2); and Mendelssohn's fine "Ruy Blas" Overture, excellently played by the National Symphony under Unger, and beautifully recorded (K-1326; \$2).

The Monte Carlo Ballet Russe began its season at New York's City Center in September in its usual state of exhaustion—caused this time by rehearsal too intensive for the stamina of the company but insufficient for the new members to learn all their parts, so that the opening performance of "Ballet Impérial" was a chaos in which one could occasionally discern the sharp clarity and brilliance of Moylan's dancing. And as usual the performances improved in the course of the season as the company became more secure and recovered its strength. Danilova too was obviously too tired for the demands of "Le Beau Danube" the opening night, and was still tired in "Swan Lake" two nights later, but was miraculously refreshed for a great performance in "Le Baiser de la fée" the following night (the *corps de ballet*, however, had not mastered the rhythmic intricacies of the village scene) and in top form thereafter.

The new pieces were not of great consequence: a revised and expanded version of Antonia Cobos's "Madronos,"

with an extremely funny opening scene, and for the rest a series of enjoyable Spanish-style dances such as Argentinita used to put on; Ruthanna Boris's "Cirque de deux," with a few amusing jokes expanded to excessive length—the sort of kidding of ballet that John Martin can understand and enjoy; and Edward Caton's "Lola Montez," still another piece of mining-town Americana, with two superb dances by Danilova—one essentially her last bravura slow dance in "Raymonda," the other her brilliantly gay Spanish dance in the second act of "Coppelia."

The Monte Carlo might offer some

poor works, but it also offered some great ones; its performances of these works might be imperfect, but even with their imperfections they were the real thing, and often were raised to greatness by the work of dancers like Danilova and Franklin who gave everything they had and—in the case of Danilova—even more. After all this it was shocking to attend the Markova-Dolin programs with their new pieces—Hightower's "Henry VIII," Dolin's new "Camille"—devised to exhibit the twitterings to which Markova has reduced her dancing—to say nothing of what they devised for Dolin to do.

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Full Employment and Free Enterprise. By John H. G. Pierson. Public Affairs Press. \$3 cloth; \$2.50 paper.

Prosperity Decade: From War to Depression, 1917-1929. By George Soule. Rinehart. \$5.50.

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The Indians of the Americas. By John Collier. Norton. \$3.75.

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The Origin of Things. By Julius Lips. Wyn. \$5.

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Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry. By Harry Stack Sullivan. William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation. \$2.

Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples. UNESCO. Macmillan. \$2.50.

Physical Science and Human Values. A Symposium, with a Foreword by E. P. Wigner. Princeton. \$3.

[This is the second section of a selected list of Books of 1947. The first section appeared last week.]

Letters on the Catholic Series

[We devote these columns this week to extracts from a few of the letters received in regard to Paul Blanshard's three articles, *The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine*, *The Sexual Code of the Roman Catholic Church*, and *The Roman Catholic Church and the Schools*. The articles appeared in the issues of November 1, 8, and 15.

The selection below attempts to be as representative as possible. Some 300 letters were received, attacking or praising Mr. Blanshard's articles. In addition, several hundred copies of a column entitled *Let Him Speak Now*, which appeared in a Los Angeles Catholic newspaper, the *Tidings*, were clipped and mailed in to *The Nation*. Part of this column appears at the end of the readers' letters. Two national Catholic publications, *America* and *Commonweal*, have attacked the series.

Mr. Blanshard has written an answer to *America* challenging any of its editors to a public debate in New York. This letter, with a comment by *The Nation*, will appear soon in these pages.

Reprints of the Catholic series will be available in about two weeks (see page 649 of this issue).—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Strong Protests

Dear Sirs: I have no intention of ever reading your magazine again.

THOMAS UNGS

Iowa City, November 18

Dear Sirs: Besides betraying gross ignorance and outright lying, they [Blanshard's articles] denote the fall of your magazine to the gutter level of bigoted trash.

P. M. MILES

Los Angeles, November 15

Dear Sirs: Thank you so much for your series of articles warning us Catholics of the dangers of our scheming hierarchy. But I, for one, have been well aware of the church's policies in medicine, sex, and education for many years—that's why I'm a Catholic.

The next time you attack the church we Catholics would appreciate it if you would do the following: (1) Label the article for what it is. Don't parade a diatribe under the banner of a crusade to enlighten Catholics—most Catholics know more about their faith than Mr. Blanshard or fellow-bigots will probably ever know. (2) Attack the church as a body. Don't separate the hierarchy from the laity, for the clergy without the faithful isn't the church, or even a power.

R. J. HAMPTON

South Pasadena, Cal., November 15

Dear Sirs: As assistant editor of our union's publication, with a mailing list of over 10,000 in the state of California, I shall do all in my power to use its pages to inform our readers of your religious bias and discrimination.

F. J. DONELLY,

Transportation Union—Division 1277
Los Angeles, November 18

Objective? Fair?

Dear Sirs: The attitude of the writer is not objective and fair. The entire tone is one of animosity.

BROTHER EDWARD P. SHEEKEY

Philadelphia, November 17

Dear Sirs: In my estimation Paul Blanshard's recent articles on the Roman Catholic church are some of the most objective writing on that topic I have ever seen.

GLENN T. TREWARTHA

Madison, Wis., November 25

Dear Sirs: The articles by Paul Blanshard are the most amazing collection of half-truths and faulty reasoning I have ever seen. No more *Nations* for me, unless it returns to its old standard.

KATHRYN ELKINS

Hollywood, Cal., November 19

Dear Sirs: Mr. Blanshard writes about an important threat to democracy. He treats the subject with minimum malice and hatred, in a fair and well-documented way.

BERNICE ENGLE

Omaha, Neb., November 19

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Gentleman's Agreement

BRANDT'S MAYFAIR SEVENTH AVENUE AND FORTY-SEVENTH STREET

20th CENTURY-FOX

"A Direct Warning"

Dear Sirs: Mr. Blanshard's articles come as a strong breath of fresh air; but also as a direct warning to every American, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. We are so preoccupied with the "reds" that we have failed to realize the presence of a far more dangerous, subtle, and effective menace right here—the curse which wrecked and enslaved Spain, which helped precipitate World War II, and is doing its utmost to bring war again.

The shouts of "bigot" and "K. K. K." uttered by powerful clerics and their naive non-Roman fellow-travelers have silenced almost all intelligent and candid criticism. But the Catholic church is becoming increasingly aggressive in its attempts to dominate American life. Here in Boston medieval bigotry and superstition have stifled freedom of expression, ruined the school system, and atrophied the public conscience.

CHARLES H. WHITTIER

Somerville, Mass., October 31

What God Wants

Dear Sirs: Mr. Blanshard will probably be surprised to learn that the Catholic church does not promulgate her doctrine with an eye to what an American, German, Russian, Chinese, or Italian jury—even though its members be Catholic—might think. In fact, I suspect that she takes some interest, instead, in what God wants.

FRANK J. RIVERA

Los Angeles, Cal., November 10

Dear Sirs: No one of any faith whatsoever can approve of, or allow the occurrence of, or aid in an action which he actually believes to be wrong, and not be guilty of sin, though the sin be nothing graver than the violation of his own conscience. A belief may be right or wrong, but if it is right, it is right for everyone. If it is wrong, it is wrong for everyone.

ROSE H. PARET

New York, November 3

Dear Sirs: It is folly to write a series of articles on Catholic social practices in regard to medicine, marriage, and science, and yet protest that the articles do not concern themselves with the religion.

KENNETH BUSSY

Washington, November 6

The Articles Are Naive

Dear Sirs: I take issue with the philosophy underlying Mr. Blanshard's reasoning. The general tenor of the articles

is similar to all anti-Catholic writing of the day. The feeling that the church is in a servile and dogmatic slumber permeates the essays. But the church, in my opinion, is as aware of current social and scientific developments as any "force" existing today. It is for this reason that I deplore the dismissal of an important papal edict by attributing it to an "unfortunate mistake of an old man who had never been married and had never studied medicine."

By viewing the over-all functioning of the church it becomes evident that its guiding principles are simple. In order to wield sociological control, the church must maintain the integrity of its internal organization and at the same time nourish its arms of mental and physical regulation. Permit me to analyze a few of Mr. Blanshard's theses:

(1) Is a married priesthood conceivable? My answer is that it's utterly ridiculous. (2) Did Pius XI know what he was doing when he outlawed birth control in 1930? Emphatically, yes! The use of contraception would loosen the ossified structure of Catholic society. (3) Why does Fulton Sheen oppose psychoanalysis? Psychoanalysis dethrones sin, and one of the major agencies employed by the church to effect mental control is the notion of "sin."

I enjoyed Mr. Blanshard's articles immensely, but I decry any attempt to pass off Catholic behavior in the name of ignorance.

DAVID E. REID, JR.

White Plains, N. Y., November 10

The Articles Are Sinister

Dear Sirs: The harm is done and the blood pool of falsehood is spreading. Take care lest it engulf us all.

JOHN P. HALE

New York, November 19

Or Ill-Considered

Dear Sirs: What do the articles accomplish? They do not take members away from the church. They do not make Catholics more critical. They create more antagonism. . . . How does the obscurantism of the church on matters of sex and education differ from certain Protestant sects or from orthodox Jewry? Will not the articles cause the ignorant readers to become just plain anti-Catholic, which is as bad as being plain anti-Protestant or anti-Semitic? I believe the articles were ill-considered and their publication a bad case of editorial misjudgment.

MARTIN WOLFSON

Brooklyn, November 14

Dear Sirs: The last issue of *The Nation* that came to me I had to burn up because of the articles on sex, which I think belong only in a medical magazine.

KATE C. GARTZ

Altadena, Cal., November 14

Dear Sirs: I read Blanshard's articles, and though not opposed to the criticism, per se, couldn't help wondering if it was needed. This is no day to fear asceticism in sex morality. Anybody with an honest heart knows that the gravest danger in the United States is just the opposite, namely, sex license to an appalling and abhorrent degree. The Puritans indeed were wrong about their prurient attitudes, but when I take a look at the kind of sex morals on display today I would say give us back the Puritans, despite their errors.

PAUL BRINKMAN, JR.

Portland, Ore., November 15

Or Terrific

Dear Sirs: At long last I have found a publication which is not afraid of the Roman Catholic church and will give with the facts. They are terrific articles. I served in the Army Air Forces for almost two and a half years, part of the time as a chaplain's assistant. I learned, through experience, what the priesthood is, and what the score is.

LESTER F. GROSS, JR.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., November 11

Dear Sirs: You have rendered an invaluable service to our country. May God bless and reward you for the good you have performed.

A. DI DOMENICA, D.D.

Philadelphia, November 15

Dear Sirs: You are greatly to be thanked for Paul Blanshard's articles, as he, of course, also is for writing them. . . . It would be lamentable if the Roman church got the upper hand in this country. Witness the conditions in Roman Catholic nations.

SYDNEY T. COOKE

New York, November 14

Dear Sirs: I have been a reader of *The Nation* for many years. In all that time I have not seen a series of articles more timely and to the point than those of Paul Blanshard. In view of what is going on now in Philadelphia, where an official of the Roman Catholic church "demands" that a certain movie be withdrawn from public showing, the importance of Mr. Blanshard's warnings cannot be overemphasized.

RAYMOND C. GERBER

Williamsville, N. Y., November 13

A Point Overlooked

Dear Sirs: The articles are excellent. But on birth control Mr. Blanshard overlooked one important point which is revealed by a careful reading of the English translation of the Pope's encyclical "Casti conubii," namely, that there is no condemnation here of birth control in the important case where the two parties are not married to each other. If he rereads it, he will see that wherever birth control is condemned, the phrase "in matrimony," or its equivalent, is conjoined. The reason for this limitation of the condemnation is clear, and a credit to pontifical sense: it is that if two people are proceeding anyway to the sin of fornication or adultery, it is better that they add the smaller sin of contraception than the greater sin of risking creation of a bastard child.

S. COLUM GILFILLAN

Chicago, November 14

A Special Problem

Dear Sirs: Blanshard's articles were very enlightening and educational. I think that more information of this type should be made available to both Protestants and Catholics. As one who is married to a very nice, but Catholic, girl, I am unusually aware of the uncompromising—and yet what I feel is the ignorant—attitude of the church.

A READER

Asbury Park, N. J., November 24

"Let Him Speak Now"

BY FRANK SULLIVAN

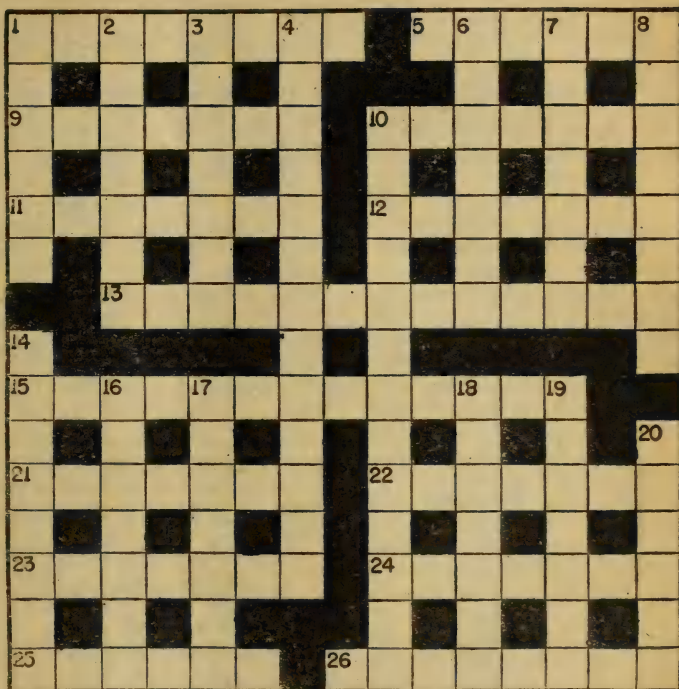
(From the Tidings, Los Angeles, November 14)

AN OLD friend of mine died two weeks ago (speak softly and sad), a friend that I had defended, made excuses for, praised, and took pride in—a friend the memory of whose bygone courage and departed honesty I shall sincerely mourn.

On the first of November *The Nation*, a magazine that once fought for truth as I understood it, and justice as it was known, a magazine that was once exciting, and decent, and good . . . died. And in its place, using its name, appeared a shifty, loose-lipped journal, pandering to hatred and selling viciousness wrapped in cheap papers to the trembling addicts of ignorance. On the first of November *The Nation* began a series of three articles on The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine.

Crossword Puzzle No. 241

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Where the unwary find stinging rays. (8)
- 5 In Lucia, it has a kind of appeal at first. (6)
- 9 Three-quarters will never make it. (7)
- 10 Living made by mixing gold and gin. (7)
- 11 Bloodshot celery? (7)
- 12 Never counts in quarter time. (4, 3)
- 13 Was Shakespeare taxed with this? (6, 7)
- 15 Does he count his gold? (7, 6)
- 21 Get me back to position. (7)
- 22 Revised, revised. (7)
- 23 Buses have such a capacity. (7)
- 24 (CH₄), CO. (7)
- 25 How to open a seed? (6)
- 26 He had a literary come-down. (8)
- 6 Do mice have a sort of end? No, quite the contrary. (7)
- 7 Tipped by a Colonial. (7)
- 8 It's easy to get her spaces removed. (8)
- 10 Orthodox in Lilliput. (13)
- 14 Crimes concerning boundaries? (8)
- 16 The little Congressman dines again. (7)
- 17 Element of a successful bombardment. (7)
- 18 It's all gray, to a great extent. (7)
- 19 An old fiddle in an unusual sort of air. (7)
- 20 Is this kind of parent never foremost? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 240

ACROSS:—1 ABSOLUTE PITCH; 10 ELLICITS; 11 EFFENDI; 12 AVARICE; 13 PENNANT; 14 INNINGS; 15 SPARTAN; 16 EQUABLE; 20 THIN MAN; 23 INTENSE; 24 MISSTEP; 25 CHICAGO; 26 ACETOUS; 27 A GRAVE MISTAKE.

DOWN:—2 BRITAIN; 3 OPINION; 4 ULSTERS; 5 EXEMPTS; 6 INFANTA; 7 CONTACT; 8 RELATIVE PITCH; 9 LISTENING POST; 17 UNTYING; 18 BANDANA; 19 EYESORE; 20 TYMPANI; 21 INSPECT; 22 MATTOCK.

DOWN

- 1 Gathers eggs. (6)
- 2 Three make a game without fanfare. (7)
- 3 Tearing into pieces. (7)
- 4 This takes at least five minutes. (10, 3)

These articles are written by Paul Blanshard—a man with no understanding of either medicine or theology, but a man skilful in the manipulation of half-truths, of innuendo, and the monsters of specious reasoning. He is a man of great talent (as were Hitler and Mussolini), and I confidently expect him to take his place beside such experts at his trade as Gerald L. K. Smith, Joseph McWilliams, and the late Theodore Bilbo. *The Nation* hired him to do a job, and *The Nation* should be proud of him. *The Nation* I grew up with would not have been . . . but then, of course, it's dead.

Dead are the principles of tolerance. Some people start to hate enemies, find it healthful (good for the circulation), and so extend it against their friends. I'm sure that *The Nation's* circulation is good now that it has tied in with the anti-Semites, and the lynch-law bullies. The three of them may point in different directions, but they're all hollering the same thing: "Hate him; he's different. Come all you who are emotionally insecure. Come all you who are intellectually malformed. Here is a lie; suck it till your hate is satisfied. Hate the Jews. Hate the Negroes. Hate the Catholics."

I do not propose to answer Mr. Blanshard in detail. His grasp of theology is comparable to the kind of foundation acquired in science by reading Buck Rogers. I haven't time to argue mathematics with a child who insists that the area of a circle is equal to a square piece of pie just because he has heard the formula expressed as *pi-r-square*. Nor do I have time to waste in a point-by-point refutation of Mr. Blanshard, who illustrates his learning by saying Catholics consider "the head of the fetus as the probable seat of the soul."

Catholics not only don't say any such thing, but they have condemned those who did—for example, Descartes. . . .

The main point attacked by Mr. Blanshard is the church's insistence that if at birth it is impossible to save the mother without directly killing the child, then the mother must die.

Suppose, Mr. Blanshard, your wife is out in a boat with a despicable character—with me, for example. Suppose the boat will sink and drown us both unless one of us gets out. Suppose you shoot me. What does the law say about that? It says you'll hang if you do. Blanshard, you know that you can't kill a no-good lug like me, but I don't hear a peep out of you. But you're writing articles

protesting because you can't kill your own son. What a character!

Actually what are the facts of the case? How often does Mr. Blanshard's terrorizing necessity arise? I have checked three Catholic hospitals and discovered that in the last ten years cases such as *The Nation* uses to upset its readers have occurred exactly zero point cipher oh times nothing.

And why? One reason is that the church's insistence on the dignity and sacredness of human life has forced advances in obstetrical science that would never have occurred if people like Mr. Blanshard had been able to confuse the delivery-room with the butcher shop. Because the church has defended decency, humanity, and justice, *The Nation* has attacked it. The attack didn't hurt the church. But it killed *The Nation* that I once knew . . . speak softly and sad.

(Editor's Note—Tidings readers are asked to clip Mr. Sullivan's column and mail it as a protest to the Editor of *The Nation*, Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.)

Next Week in The Nation

PALESTINE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The Inside Story

Because the Nation Associates was active throughout the fight for a decent solution of the Palestine issue in the United Nations, we were able to watch at close range the complicated maneuvers that went on behind the scenes. The story—as much as can be revealed—will be told in our next issue by Lillie Shultz, who represented *The Nation* and the Nation Associates throughout the session of the Assembly.

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THE *Nation*

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NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

A NEWS FLASH FROM LONDON ANNOUNCES, as we go to press, that the Council of Foreign Ministers has adjourned indefinitely. Thus, what may prove to be the last effort of the Big Four to write a joint peace treaty with Germany has ended in abject failure. Total disagreement on the reparations question seems to have been the immediate cause, but there was no meeting of minds on any point of importance. Nor, perhaps, could any have been expected, considering the tense state of mutual suspicion between Russia and the United States. With no armistice in sight to halt the "cold war," the contest will now be transferred from the council chamber to other fields, with capture of the political support and economic potential of Germany the immediate objective of both sides. We shall comment at length next week on the causes and consequences of this sorry ending of a once great alliance.

✱

COMMUNIST ECONOMY IS NO MORE IMMUNE to the ravages of inflation than a capitalist or semi-Socialist one. In Russia, as in other countries, huge unproductive war-time expenditures led to a vast increase in the supply of money in relation to the supply of goods. The result was "an inflationary gap" which the Soviet government now proposes to close by drastic devaluation. Holders of cash will receive only one new ruble for ten old ones. Owners of state bonds are treated better: they will exchange their securities on a one-for-three basis. Bank depositors, who will receive one for one on the first three thousand rubles, do best of all. The chief concern of most Soviet workers will probably be the actual buying power of their incomes. Since wages, pensions, and so forth are to remain unchanged, real incomes will depend on the new unified price schedules. In the absence of more data than are at present available, it is hard to say just how the various classes will fare; those whose incomes have been sufficient to buy only what their ration cards entitled them to may be rather worse off. Bread will cost them a little less; meat, fats, sugar, vegetables, and some other items, no more. And with rationing ended, they will be able to buy as much as they can afford. On the other hand, tea, milk, fruits, textiles, and shoes—previously rationed—are to be priced above the ration level though well under that prevailing in the "commercial stores." Those who hitherto have earned enough to en-

able them to patronize the commercial stores may find the buying power of their incomes enhanced but that of their savings diminished. On the whole, we doubt whether devaluation will greatly alter the distribution of goods in Russia.

✱

EVERY DELAY AND SIGN OF HESITATION among the major powers or in the United Nations stimulate violence in Palestine and encourage the still vacillating members of the Arab League to accept the dictates of the Mufti and his fellow-firebrands. Yet nothing has happened in these past two weeks to convince the Arabs that the decision of the U. N. Assembly was a serious business, to be carried out firmly and with energy. The five-nation Palestine Commission has not even been appointed. Only one member was named—Lisicky of Czechoslovakia; and he has sailed for home. The somnolent tempo at Lake Success possibly reflects American as well as British reluctance to take the necessary next steps. In any case, that reluctance is not to be questioned; the Bevin attitude has an exact echo in certain corners of the State Department. On page 675, we publish a detailed record of the Palestine fight in the U. N. The story, which even now can be told only in part, reveals plainly the cross-currents of interest in Washington which all but immobilized the American delegation at the Assembly. The same situation, if it continues, will block effective American help in implementing partition and enabling Palestine's Jews to defend the security of their newly promised land.

✱

AS FOR BRITAIN, ITS BEHAVIOR, BOTH IN Palestine and at home, has been such as to guarantee increasing Arab violence. Although troops were finally moved into one or two areas where tension was greatest, the British authorities have largely held aloof. Still worse, the murderous assault on the peaceful Jewish road convoy by troops of the Arab Legion—Transjordan's British-led army—shows that even the forces ostensibly charged with keeping order are not to be relied on. Attacks have multiplied on both sides, with the Irgun staging reprisals that would certainly have been avoided had the British given Haganah authority to maintain order. As it is, extremists are gaining ground, creating a situation that will make the work of the commission, when it ultimately takes over, almost hopelessly difficult. But Britain's folded-arms attitude in Palestine is by no means its

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only form of obstruction. The government has announced that although it will probably lay down the mandate by May 15, the U. N. Commission will not be received in Palestine until two weeks before that date. Two weeks to reestablish order, set up organs of government, and form and arm militias to maintain order without any further help from the British forces! This explicit formula for failure, following the behavior of Britain in the U. N. and its record since then in Palestine, seems sufficient proof that what the Prime Minister really wants is the breakdown of partition, before it has even a chance to get under way. In spite of the dilatory and divided temper of the State Department, we are sure neither the President nor Secretary Marshall would welcome such an outcome. We call upon them, most urgently, to take the necessary steps to prevent it.

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BEYOND THE POINT OF BEING SURPRISED AT anything John L. Lewis might do, we nevertheless read no fanciful significance into his contemptuous two-word message of "disaffiliation" from the American Federation of Labor. Inevitably, rumors are to be had for the picking: Lewis will make his peace with Phil Murray and return to the C. I. O.; Lewis will go raiding and build his District 50 into a third major labor organization; Lewis will revive his Labor's Non-Partisan League and cast in his political lot with Henry Wallace. Any of them could be true, but none need be. The mine leader has always been a labor statesman of the rule-or-ruin persuasion, and after what happened at the A. F. of L.'s last convention it simply wouldn't pay him or his miners to stay in. It would have meant contributing \$216,000 a year to the Federation treasury in dues and another \$600,000 to Labor's Education and Political League in the form of a voluntary donation—all without a representative on the Executive Council. At sixty-seven, and far from well, it is unlikely that Lewis will make much of a splash either politically or as a contender for labor leadership. Even assuming that he could dispose of the miners' vote—which he failed to do, in the past—where could he throw it? As for the potentialities of District 50, he has lavished time and money on that catch-all for some years without achieving more than a total membership of 75,000. Lewis may have walked out of the spotlight this time.

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THE BROOKLYN TABLET AND THE NEW YORK World-Telegram have scored a disturbing victory for bigotry. For many years, New York school teachers have obtained "alertness" credits toward pay increases by taking approved lecture courses in various city educational institutions. Under pressure from the two newspapers, the Board of Superintendents last week dropped from its approved list one lecturer and one course and ordered the suspension of a second course pending its

"reorganization." The excommunicated lecturer is Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University sociologist, and the course is "The Soviet Union, Its Economic and Cultural Development," given by the American-Russian Institute. The suspended course is "Backgrounds and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education," sponsored by a group of teachers' societies, which are subject to the authority of the Board of Superintendents, as the institute is not. The *Tablet* and the *World-Telegram* objected to Dr. Stern, an acknowledged authority on race relations, because of his leftist connections and his authorship, seventeen years ago, of a pamphlet attacking the three major American religions. The *Tablet* also objected to the intercultural education course on the ground that six of its lectures were to deal with racial prejudice—proof positive, naturally, that Communists were at work. As we go to press, the sponsoring teachers' societies have not replied to the Board of Superintendents' order. We hope that, when they do, the board will reverse its decision. An adult's freedom to hear the speakers he chooses, as well as to earn much-needed credits, should not be cut to fit the cloth of the *Tablet* and the *World-Telegram*.

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THE UNITED NATIONS CERTAINLY GETS around. The Human Rights Commission has now been requested to do something about a king of the Bekom tribes, in the British Cameroons, who collects wives. The St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance of London has put the matter squarely up to the commission in a petition documented with a story which is so vivid that we are surprised to find that it was the work of a Franciscan missionary. It seems that this old gentleman, the king—he is eighty—sends out scouts to the tribal huts to select young and comely candidates. The girls, with "nothing on but a necklace of large seeds," are brought, one by one, before the king, who sits on his throne with a leopard under his feet. The girl's father throws his daughter to the ground, the king steps forward and places his right foot upon her, and another wife is added to his collection of some six hundred. During the ceremony, a hundred of these wives "stand around him in a semi-circle—naked—as is the privilege and custom of the 'king's own'." Needless to say, we expect the Human Rights Commission to do its duty—and we should like to be on hand when its representative, clothed, of course, with full powers, explains to a king who uses a live leopard for a footstool why he shouldn't collect wives.

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COMMENTING LAST WEEK ON THE FIRING of ten Hollywood writers for refusing to tell the Un-American Committee whether or not they were Communists, we remarked that "anti-communism is a one-way

through street" and that "once you enter it you either proceed to the end or you back out—quickly." Several readers have chosen to interpret this remark as a back-handed indorsement of communism, whereas we were referring, of course, to the red-baiting procedures of the Thomas committee and the Hollywood producers who did the firing. There is also an anti-communism, obviously, that has nothing in common with hysteria or the denial of civil rights, and from this kind of opposition the Communists are entitled to no more exemption than any other political group.

Confusion Confounded

IT IS now a month since the President opened the special session of Congress with a message asking for drastic powers to combat inflation. During these weeks, prices have continued to rise rapidly. Butter is again almost \$1 a pound; eggs are hitting \$1 a dozen. Quotations for industrial goods have been moving upward even more rapidly than those of farm products. In the past few days, sharp increases have been announced for tinplate, farm machinery, some automobiles, rayon yarn, and petroleum products.

This steady erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar should have served as a goad to government action. Yet, in the past month, no visible progress has been registered on the Washington front. For this, both the Administration and the Congress share the blame. Mr. Truman's ten points provided the working basis for a legislative program, but he has failed to sell his ideas to his own subordinates, not to mention Congress. We have had the unedifying spectacle of Cabinet officers—Anderson and Harriman for example—appearing before Congressional committees to damn the President's proposals with faint praise and to plug their individual policies. On the all-important question of checking credit inflation, discussed by Keith Hutchison in detail on page 681, Secretary of the Treasury Snyder and Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, men on whom Mr. Truman must rely for guidance in this field, have been publicly at loggerheads.

If the Republican majority in Congress had even a modicum of courage and wisdom, it would have seized the opportunity afforded by these divisions in the Administration to come forward with a really effective program of its own. But it, too, is split. Some of the younger members of the party realize that the situation is far too dangerous for indulgence in smart tactics. The concern of their leaders, however, has been to reap maximum political benefits with minimum disturbance of the boom that is filling the coffers of their supporters. They have issued a program that pays some homage to the principle of control, but in general approaches the subject in a

vague and ultra-cautious manner. A very small part of this program has been embodied in a bill which merely authorizes government encouragement of voluntary agreements for the allocation of transport and of commodities in short supply. To make way for this feeble measure, they have thrust aside an Administration bill providing broad powers to ration food and other scarce goods and to establish priorities for key raw materials.

To encourage business cooperation, the bill proposes, for a limited period, to relieve parties to any agreement approved by the President from the operation of the anti-trust laws. This seems to us a highly dangerous proposal. In the case of industries in which supply is beginning to catch up with demand, protected voluntary agreements may prove popular, but they are more likely to stabilize high prices than help to bring them down. And in those industries whose production will for a long time remain unequal to demand, an agreement to stabilize prices or to equalize distribution can easily be thwarted by a few holdouts, for the bill fails to provide any powers of enforcement.

Let us consider, for instance, the current situation in oil. Some of the larger concerns have been trying to check the steady rise in prices, which they realize can do little to encourage higher production and much to give the industry a black eye with the public. They have been stymied by the competitive scramble for crude oil. Few of the big refiners have sufficient crude supplies of their own to insure capacity operation of their plants, and if one concern raises its buying price, the others must sooner or later follow suit or find themselves unable to fill orders. The latest attempt at stabilization was killed recently when Sun Oil (controlled by Pennsylvania's G. O. P. boss, J. Howard Pew) raised its buying price for crude by 50 cents to \$2.57 a barrel, which compares with \$1.27 when the OPA ended.

The real trouble in oil is that with a steadily rising demand for fuel oils there is not enough to go round. This has nothing to do with exports, since we are actually importing more oil than we ship. Voluntary allocations will not remedy the situation, for a few chiselers can render any agreement ineffective. If serious shortages in many areas, causing widespread suffering, are to be avoided this winter, *enforceable* price control and rationing measures are essential. And as even Senator Taft is beginning to discover, rationing of meat will be equally essential next spring when supplies will be far shorter than they are now.

The G. O. P. bill does not begin to grapple with such problems; its only purpose seems to be to mislead and confuse the voters. It is almost certain to be vetoed, if it passes Congress, for Mr. Truman has sharply condemned relaxation of the anti-trust laws. (Unfortunately, his position on this subject has been compromised by Secretary of Commerce Harriman's approval of the prin-

ciple embodied in the bill.) Possibly, the Republicans not only expect but want a veto, with the idea that they could wash their hands of further responsibility for inflation. If that is their strategy, we hope the President counters it by sticking firmly to his program. But he will have to start by insisting that his department heads support his line instead of adopting conflicting positions of their own. The spectacle of the Cabinet at sixes and sevens is the most confounding of all the present confusions in Washington.

What Are We Afraid Of?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IS IT and ponder the fever over Communists and civil rights, the polite debate between the New York *Herald Tribune* and the leader of the E. B. White Party, the list of "subversive" organizations put out by the Justice Department, the Ernst-Hays dispute about "disclosure" as a preventive for subversion. I recall 1919-1920; more, I turn the pages of the *Nation* volumes for those years and try to fathom the reason for the epidemics of fright that have followed both world wars.

What in the name of Thomas Jefferson are we scared of? The raids under A. Mitchell Palmer, the ousting of duly elected Socialists from the New York Legislature, the unceremonious mass deportations of alien "reds"—what did they signify? Today, it is Communists that are thrown out of government jobs along with any others stamped as dangerous under the convenient and ugly theory of association. Today, there are not many aliens to ship abroad; the supply, owing to our tight immigration laws and fine screening, is short. But we grab those few who escaped the Nazis with left views and questionable papers, or who lied to save their lives, and convert usually quite harmless fugitives into criminal enemies of the state.

Can the fever to hunt heretics be laid to Moscow? Does it come from fear of imminent war? Does it come from a belief that this country—undamaged, overflowing with goods, powerful beyond the dreams of any world conqueror—is in the danger of a Communist-led uprising of the workers? In spite of Russia's bluster and attempts to girdle its borders with safe satellite states, no one really believes the Soviet government could start, or successfully wage, a war. In the whole world, only the United States is capable of doing that. Nor do sane Americans seriously anticipate revolution. Our one visible, quite present danger is a new Harding era, with labor driven into division and bankruptcy and radicals chivvied underground and liberals organized—like E. B.

White—in “parties of one,” ready to be swallowed in comfortable mouthfuls by those gentlemen we have so trustfully encouraged to save us from the reds. If the present hysteria is at all related to such fears, it is more as a general reaction to Russian provocations and refusal to cooperate in the ordinary business of international relations. (Quite naturally, we minimize, or even forget, our own less spectacular exhibitions of non-cooperation, such as Mr. Collins mentions on page 669.) We boil with anger at evidence of red injustice in Bulgaria or Rumania or red domination of French trade unions—and then easily transfer our emotion to the meager if irritating displays made by our few native Communists.

But why is our boiling-point so low, and why have we so little confidence in our own democratic stability? As Harold Laski said in his impressive article last week, “Powerful America does not appear to be a happy America.” Some psychosis of guilt or dread, unrelated to our apparent national health or to the actual threats we face, must account for the terrible urge to mutilate our institutions in order to save them.

THINK back to 1919. Some say that our “danger” is greater today than then because Russia is a mighty military power—even minus the bomb—and the world Communist movement is its instrument of penetration and intimidation. I would dispute this argument. In 1919 and 1920, the Red Army was weak by 1947 standards. But the revolution was young and its ideas were potent and uncompromised. Then, as now, hungry workers without jobs rose against the system they blamed for the war and all that followed. Bavaria had a Soviet government and so did Hungary. (Belfast, too!) The Italian workers seized the factories in the north. The French Socialists split, but the majority section joined the Third International, as did the Spanish and Norwegian Socialists. The flood of revolution moved across Europe and menaced, much more immediately than today, the old states of Central and Western Europe.

It broke then, as it may break tomorrow, against Western capitalist power reinforced by grants-in-aid from America. The old gang got back. American capital bailed out Germany. Russia’s fierce resistance was smashed by Allied intervention and Allied backing for White generals. Poland and the Baltic provinces were financed and armed solely to fight the Soviets. Horthy was tricked into power by Britain; Mussolini, a little later, took over in Italy. The Munich Soviet government collapsed in the blood of its great leader, Kurt Eisner; Luxemburg and Liebknecht were assassinated, and the Socialist Noske shot down Communist workers in Berlin. Whatever democratic vagaries Mr. Wilson exhibited at Paris, he was firmly and successfully dealt with by Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

But though reaction triumphed, the system that bred

it never recovered. It was shattered by war, weakened by the fall of empires and territorial changes. The great European middle class lost much of its vitality through physical depletion and inflation. Capitalism pulled itself together again, but it was a shell of its old self—and the end of social revolution only marked the beginning of fascism.

Then, as now, and with as much reason, the United States rushed food to Europe to save lives and regimes. We intervened to crush revolution. And, even more frantically, we kicked democratic safeguards and legal processes out of the window.

WHAT was and is the psychosis that explains our behavior? Perhaps it is a sense, still unformulated and only half conscious, that our strength is less solid than it seems, that it is threatened, not by Russia or Communist drive, but by internal ailments that may be beyond cure—troubles related to gigantism and monopoly, to the steady weakening of really *free* enterprise, to the failure of capital to use its concentrated, almost unchecked power in ways that will preserve even itself, much less the economic stability of the nation or the world. People sense—dimly remembering the twenties—that our inflated prosperity is a symptom of disease, not a show of health. They know that private enterprise is, by its nature, the enemy of planning, except when it plans for its own larger return, but they suspect that only planning on a world scale can save the human race from catastrophe. If they listen to the primitive economics declaimed by most of the men who make our laws, they may outwardly applaud, but inwardly they ask: What’s going to happen? Things don’t feel steady.

The heresy hunt, I suspect, is a dodge to escape our own buried fears, our sense of restless insecurity. Free enterprise is all right. America is all right. They must be, because we’ve been told so, and the people that question it are working for Moscow. So let’s get those people and we’ll feel okay again. But back there, in the underground of the mind, saboteurs are at work telling us that what went on between 1919 and 1939 is still going on, only at a faster rate, and that even rich, tough America is not proof against it. A once-powerful system has been liquidated over much of the earth. It is prostrate, waiting for our strength to give it back the strength it lost through the crumbling of its foundations in two wars and a disastrous interval of revolution and fascist domination. Can we put the rotten system on its feet? Can we save our own not-so-sound system from similar collapse? The questions hang in the air and in the underlayers of the American consciousness.

Loyalty tests, red hunts, even liberal apologetics for “moderate” forms of repression—these are the compulsive, unreal answers our emotions provide to spare us the need of looking for the real ones.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Wallace: the Incomplete Angler

THE time is rapidly approaching when Henry Wallace will have to fish or cut bait. Fifteen months is a long time to stand indecisively on the bank, rod over shoulder, and the fish are understandably beginning to lose interest. As long ago as last spring it became apparent that Phil Murray and the C. I. O. were lost to the Wallace-for-President cause; Senator Pepper discovered that Truman was the "salt of the earth" early in September; and A. F. Whitney inflicted the unkindest cut of all a few days later. Or at least the unkindest cut up to that moment. It seems to me that a more painful if less direct blow has just been dealt by Dr. Frank Kingdon, cochairman of the Progressive Citizens of America.

Wallace is not a member of the Progressive Citizens, but he has been their idol, the fixed star in their political sky, and the prime source of their gate receipts. As a reporter I have been to their rallies and observed how these meetings are built up through successive stages of laudation to a crescendo of enthusiasm for Henry A. Wallace, as man, as statesman, as leader. And none has been more lavish in his praise than Kingdon, none more scornful of the Democratic Party, none more ardent about a People's Party *now*—and none more successful in raising money for same.

Yet here is Dr. Kingdon writing in his New York *Post* column that the time has come for Wallace and Truman to smoke the pipe of peace. They must come together, he says, in order to prevent the Republicans from winning by default. This must be avoided, we are told, because the Republicans would "lift remaining controls, reduce business taxes, tighten labor restraints . . . increase inflation, and drive toward depression." And internationally they would make the Marshall Plan "openly and aggressively a program for irrevocably splitting the world in two." Not only does a Truman-Wallace rapprochement suddenly seem urgent, but, it turns out, there is ample basis for it in the present policy of the Administration. "Marshall," after all, "is basing his European policy on economic rather than political considerations," while at home "the President has taken the courageous step of recommending price controls and rationing to check inflation."

In contrast to these remarkable tributes by the co-chairman of the P. C. A., Henry Wallace has been stumping the country with increasing bitterness toward Mr. Truman and mounting affection for a third party. There will be such a party, he says, unless the Democrats change their foreign policy, and unlike Dr. Kingdon he

sees no sign whatever of a change in the offing. The prospect that a third party will force a Republican into the White House dismays him not at all. On the contrary, he is now on record as favoring Taft over Truman, because even though the Ohio Senator is "the most reactionary candidate," he is "sufficiently honest so that there would be no danger of fascism." This bitter if unintelligible piece of political analysis, coming as it did the day after a bid for his support by Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, had about it an air of finality that was hardly dissipated by the subsequent feeble effort to laugh it off as "make-believe." I think Henry Wallace has made his choice.

The same cannot yet be said of Kingdon. Having urged a rapprochement between Truman and Wallace and explained why progressives must rally to the Democratic standard, he has since gone barnstorming with Wallace, and his platform remarks on the Administration have been hardly more complimentary than they were before he wrote the column from which I have quoted. In Syracuse, for example, he called again for a "second party," a favorite formulation of his: "We are pretty tired of having just one party—one group of which marches under the Republican banner and the other under the Democratic one."

This political ambidextrousness has led some of Kingdon's followers to take the view that the column was merely a wishful dream on an off day, but others view it in the light of his own campaign for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in New Jersey. The tributes to Truman and Marshall, the plea for unity, and the renewed fealty to the Democrats are taken as his grand gesture toward the party whose nomination he seeks. On the other hand, his simultaneous agitation for a "second party" and his continued attacks on the Administration, only slightly less violent than Wallace's, appear to be both a measure of his doubt concerning the nomination and an indication of his course should that doubt be confirmed. In short, it looks from here as though Frank Kingdon will be a Democrat if he wins in the New Jersey primary and a Wallace third-party man if he loses.

Crystal-gazing is not the function of this column, but from what I have been able to gather in New Jersey I would say that Dr. Kingdon's doubts are well founded. The Democratic machine in the province of the Honorable Frank Hague has privately indicated that it would as soon plump for the man in the moon as for Frank Kingdon. And as for labor, the C. I. O. State Council is still waiting for the apology it formally requested of Kingdon in 1946, when he insulted its president, Carl Holderman, at a public dinner. The only thing that could bring the Jersey C. I. O. around to Kingdon would be the designation of a thoroughgoing reactionary by the Democratic bosses. Unless Hague has lost his cunning, he is not likely to allow them to make so foolish a blunder.

The Anderson Plan

BY HENRY H. COLLINS, JR.

Washington, December 13

SOONER or later everybody gets into the act; now it's Clinton P. Anderson's turn. The Secretary of Agriculture has come up with a plan to increase world food production. He has proposed that the United States call a conference of the Ministers of Agriculture of food-exporting countries to discuss methods of increasing their output. This sounds good, but there's a catch: the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and its predecessor, the World Food Conference, have worked along the same lines for four years.

We have by-passed the U. N. in Greece and Turkey, under the Truman Doctrine. We are by-passing the U. N.'s Economic Commission for Europe, under the short- and long-range Marshall plans. It would appear that Mr. Anderson wants to replace FAO's cooperative efforts with a plan unilaterally imposed by the United States.

His proposal was made in a speech on November 20 to the Board of Trade in New York. Just ten days earlier the FAO had wound up a meeting in Washington attended by several of the Ministers of Agriculture whom Secretary Anderson proposed to summon to a conference. Representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture were also there. Some of the foreign delegates were still in Washington on the day Mr. Anderson spoke, but he never mentioned the FAO or its work.

The FAO is important for three reasons: first, it is the oldest of the U. N.'s specialized agencies. Conceived at the World Food Conference in Hot Springs in 1943, it came to life in Quebec in 1945. There, incidentally, the American delegation was headed by Anderson himself. Second, it has had from the beginning an active program for studying world food needs and production potentials, and practical means of making the latter match the former. It is interested in the small as well as the large farmer, in the nations of Eastern Europe as well as those of the West. Its majestic aim is to abolish hunger from the earth. Third, it has, with its fifty-four member nations, more participants than any other specialized agency of the U. N. The Soviet Union, which has refused to join, apparently considers information about food a political secret. Anderson's new plan would reinforce this unfortunate attitude by helping to make food a political weapon wielded by the United States.

In addition to its four conferences since 1945 and its extensive survey reports, the FAO has sent missions to Greece and Poland, and is on the point of sending new ones to Venezuela, Siam, Hungary, and the Near East. It is advising Czechoslovakia and Peru on fish storage and all Europe on means to expand timber production. It has made detailed plans to get more rice out of the Far East, more vegetable oil out of Southeastern Asia.

It could have done much more but for its lack of enforcement powers and the world-wide shortage of dollars. The United States could have helped to overcome both these difficulties; it did not do so. The Department of Agriculture could have instructed the American delegation at Geneva last summer to give real backing to the just-established World Food Council. Instead, we meekly trailed the British, who, although FAO was headed by that redoubtable Scotsman, Sir John Boyd Orr, did their best to keep the organization weak.

As for the dollar shortage, Mr. Anderson has rather vaguely suggested that \$400,000,000 to \$600,000,000 of Commodity Credit Corporation funds could be used—under proper American control and leadership, of course—to finance a food-for-export production program. This might be done. But the World Bank needs no new authorization to lend funds on the recommendation of the FAO, and it would hardly hesitate to make such loans if Anderson indicated his approval of them to Secretary of the Treasury Snyder.

Meanwhile the plan is beginning to take legislative form. On December 10 Representative Jesse P. Wolcott introduced a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to use CCC funds to stimulate agricultural production in non-European countries. The resolution was referred not to the Committee on Agriculture but to the Committee on Banking and Currency, of which Wolcott is chairman. Although observers here say the State Department is disturbed by this move, and by Anderson's whole scheme, no condemnation has as yet rumbled out of its portals. The White House too is silent.

In less than two years our State Department has succeeded in alienating the good-will of the bulk of the people in the major food-receiving countries, many of them our former allies. The Anderson plan, if adopted, will alienate the mass of the people in the food-producing countries. We would work primarily through the largest landowners—the *hacienderos* of Argentina, the vegetable and nut oil moguls of Malaya, the rice *propriétaires* of French Indo-China. American loans for machinery, fertilizer, and transport would solidify feudal agricultural regimes all over the world.

A plan authorized by the FAO and financed by the World Bank, on the other hand, would effectively promote a non-discriminatory, non-exploitative program for all farmers, in which, it is to be hoped, the Soviet Union would eventually participate.

HENRY H. COLLINS, Jr., a former member of the State Department, has been attached to several Congressional committees, including the Kilgore committee. He is the author of "America's Own Refugees."

Orpheus Bound

BY MARY SMART AND MURIEL FOX

WHEN Artur Rodzinski, conductor of New York's Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, which has a radio audience of 13,000,000, threw down his baton in February of last year, thousands of concert artists and other musicians chuckled with satisfaction. They appreciated only too well the accuracy of his parting shot at the Philharmonic's Board of Directors: "Columbia Concerts, Inc., a concert management agency of which Arthur Judson is president, is often more important than the New York Philharmonic Symphony, which is treated as a subsidiary on occasion." The implication was, of course, that Arthur Judson, president of Columbia Concerts, the biggest agent for concert artists in this country, was in cahoots with Arthur Judson, manager of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, which engages more than twenty-five soloists a year. Young concert artists, whose careers are launched or broken by Agent Judson or his chief rival, the National Concert Artists Corporation, hoped that Rodzinski's resignation would call attention to Judson's strangle-hold not only on the Philharmonic, touchstone of success for young soloists, but on the concert stage in general.

Arthur Judson, once a violinist, long ago discarded his fiddle for a career of concert management. By effecting a merger of his agency with several of his competitors in 1930 and selling a half-interest to the Columbia Broadcasting System, he formed the largest concert-bookings agency in the country. His CBS tie-up gave him the inside track to radio talent and radio time, enabling him to build-up his stars' reputations and box-office appeal. At about the same time National Concert Artists Corporation, an offshoot of the National Broadcasting Company, was organized to take similar advantage of radio-build-up possibilities. Now Columbia and NCAC control between them about 90 per cent of the long-hair musical talent in the country and are the sole suppliers of concert artists to more than a thousand American towns—most of the towns that ever see a live artist.

Inevitably a young musician can have but meager hope of success unless he is fortunate enough to be managed by one of the big two. That is why the six hundred yearly graduates of the ranking Eastern music schools

besiege these agencies for a place on their roster. Not more than six of the six hundred ever get a contract from one or the other of them, and these chosen few are not always the best qualified for a successful career behind the footlights. "Breaks" and an inexhaustible supply of cash are as important as talent.

Imagine the plight of a talented young writer who knows that if his novel is turned down by two publishing houses, he will never see it published. Imagine a doctor who to make a living must be connected with one of two hospitals, a lawyer who must work through one of two firms. Suppose the theater had only two producers. A young actress would not unreasonably feel crushed if one of them turned her down, and she would feel still worse if she knew it was not because she lacked acting ability but because he already had as many young actresses under contract as he cared to manage. That is the situation the young musician faces when he embarks on a concert career.

THE trials of Jeanne Therrien, Juilliard '44, are typical of those of even the most promising young stars. Miss Therrien has studied the piano since she was five. In her twenty-odd years she has devoted about 40,000 hours to practicing and another 15,000 to the study of harmony, theory, counterpoint, score reading, and conducting. Each hour of practice, each lesson, each performance, was a step toward the crucial moment in her career, the New York debut: on this single performance hangs the young musician's chance to pull down glowing notices from New York critics and thus attract the attention of a big manager.

After her graduation from Juilliard, Jeanne won the Walter W. Naumburg Award, which gave her a recital with all expenses paid at New York's Town Hall, and the Leventritt Award, which permitted her to appear at Carnegie Hall as soloist with the Philharmonic Orchestra. She was the first girl in the history of the contests to capture both in one year. Her talent was recognized; success seemed assured.

Jeanne Therrien gave her two concerts in January and February, 1945. The reviews called her "a brilliant young pianist born to go places." Noel Straus of the New York Times said she was "one of the big talents." Willy Kapell, 1941 Naumburg winner, wrote that when he heard her playing a Rachmaninoff concerto with the Philharmonic over the radio he thought it was Horowitz. The next morning she confidently went to the office of the Columbia Concerts corporation expecting to walk

MARY SMART is on the staff of the Partisan Review and has written for other periodicals. MURIEL FOX, a graduate pianist of the Ecole Normale de Musique in Paris, has been a researcher on Life.

out with a contract. Instead, she was told in effect: "There's no question about it. You're a top pianist. We are most impressed with your talent, with your performances, with your notices. However, it is very difficult to sell a woman pianist. And besides we have too many young pianists on our list already. Sorry. We can't give you a contract." It looked as if her professional career had died at birth.

The managers of the two big agencies admit that not many youngsters get contracts as a result of New York debuts. Yet booking agents on the road insist that they can sell only artists with New York critics' notices. They say that Denver, for example, won't pay to hear a pianist from Kansas City, nor Dallas to hear a singer highly regarded in Pittsburgh. So the most talented musician from Kansas or Pennsylvania must go to New York and give a recital. That means that he must somehow scrape up the money to hire a manager who can arrange his recital, get out publicity, send tickets to newspaper critics, and so on.

This year about 250 musicians will give recitals in New York's concert halls, and each of these concerts will cost the performer up to \$1,800. Less than twenty-five of them will make expenses, let alone a profit. Usually the manager papers the house. Yet year after year artists skimp and save to follow the New York recital route. Once in a great while they hit the jackpot, like the remarkable Polish pianist, Maryla Jonas, whose enthusiastic reviews after her Carnegie Hall debut last year won her a Columbia contract, "a solo performance with the Philharmonic, and a tour through the United States and South America during her first concert season. The majority fall by the wayside for lack of funds or lack of courage and perseverance. "You must have iron guts to survive," says one young artist who has been saving for three years to make her Town Hall debut.

IF THE going is so rough, why don't young artists go to smaller managers who have more time for them? An ingenious plan known as the organized audience supplies the reason. This is how the plan works:

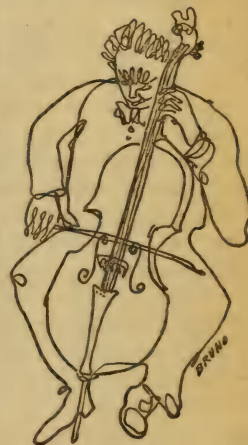
Behind the imposing New York firm of Columbia Concerts is Community Concerts, a network of bookings stretching across the United States and Canada. A music salesman, pleasantly known at Columbia as a "missionary of culture," enters East Humbug, Nevada, meets the town's social leaders, and in practiced patter persuades them of the advantages of contracting for a Community Concerts series. He tells them that all they need to do is run a week's subscription drive and then choose a group of artists on the basis of the amount of money collected. Towns that fall in with this plan find they can get the pick of the world's concert artists without financial worry. Thus if a town raises \$4,500, it may choose one high-priced artist, a Heifetz for example, at \$3,500, and four

lesser artists at \$250 a piece. It cannot, however, raise \$9,000 and get Pons, Rubinstein, and Menuhin. For this is a package business, and the package contains one prize piece, the expensive bonbon which sells it, and several fillers, wanted or not.

The partnership between Columbia and Community went well from the start. Columbia supplied top names, capital, and a large booking staff already in the field; Community supplied eager audiences. Columbia's rival, NBC's management organization, could hardly survive if it offered its artists less satisfactory national outlets; so NCAC also organized a local chain, Civic Concerts. The independent concert managers now found the sledding tougher than ever.

You might think that the package idea for subscription concerts, by requiring a number of lesser lights to be taken along with the tempting big names, would offer a splendid opportunity for young talent. It has given newcomers a chance to be heard, a chance to gain priceless experience. But at the same time by classing some artists as "big" and others as "little" it has forced the development of rigid price levels. And this often proves fatal for young musicians.

One twenty-four-year-old violinist, for example, got a contract with NCAC the day after his Town Hall debut. It was renewed each year until he went into the army in 1941, with his manager's last words ringing in his ears, "Let us know when you come back." But when he did go back after his discharge last summer, the manager told him that his pre-war notices were too dated: "You'll have to give a New York recital before we can put you back on our list," he said. Unfortunately the young violinist hadn't saved the necessary \$1,000 from his G. I. pay. He couldn't earn \$1,000 except by giving concerts. He couldn't give a concert without \$1,000. Oddly enough, he took his predicament philosophically. "It's a matter of business," he said. "They want just so many artists at the various price levels, and there isn't room for another \$250 violinist."



THE unknown young artist who gets a contract is still not on the path to glory when he starts off on the Community circuit. The standard routine for a "small" filler name is to play from ten to forty concerts a season in one of the eight "time blocks" into which Columbia has divided the country, and to play a different block each year. This makes it impossible for him to

build up any sort of following, since he will not meet an audience a second time until eight years has passed. One of the leading American pianists summed up this complaint: "Repeat engagements are discouraged," she said. "There is no effort to keep your memory warm in the towns you've played, because you serve quite nicely just as you are—as filler to round out the list of big names at small cost to the community and to the management. For this service you take a reduced fee and pay a 15 per cent commission."

Playing the circuit with the anonymity of a circus clown, the filler artist is lucky to keep as much as half of his total fee before taxes. The agent takes 15 or 20 per cent; the rest goes for expenses. An NCAC violinist says, "I'm lucky if I can keep 30 per cent after I've paid railroad and hotel expenses for myself and my accompanist, my management and accompanist charges, and for advertising and publicity." Another NCAC artist wound up a twelve-concert tour with exactly \$10 in take-home pay. One Naumburg winner, a sufficiently distinguished musician to be listed in "Who's Who," spent six months touring as an accompanist, for which he was paid \$80 a concert. All expenses except railroad tickets came out of his pocket.

In the face of such conditions any young artist would turn to an independent manager if he could. But the independent manager is up against the organized-audience system as against a brick wall. Though Columbia declares it never starts a concert course where a local manager is already operating successfully, last year it organized a Community series in a Middle Western town to discipline an independent there who was not providing Columbia talent with sufficient outlets. To the local manager's complaints a Columbia representative replied, "You don't want this talent. What are we going to do with it? We have to sell it." Another independent manager who had been running a successful concert series in a Western city for twenty-six years met competition from NCAC's Civic chain for the first time last year. Soon after the first Civic concert, subscribers to the independent series telephoned to the manager to ask about a rumor that she was going out of business. After the first independent concert, a rumor circulated that subscriptions to the rest of the concerts were going to be canceled. The independent manager charged the local head of the Civic series with responsibility for the rumors. Finally she was forced to run a large newspaper ad to deny them. Such tactics may easily cause a local manager to fold up.

SHORTLY before World War II the Federal Communications Commission summoned Judson to Washington to explain some of the features of his business that might be construed as restraint of trade. The management companies moved quickly, however, and

soon their booking organizations were formally divorced from the parent broadcasting companies. The FCC was apparently satisfied, though many of the independent managers regard the change as an administrative device rather than a genuine reform.

One of Rodzinski's chief grievances was Judson's refusal to give him a free hand in selecting guest conductors. Clearly, the retiring maestro felt that Judson's management of some fifty symphony-orchestra conductors had more influence on the choice of guest conductors for the Philharmonic than did the desires of its permanent leader. Aspiring concert artists who cannot afford Rodzinski's frankness have long believed that they would stand a better chance of obtaining the coveted solo engagements with the country's twenty-four major symphony orchestras if fewer of these orchestras were under Judson-managed batons. In hundreds of letters and telegrams the music world applauded Rodzinski's resignation—much as a Sunday School audience cheers David's fight with Goliath.

Among Rodzinski's well-wishers was Henry H. Reichhold, millionaire backer and president of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. "Congratulations on your forthright and courageous stand for musical freedom and independence," wired Reichhold. Then in a bold opening maneuver he bought all the stock of the Carnegie "Pop" Concerts, Inc., of New York, set up an artists' bureau, and prepared to make standardized "pop" concerts available to a thousand cities and towns at rock-bottom prices by developing orchestras of sixty or seventy musicians assembled under local management in various large cities.

These orchestras will tour the towns and cities in their areas with solo artists provided from New York. Reichhold offers his artists the chance to build up a radio following by appearing with the Detroit Symphony on the Sunday Evening Hour, which he has leased for fifty-two weeks. They can cut records with the Detroit Symphony for Vox Records, a Manhattan classical-record company which Reichhold acquired in January. Since he has already pulled out of the red two failing musical enterprises—the Detroit Symphony and the trade magazine *Musical Digest*—the musical world can scarcely ignore his entrance into the field of management. Reichhold says: "I think you will see some present concert organizations breaking up. The time is ripe."

To people familiar with the situation this seems more like a threat than a promise. The quality of the music Reichhold plans to circulate and his uncertain reputation as a disinterested musical benefactor do not insure his success as a full-fledged competitor to the big two. It is generally agreed, however, that the chemical manufacturer's—or another's—millions are a prerequisite for breaking into the securely held territory of Columbia Concerts and NCAC.

Save the Public Domain!

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Spokane, December 5

THE natural resources of the United States, Secretary Krug recently reported to the President, can sustain the Marshall Plan. But if a handful of monopolies in the cattle, lumber, fruit, and fishing industries have their way in the Far West, where the country's resources are now largely concentrated, Mr. Krug's report will no longer give a true picture. The present Congress cannot be counted on to restrain these looters of the public domain, but the President, in his speech dedicating the Everglades National Park, implied he might veto any legislation permitting the exploitation of public lands for private gain. "There are always plenty of hogs trying to get our natural resources for their own benefit," he said, to a round of applause.

From the Continental Divide to the Pacific a relentless campaign is under way to breach the ramparts which conservationists from Teddy to Franklin Roosevelt have erected around the timber, grass lands, and rivers belonging to the American people. The campaign takes many forms. In one state it may be an effort to discredit the United States Forest Service, in another an attempt to exalt the Army Engineers at the expense of the Bureau of Reclamation. Five hundred miles away it may appear in a demand that land first claimed for the national government by Lewis and Clark be turned over to the tender mercies of the state of Wyoming or Montana. Its effects extend even to Alaska.

This unholy crusade has lately been accelerated. The ranchers, "gyppo" loggers, and corporation farmers behind it have suddenly realized that next November the voters may replace this Congress with a group of legislators more devoted to the general welfare. Now, they are aware, is the time to put through their schemes. Their chances look particularly good while Representative Frank A. Barrett of Lusk, Wyoming, who is firmly tucked in the stockman's saddlebag, heads the Public Lands subcommittee in charge of the Western pastures.

Barrett has been conducting hearings along the Pacific seaboard on a series of bills to end Forest Service control over the range. The word "hearings" is a euphemism; "inquisition" would be more accurate. Rangers and foresters are bullied by the committee, which through its appropriation power controls their jobs. Ranchers whose herds have grazed the range bare are treated as

though they were monarchs of the region, which in fact many of them aspire to be with Barrett's connivance. Last week Barrett ordered the Forest Service to reduce no range allotments for three years. This means that hillsides and valleys now being overgrazed will get no relief. They must feed sheep and cattle until the last anchoring blade of grass is gone and the soil begins to blow. Flash floods and drought will supersede the rhythmic surge of mountain rivers, and the ten million Westerners whose drinking water comes from streams which rise in national forests will face a shortage.

To Barrett and his Congressional associates the equity of a few million city dwellers in a watershed is mere claim-jumping as compared with the squatters' rights exercised by four or five stockmen. Barrett would wreck America's system of national forests by permitting the 80,000,000 acres of grazing land within their borders to be reduced to dust. He has even grimmer designs on the magnificent Jackson Hole National Monument in his own state of Wyoming (as was reported in *The Nation* of October 25). In 1943 Barrett persuaded Congress to abolish the monument completely, but President Roosevelt wisely and courageously vetoed the bill. Barrett has now reintroduced the measure. It is almost more than he and his confederates can bear to see 222,929 lush acres in the shadow of the Grand Tetons protected from the bicuspid of grazing herds, particularly in this period of epic prices for sirloins. They consider it immaterial that the wide swales of Jackson Hole under the protection of the Forest Service might be a camping place for numberless generations of Americans.

Fortunately people who treasure the outdoors are awake at last to the purposes of the cattle crowd in Congress. The Izaak Walton League of America, the American Forestry Association, and the American Planning and Civic Association are organizing their members against the move to abolish Jackson Hole and strip the national forests. *The Ladies' Home Journal* has printed a strong editorial condemning the attempt to grab the grazing lands. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has assailed the attack on Jackson Hole, to which he contributed 33,500 acres as an addition to the federal domain. (At any moment now Barrett will probably demand that these subversive forces reveal whether or not they have ever been members of the Communist Party.) "Should the Jackson Hole Monument be abolished," warns Kenneth A. Reid, executive director of the Izaak Walton League, "it would lend aid and encouragement to those groups that seek to appropriate for themselves the federal lands belonging to all the people of the United States."

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When the utilities performed their skulduggery in the twenties, they used the claims of widows and orphans to cloak their greed. The looters of the public domain may use war veterans, especially disabled veterans, in the same way. Representative William A. Lemke of North Dakota, Father Coughlin's candidate for the Presidency in 1936, is author of a bill which would divide up the vast Tongass National Forest of Alaska among the men who served in World War II. Each man could settle on 1,920 acres. This means that, immense as the Tongass reserve is, only 2,500 veterans would benefit, less than .02 per cent of the 14,000,000 men who were in uniform.

The Tongass Forest has prodigious stands of hemlock and Sitka spruce. Its pulpwood is the most valuable resource left in Alaska. On the forest's mountain divide rise the streams which supply drinking water to Ketchikan, Juneau, Petersburg, and Skagway. The Lemke bill imposes no conservation rules. The lucky veteran in possession of 1,920 acres of virgin spruce could cut it bare or sell it to a logging company. A densely covered holding might be worth \$50,000. A handful of veterans could get rich—and Southeastern Alaska would be a wasteland. Yet this unbelievable measure already has been passed by the House unanimously. Unless it is blocked in the Senate, plans for an orderly pulp and paper industry in Alaska will crumble into an orgy of speculation and bribery.

THE clouds in the Western sky are still small, but if they combine they may bring a disastrous storm. Corporation farmers in the Central Valley of California want to have the Army Engineers replace the Bureau of Reclamation in charge of dam-building because the engineers don't restrict land ownership on projects to 160 acres and don't generate power for sale to troublesome municipalities and publicly owned districts. The National Reclamation Association is lending its influence to an attack on the power-production feature of reclamation projects, although the sale of power reduces the cost of irrigating land by at least 50 per cent. The reasons are not hard to find. Rufus Woods, Republican editor of the Wenatchee, Washington, *Daily World*, is the man who first proposed the construction of the great dam at Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Last week Woods wrote in his paper, "The National Reclamation Association has gone into the hands of men who act as though their whole duty is to the private power companies." While professing staunch loyalty to the cause of irrigation, the association is actually overlooking no opportunity to add to the expense of generating power on reclamation projects. The competing utility companies come first, the irrigation farmers second.

This week hearings began in Idaho on the proposal of the federal government to construct a \$212,000,000

dam at Hell's Canyon on the Snake River, in the core of the deepest chasm on the continent. The Idaho Power Company is resisting the proposal on the ground that the water impounded by the Hell's Canyon dam would drown out a power-company site sixty-five miles upstream. Idaho Power proposes to develop 135,000 kilowatts. Hell's Canyon would generate 1,330,000 kilowatts and improve navigation into the heart of the Inland Empire. Even more important, Hell's Canyon would make available a huge supply of cheap electricity for mining the five billion tons of phosphate rock in Idaho, the highest-grade vein in the world. This fertilizer is sorely needed in America; in China it might save the country from famine and dictatorship. But Idaho Power may win out over Hell's Canyon. The 1946 election delivered Oregon and Idaho into the gentle hands of the utility companies. The late Governor Earl Snell of Oregon vetoed a bill to permit Idaho Power to build a dam on the Snake River above Hell's Canyon, but the Oregon legislature, with eighty-four Republicans among its ninety members, overwhelmingly canceled the veto.

All along America's western seaboard, from Mexico to the Arctic Circle, men eager to get possession of the country's natural wealth realize that the Eightieth Congress offers them their great opportunity to break down the controls set up to protect the public. Even controls imposed during the halcyon days of Coolidge and Hoover are wicked in the eyes of this Congress. Traveling "gyppo" sawmills are felling the forests as swiftly as saws can rip wood; the big companies like Weyerhaeuser and Crown-Zellerbach know that a sustained-yield program is the only way to stay in business, but the nomadic "gyppos" want to "cut out and get out." A few years ago the state of Washington was the country's main lumber producer. In 1947 it will cut less than half as much as Oregon, now the last stronghold of the big trees. In Oregon, too, the blade moves faster than seedlings can grow. Portland was recently the leading lumber seaport of the nation. Now the forests near Portland are gone, and the title belongs to a tiny salt-water town named Coos Bay in southwestern Oregon.

The Krug report, which took an optimistic view of this country's ability to support the Marshall Plan, will be rendered obsolete if Congress is not restrained by public opinion. Amid all the efforts to open the resources of the nation to unlimited gouging and grabbing, the only encouraging note is that the shelter belt of trees on the Great Plains has succeeded in holding down the topsoil. Thousands of farmers have told the Soil Conservation Service that they are still on their land because the shelter belt has been a success. Perhaps some of these farmers may remember the conservation plans of the President who was ridiculed a decade ago when he suggested that rows of evergreens, lined up like soldiers, might protect the sod from wind and erosion.

The Palestine Fight—an Inside Story

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

WHEN the partition of Palestine was voted by the General Assembly on November 29, two months and four days had elapsed since the opening of the discussions. More than a million dollars had been spent by the U. N. in an operation begun six months before, when, at the request of the British, an extraordinary session was called to advise on the future form of government in Palestine.

On September 1 the Special Committee of Inquiry (UNSCOP), which had spent three solid months investigating the situation in Palestine and in Europe, presented a report, signed by a majority of the eleven members, recommending the establishment of two independent states. On September 25 a committee of fifty-seven, representing all members of the U. N., which came to be known as the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, met to receive the report of UNSCOP and to decide on recommendations to be made to the General Assembly. It was expected that the majority report would be adopted with little delay, and that the United States delegates would take the initiative in urging its adoption, since the partition proposal embodied the views expressed on more than one occasion by the President and was in line with this country's traditional position.

The United States did not take the initiative. Instead the American delegation lent itself to a policy of protracted delay and encouraged the piling up of obstacles, including threats of an Arab revolt, designed to defeat UNSCOP's proposals and thereby open the way for continuing control by the British. It was hoped in some quarters that a modification of the Morrison-Grady plan, advanced in 1946 and at that time rejected by the United States government, might be accepted as a compromise between the majority and minority reports of UNSCOP. Under such a plan Britain would remain for five years more in Palestine, during which time the Western world might win its war—cold or atomic—against Russia.

The plan was a British plan. But playing the British game until the last moment were certain members of the State Department, some American military leaders, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff, a British-American leftover of World War II. Early in September it looked as if Secretary Marshall, and the President too, would be drawn into the scheme. This accounts for the fact that although the United States was committed in advance to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth, its delegates gave no indication of where it stood until October 11, forty days after UNSCOP reported and sixteen days after the Ad Hoc Committee met.

In the interval there were well-authenticated reports that the President had been persuaded that defense interests required capitulation to Arab demands. These rumors were silenced for a time when the United States delegation came out on October 11 with a statement favoring the majority report. But that statement was not made until leaders of public opinion, including several important political figures, brought the matter personally to the attention of the President and received his assurance that partition would be supported.

The President kept his word. It was primarily his insistence, backed by vociferous public and press demands cutting across party lines, that prevented a gigantic double-cross in which Loy Henderson, director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, and his group in the State Department would have been accomplices. It must be kept in mind that although the Constitution intrusts foreign policies to the President, foreign affairs are actually conducted by the State Department. It is the State Department to which the U. N. delegation is responsible and from which it regularly receives its instructions.

In the delegation were warm advocates of partition and sincere friends of the Jewish cause, such as Mrs. Roosevelt and Ambassador Austin. When General Hill-dring, long familiar with the refugee problem, was added as a special adviser on the Palestine question, confidence was increased. But his appointment was offset by the addition of James Wadsworth, the American representative in Iraq, whose opposition to Zionist aims is intense and outspoken, and of a number of ill-informed, small-fry career diplomats-in-the-making. The sympathies of Herschel Johnson, United States representative on the Palestine committee, were in doubt. But he was known as an experienced official who would follow instructions closely.

SOON after the opening of the General Assembly Secretary Marshall, head of the delegation, became immersed in preparations for the meeting of Congress and the conference of Foreign Ministers. John Foster Dulles, on the Palestine question as on other matters the evil genius of the American delegation, was strongly of the opinion that the U. N. had no legal right to deal with the question—a view put forward by the Arab states and within one vote of being adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee as late as November 24.

Throughout the session the American delegation took its orders from Loy Henderson. Not until ten days be-

fore the actual vote was President Truman brought into the picture again and made aware of the disparity between his pledges and the department's instructions.

In the interval the delegation engaged in three levels of activity: (1) formal actions based on the pledges of the President, which committed the United States to support the majority plan; (2) a quiet process of attrition of the majority plan; (3) delaying tactics while decisions waited on instructions from the State Department. At the same time the British, in close alliance with the Arabs, were busily developing opposition to the partition plan, particularly among the Latin American delegations. Harold Beeley, the British Foreign Office expert, sat in with Subcommittee II, which dealt with the Arab proposals. Hadow, the British liaison man for Latin America, was unceasingly active. "Shadow Hadow," as he was called, wearing a black patch over one eye on alternate days, in the fashion of the classical pirate, worked until the very last minute to prevent a majority for partition.

What the State Department attitude was may be gauged from the following facts: On September 26 and again on October 16 Arthur Creech-Jones, the British Colonial Secretary, appeared before the Ad Hoc Committee and said that the British government intended to terminate the mandate at will, that it would accept no responsibility for implementing a decision not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews, and it would accept no decision that it did not believe to be just. Yet on October 31, when the United States, after holding up for one week the work of the subcommittee, produced its own proposal for implementation, it was based on the idea that the British would implement the partition plan.

On October 31 and November 13, 17, and 20 the representatives of the British government rejected every scheme of implementation involving even the most minor cooperation on the part of Britain. Not until November 22, when the subcommittee on implementation had been working for a month, did the United States offer its first public reproof to the British government and announce its intention of proceeding regardless of the British position. The whole U. N. was permitted to mark time and suffer snub after snub from the British.

ON OCTOBER 11, when the American delegation announced support of the majority plan, it indicated that it would ask for certain geographic changes, mentioning specifically only the transfer of Jaffa from the Jewish to the Arab state. On October 23 the subcommittee was named to work out the practical details of partition, including boundaries, the status of the city of Jerusalem, and economic union of the two states. The American delegation did not agree to final boundary changes until November 25, when the report of the subcommittee had already reached the Ad Hoc Committee,

the very day of the vote. The representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine had themselves offered to give up Jaffa and had proposed eleven other boundary changes. In return for these changes, which would have added one million dunams to the Jewish state, they offered 2,300,000 dunams in the southern Negev to the Arab state. In this exchange the number of Arabs in the Jewish state would have been decreased about 22 per cent, and the Arab state would have had a net gain of some two million dunams.

The chief obstacle to the adoption of these proposals was the State Department. It accepted the Jaffa exchange, but made many other claims, the most important being a demand that 8,000,000 dunams in the Negev, including the port of Aquaba—the whole Negev had been granted to the Jewish state by UNSCOP—should be given to the Arab state. Most revealing was the fashion in which the demand was made. At no time was the issue raised in the working committee, the Ad Hoc Committee, or the General Assembly. It was discussed privately in the hope that the Jewish Agency could be persuaded to acquiesce on the assurance that only in this way could the two-thirds' majority be obtained. As if the members of the U. N. actually knew, understood, or cared about detailed boundary differentials!

The American delegation, acting under instruction from the State Department, was prepared to have Subcommittee I present a report to the Ad Hoc Committee, but the Americans reserved the right to reopen discussions on boundaries and on economic union. Had this happened, it would have invited other revisions and even possible defeat of the majority plan. Only the direct intervention of President Truman prevented it. On Wednesday, November 19, the President issued a directive that the American reservations were to be withdrawn. Actually, they were not withdrawn until November 25, and then only after renewed White House pressure. As a result of American demands the Jewish state lost some 2,000,000 dunams.

On the afternoon of November 24 I was informed that a new monkey wrench had been tossed in by the British, who had warned the State Department—and the name of Loy Henderson was mentioned specifically—that if it proceeded with the partition proposals it would be made to rue the day by Communist infiltration into Palestine and the alleged alliance among the Russians, the Irgun, and the Stern gang. "What is going to happen?" I asked my informant. "They are going to take a Gandhi-like attitude," he said; "they'll wait and see!"

The State Department did wait. Four days later, when Ambassador Parodi—for understandable reasons, which, however, do him and France no honor—proposed a twenty-four-hour adjournment to allow a new conciliation move, it was not the United States but the delegate of Poland, Dr. Lange, who challenged the proposal.

While the Arab states were thundering their threats of revolt and bloodshed unchallenged, the same Loy Henderson who was issuing instructions for the physical reduction of the Jewish state was also supervising the planning of a program involving hundreds of millions of dollars for irrigation and reclamation projects in the countries of the Middle East, to be financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with the United States supplying engineers and materials.

THE Arab delegations have made many accusations about the strong-arm methods used by the United States to insure the votes necessary to carry the partition proposal. Let us examine the record. As far as I am aware the United States produced perhaps one important vote, the vote of the Philippines, and then only when it became a matter of face-saving; by November 29 this vote was no longer necessary to insure the two-thirds' majority. On Monday, November 24, one day before the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee on the majority plan, a highly placed official informed me that in the view of the State Department three more votes were needed. Yet on that same day the American delegation's staff was not aware that Haiti and Liberia had been instructed to vote "no" in the plenary session.

On Wednesday, November 26, the plenary session met; it was known that there had been seventeen abstentions in the Ad Hoc Committee on the previous day. If the vote of the Ad Hoc Committee were repeated in the Assembly, the partition proposal would be one vote shy, and Haiti's was the balancing vote. The session opened with the speeches of the Philippines, Paraguay, and Greece. Neither the Philippines nor Paraguay had been present during the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee. What three votes ought to have been more certain if the Americans were interested in assuring a two-thirds' majority? But Greece, the Philippines, and Paraguay announced that they would vote "no."

Mr. Dickerson, a member of the delegation staff, when asked by the Siamese delegate how he should vote, said it was a matter of indifference to the American delegation. The delegate of Siam voted "no" in the Ad Hoc Committee. By chance his credentials were withdrawn on November 26 and his vote could not be cast in the plenary session.

Last week Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistan delegate, an ardent and able advocate of the Arab case, who left before the plenary vote, in a cable to a New York paper described the delegate of Haiti casting his vote for partition "with tears in his eyes." This was to show how American pressure had been exercised on small countries. The delegate of Haiti was never approached by the United States. In fact, the story of Haiti's vote illuminates the entire State Department attitude.

Early in the debate, the representative of Haiti indi-

cated that his government favored partition. He received new instructions by cable over the week-end of November 22. An investigation by friends of Haiti disclosed that the reversal was based on anger at the cavalier fashion in which a Haitian mission had been treated by the United States government after three and a half months of vain effort to obtain a five-million-dollar loan from this country—a loan, incidentally, which, doubled in amount, Haiti is about to get from Perón! If Haiti hoped by withholding its vote to put pressure on the United States, its action was perfectly understandable. The Haitian government was persuaded to return to its initial position by liberal friends on moral grounds alone.

Liberia is another interesting case. Up to two o'clock Friday, November 28, the delegation of Liberia, representing a government which has a State Department adviser, was never approached by a representative of the United States. Its intention to cast a negative vote was changed through the efforts of friendly, unofficial Americans. If space allowed, several other equally significant instances could be cited.

By the evening of November 28 even the State Department could no longer stall in face of the Presidential directive. For perhaps the first time in the more than two months of deliberations the American delegation was instructed to hold the lines and to insure that nothing would prevent a vote on the report as the first business on the agenda of the plenary session. These directives were issued by the President from the White House and Secretary Marshall from London. This time they could not be ignored.

On Saturday afternoon, November 29, Herschel Johnson for the first time was permitted to tell the Arabs and the British that the Americans would stand for no more nonsense. And because he said it directly, firmly, mincing no words, the parliamentary maneuvers of the Arabs, British, and Colombians failed; a prepared resolution for simple adjournment was never offered.

When the vote of thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions, was finally registered, the United States and the Soviet Union together had produced the first constructive act of the United Nations.

IT IS worth-while analyzing how this remarkable example of teamwork was achieved in a session distinguished by the most violent disagreements between the two powers on every other issue. It was not an accident. The Russians want the British out of the Middle East. The establishment of two independent states in Palestine was a means of accomplishing this purpose. But it must be said to the credit of the Russians that in working for this end they were the only big power to display firmness and morality. The Russians are still being accused of playing for an alliance with the Arabs; yet they alone among the major delegations dared to

challenge the role, the record, and the participation of the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. And it was the Russians who at every point tried to prevent the attrition of the majority report and to secure for the Jews their just demands.

But in the last resort the victory was won by the committee known as Subcommittee I. It consisted of nine members, all of whom favored partition and none of whom were unfriendly either to the Soviet Union or the United States. It was the only U. N. committee in which the British were given no opportunity to run interference for the United States against the Soviet Union. And although there were two dominion members on the committee—Canada and South Africa—both, and particularly Lester Pearson of Canada, worked with the greatest good-will to get agreement.

The fact that this was a homogeneous committee was not the result of State Department design. On the contrary, the Americans tried to have France and Brazil added to it, although neither had then indicated its attitude on partition. Representatives of the United States approached the Polish chairman, Mr. Pruszyński, with the suggestion that the two countries be included. He declined to act on the ground that he had no authority. When a similar proposal was made to Dr. Evatt, he too refused to be budged. Together Guatemala, Uruguay, Venezuela, Poland, and Canada, during four weeks of delicate negotiations, worked day and night to keep the committee moving and to defeat the delaying tactics of the State Department. In the end it was these countries and the dominions which made possible the affirmative vote; and Dr. Evatt's extraordinary skill which enabled it to be taken within three days after the report was submitted.

It remained for the State Department to supply the final note of cynicism. In Subcommittee I it had been agreed unanimously that the Palestine commission should consist of Iceland, Norway, Poland, Guatemala, and Uruguay. Usually it is the custom to reward delegations for work accomplished. No delegates worked harder on the partition proposals than those of Guatemala, Uruguay, and Poland. The first two had served on UNSCOP and had been invaluable members of Subcommittee I. After six months of work they had become experts on a question requiring experts. Without the agreement of the subcommittee the State Department decided that the Palestine commission should be changed. The slate was unceremoniously scrapped, and five new members were chosen at the last moment, on November 29, with the Philippines included—obviously as a reward for voting "yes."

Last week Loy Henderson called a meeting of division heads, including Herschel Johnson. There Johnson was reprimanded by Henderson for having so successfully carried out the President's directive on Palestine!

Russia Speculates on Britain

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 1

GREAT BRITAIN is the strongest country of Western Europe, and from the Russian point of view its future policy is therefore of capital importance. Also Britain is on the boundary between Europe and America, not only geographically but politically, economically, and culturally; in all these respects it is a "special case." In addition, it is the stronghold of "right-wing socialism, enemy number one of democracy," as the Russian papers say—a socialism which, according to the *Literary Gazette*, now an important political organ, "is safeguarding the interests of big business at home and acting as the ally of big business in America." In distinction from France and Italy, Britain has no large Communist Party. It only has its anti-Bevinites, like Mr. Zilliaceus and others, who were well received in Moscow and taken seriously. But Russians are convinced that there *must* be strong trends of thought among Englishmen basically hostile to America with its avowed anti-socialism and favorable to a rapprochement with Eastern Europe, particularly with Russia. Britain is thus something of a puzzle: while the Labor government, in the Russian view, has "betrayed socialism," the people have a greater liking for the Socialist way of life than most other nations. What surprises many Russians is that the Labor government should not have put these Socialist instincts of the British people to better uses.

One criticism often heard is that England is muddling along, relying on being spoon-fed by America, instead of making a great and imaginative effort. As regards foreign trade, greater freedom from American imports is needed, with more trade with the Empire and more with Eastern Europe and Russia. It is believed here that two schools of thought exist in the British government—Sir Stafford Cripps and Harold Wilson representing the "European" and Mr. Bevin the "American" school; it is also believed that Cripps and Wilson are extremely anxious (as Cripps recently told Mr. Zaru-bin) to see the trade talks succeed and that Bevin is not. Naturally, Bevin's influence is held largely responsible for the breakdown in August.

Great Britain, it is hoped, is becoming more readily reconciled than America to the new order of things in Eastern Europe. It is not, however, treated much more considerately than America in the Soviet press or in the

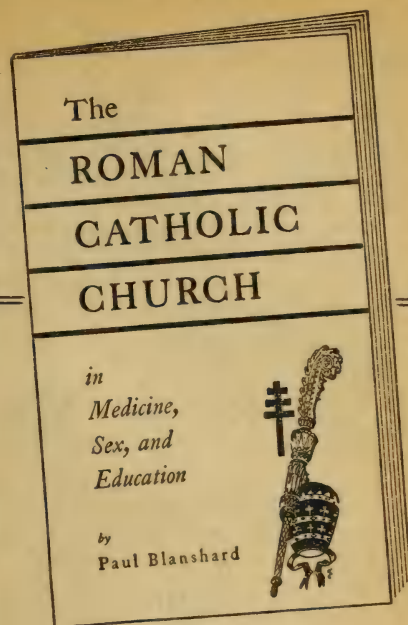
ALEXANDER WERTH is the Moscow correspondent of The Nation and the Manchester Guardian.

highly polemical literature which, following in the footsteps of Simonov's play about American press lords, has found a fruitful subject in denouncing and ridiculing this or that group of Britons and Americans. In a recent number of the *Literary Gazette* the popular author Yuri Germann has a story about British naval officers in a northern Russian port during the war who solemnly ask the scandalized Russian officers to provide a brothel for British seamen. "In these matters," says the British spokesman, "we are not idealists like you but realists." (Incidentally, the story contains no mention of the famous convoys.) The *Literary Gazette* also printed a three-column attack by a Kirghiz poet on a British delegate to the United Nations who had suggested that Russia also has its colonial peoples: was a Malay or Papuan poet, this Mongol poet asked, ever honored by a British admiral on board a battleship as he was when he visited the Soviet navy? His conclusion is that there is no color bar or race discrimination in Russia.

In a hundred different ways self-confidence, pride of country, and faith in the superiority of Russia's cause in the great ideological struggle now in progress are being instilled into the Soviet people. The economic, and even the mental, confusion and lack of direction in Western Europe are constantly played up. And it all has an effect. For the ideological struggle Russia considers itself particularly well equipped, and its self-confidence has been heightened by the relatively good progress made this year, in both industry and agriculture. American capitalism, even armed with atom bombs, provides—so the argument runs—no valid solution to the troubles of hungry people. American credits can only be a palliative, of small economic value but of dangerous political consequences: one must expect duplications of the "Greek situation" in Austria, France, and elsewhere. Britain, it is felt, being sharply conscious of the "disgrace" of the Greek situation, will not wish to see it repeated, least of all in vital spots like France or Austria. It may yet "move a little to the east," and in doing so discourage the imposition on Europe of any Marshall Plan with grave political implications.

These, in a very general way, are some of the factors of the present world conflict as seen from Moscow. To say, as some British observers have done, that Russia is not interested in what its relations are to be with Britain is totally untrue, for Britain is still in a position to use its influence in lessening the existing tension. The Russians are convinced that even if America has a powerful "war party," Britain is profoundly anti-war, and they are by no means certain that Britain is irretrievably anchored to America. But until a change is visible, the abuse of England will be on a par with that of America.

As for the Belgrade Informbureau, it is described as a "warning" and a "precaution" against Gaullism and other American-sponsored movements.



Paul Blanshard's articles on "The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex, and Education" which appeared in our issues of November 1, 8, and 15 are now available in the form of a 32-page booklet, printed on white antique paper. It is published for the benefit of those readers who were unable, because the issues were sold out, to obtain their copies on the newsstand.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

When Bankers Disagree

MOUNTING imports of gold, I pointed out last week, have created a dilemma for the Treasury. Secretary Snyder wants to "sterilize" this gold, that is, prevent it from adding to a total of currency and credit already dangerously large. Instead of issuing new gold certificates against bullion, he would like to buy it with surplus Treasury cash. The result would be that Treasury bank deposits would be diminished to the same extent that those of the gold sellers were enhanced, leaving the total of gold deposits, the basis for credit creation, unchanged.

Unfortunately, this method of gold sterilization, while it closes one inflationary door, opens another, since it reduces funds for the retirement of government securities. In recent months reduction of the national debt has partially checked the forces making for credit inflation. However, to control the situation effectively, the Treasury needs to continue debt retirement and to neutralize the \$2 billion to \$3 billion in gold likely to be added to reserves in the next year. This could be done if the Federal Reserve banks offset gold purchases by reducing their security holdings to an equivalent extent. But such a move is ruled out by Mr. Snyder because it would tend to reduce prices of government bonds and to raise interest rates.

An alternative has been suggested by Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, who asked Congress for authority to impose special-reserve requirements on the banks in addition to those now in force. These special reserves, which would not exceed 25 per cent of demand deposits or 10 per cent of time deposits, would take the form of cash or short-term government securities. In effect, the plan would freeze part of the banks' holdings of low-yielding government securities and prevent their sale to finance new loan demands. As a result lendable funds would be scarcer and commercial interest rates would tend to rise, while the cost of government borrowing would not be directly affected.

This ingenious scheme has been hotly attacked by many bankers, and although it seems to offer the Treasury a possible avenue of escape from its dilemma, Mr. Snyder himself will have nothing to do with it. He told the House Banking and Currency Committee that he believed the Eccles plan would not achieve its author's ends and would intensify the problem of debt management.

Bankers' criticisms have been more specific. The Federal Advisory Council, composed of leading bankers from all Federal Reserve districts, insists that the Eccles plan is a step toward "socialization of banking" in that it substitutes the edicts of a Washington board for the judgment of banking directors throughout the country. The council also regards the plan as impractical. A percentage increase in required reserves sufficient to restrain some banks, it points out, would have disastrous effects on others, forcing them to call sound

loans and so handicap production. Finally, the council declares, the Treasury and Federal Reserve system already have ample powers to control credit inflation if they choose to use them.

At this point the bankers not only part company with Secretary Snyder but begin to argue among themselves. The most effective means of credit control available to the Federal Reserve system is intervention in the bond market. By buying government securities it can add to the total credit supply; by selling, it subtracts from it. In view of the system's enormous resources—its holdings of "governments" exceed \$22 billion—its operations largely determine market prices. Recently, while permitting interest rates on short-term securities to rise somewhat, the Reserve banks have been buying longer-term issues with a view to keeping quotations above par and maintaining long-term interest rates at 2½ per cent. Mr. Snyder wants this policy continued; he is naturally anxious to prevent a rise in debt charges. Mr. Eccles agrees: he is worried lest a rise in interest rates unsettle the whole bond market, causing large-scale liquidation of securities and the weakening of both public and private credit. That is why he has proposed to check credit expansion by rather unorthodox means.

Most bankers, however, recoil automatically from the unfamiliar. They tend to favor an "open market" policy directed toward the lifting of interest rates but debate among themselves about how far and fast the movement should be permitted to go. J. Stewart Baker, chairman of the Bank of Manhattan Company, seems to approve the N. A. M.'s recent proposal that interest rates be allowed "to seek their own levels." The Federal Reserve system, he has declared, "should abandon all commitments—stated or implied—to hold yields on United States government securities at specific levels." On the other hand, Edward E. Brown, influential president of the First National Bank of Chicago, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee: "Personally, I think the bond market must be supported." And Allan Sproul, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, while vehemently opposed to the Eccles plan, warned that "strong" use by the authorities of their existing powers would create severe deflationary pressure and might well lead to depression.

With so much disagreement among the experts, Congressmen who are pondering the President's request for curbs on credit inflation can hardly be blamed for a bewilderment calculated to inhibit any effective action. In the G. O. P. anti-inflation bill the only clause affecting credit is one raising the gold backing of currency in circulation from 25 to 40 per cent. This will have little immediate influence on the situation since present gold reserves actually stand at 48.7 per cent of the note issue. Nor is the forthcoming ¼ per cent rise in the rediscount rate likely to have more than a temporary psychological effect on credit expansion.

Personally, I believe that if banking opposition blocks the Eccles plan, the Federal Reserve system will be compelled to adopt an open-market program designed to lift interest rates gradually. Admittedly, that will prove a difficult, perhaps dangerous, operation, but some antidote to credit inflation is long overdue. If it is not administered very soon, kill-or-cure shock treatment may become necessary.

BOOKS and the ARTS

"DON QUIXOTE" AND THE NOVEL

BY PEDRO SALINAS

IF WE consider the word "original" from the point of view of its actual meaning, "something pertaining to the origin or beginning," the novel of Cervantes is revealed to be supremely original, for in it may be found the turning-point of the history of fiction; in it a new era in the evolution of the novel is initiated. The types of the novel antecedent to the "Quijote"—the "Amadis" and the novels of chivalry, the "Dianas" and pastoral fiction—represent but partial aspects of humanity: the former a heroic ideal which terminates in futile feats of derring-do, the latter a literary exaggeration of a sentimental situation. When, in "Lazarillo de Tormes" and the works of Alemán, Espinel, and Quevedo, Spain had the audacity to place the *pícaro*, the rogue, the underdog, in the very center of the novel, converting him from the minor character which he had been into the protagonist and the magnetic pole of the compassionate attention of the reader, a new region of humanity was conquered for fiction. But the picaresque novel is also restrictive: it excludes from its vision of the world all that does not fall within the concept of the rogue. Thus the novel, when it is compared with the vastness of human experience, remains limited and insufficient. Cervantes first produced the universally comprehensive novel, the novel with sufficient capacity to surround the equivocal and mysterious figure of the knight Quijote with a whole world of shepherds and townspeople, wenches and rogues, captives of the Moors, bachelors of the town. The "Quijote" is a work so affluent that one views it in its historical place with the amazement which the explorer who had never seen more than modest streams, rivers of minor order, must have felt on first encountering the Amazon, summa of rivers, archetype of affluence.

The Transcendental Novel

It is generally conceded that the novel must entertain. But "entertain" is a treacherous word, and only too easily

assumes a connotation of vulgarity or triviality. In its original conception the novel entertains superficially, in a cinematic manner, as its torrent of adventurous deeds gives the reader the simple pleasure of imaginative transport. But today it is felt that inherent in every great novel is a symbolic meaning, a significance which transcends the deeds of its characters. It could be said that the characters, the actions, and the conflicts in a novel are like disjointed letters, which only acquire full value when, by joining with one another, they form a word, and thus change themselves from mere signs into a new meaningful reality.

When Stephen Spender speaks of the "journalistic novel," I believe he is alluding to the type of realism which is not transcendental, while in the novel which he calls "poetic" may be encountered a symbolic fiction which uses the realities of human existence for an ultra-realistic proposition. Before "Madame Bovary," "Moby Dick," "War and Peace," "Crime and Punishment," or "Ulysses," Cervantes achieved a novel in which, transpiercing the entertainment inherent in every work of fiction, the reader may perceive a spiritual illumination which indeed does not shine on the characters of the book but turns upon and illuminates the reader himself. Every great book, though it may treat a multitude of characters, in the last analysis always ends in one—the human being who reads it, who thus becomes its ultimate and final character, the authentic protagonist.

Cervantes, in achieving for the first time this all-inclusive, universal novel, abandons the fabulous geography and the indecisive cultures of earlier fiction, and presents one land and one people—Spain and the Spanish people. That dust of the Spanish roads which Flaubert sensed coming to him from between the lines of the "Quijote" is Spanish earth, crumbled, floating earth. The "Quijote" arrived at universality by the way of

localization in profundity, a very different thing from the superficial localization of custom and the picturesque in the so-called local color of the romantics. In this Spanish earth lives a people, with all its manners and customs and virtues and characteristic defects. And the catholicity of the "Quijote" is also proved here, because Cervantes admits into his pages people of every social and moral condition, each one represented with his inherent mentality. We remember the merchants, who in their typically pragmatic spirit, having no portrait by which to prove the fact experimentally, declined to declare Dulcinea the most beautiful lady in the world; and on the other hand, the wife of Sancho, superb example of the Spanish peasant woman, who knows very well what's what and why and wants to keep it that way: to live assured of her destiny like the tree in its earth, without aspiring to vain grandeurs which belie her natural being and don't agree with her. In this novel hundreds of people elbow one another and perform by turns: the "Quijote" is a true democracy in which they have a right to live and to be heard, dukes and galley slaves, priests and knights and girls of the town. The novel of the sixteenth century pigeonholed in classes the rogue, the exquisite courtly shepherd, the lofty knight errant. But the "Quijote" is a work above classes, a work of all humanity, of people without discrimination.

The Human Quality

Every great novelist has his own intellectual and emotional vision of man, his own conception of human nature. Man is one thing for Dostoevski, another for Henry James, another for Proust. Behind every novel pulses the tortured question: "What is a human being, what is my neighbor, what am I?" For centuries it has been thought that two characters were counterpoised in the "Quijote," that Don Quijote and Sancho personified two antagonistic tendencies of human nature. If this had

been so, would not the result have been monstrous—that two such diametrically different and contradictory characters should travel together through the world as inseparable companions, loving each other with profound affection, aiding each other with fraternal solicitude? In reality the "Quijote" does not have two principal characters, Don Quijote and Sancho. Its one true protagonist is a dual character, a double hero—Don Quijote-Sancho. The hyphen which I use as an orthographic sign actually means much more: it separates the two names as much as it unites them. It means that Cervantes conceived human nature as an organic integration of two separate and distinct elements, of two impulses, the quixotesque and the sanchesque. If it is conceded, in so far as the matter can be reasoned, that the one personifies our tendency toward the greater good, toward spiritual and disinterested values, and the other our tendency toward the lesser good, toward materialism and egotism, then what Cervantes hints in the separation of the characters is that we must submit to the existence of these two forces which are born with all of us, the ascendant and the descendant, and accustom ourselves to bear them, living together side by side, within us. But on the part of Cervantes this should not be taken for an attitude of neutrality, of acceptance of the fact that man never will be able to overcome his inferior appetites and will always have to resign himself to being burdened with Sancho's saddlebags. The character of the squire perhaps progresses more than any other in the novel. To serve Don Quijote, to live at his side, is for Sancho the highest education. The Sancho of the end of the novel is almost as beautiful as Quijote, because Quijote has changed him. Translated into the symbol of human nature, this can mean, then, that our life is not a mechanical condemnation to abide always with a constant quantity of truth and error, of good and evil, but that the best in us lives together with the worst and can judge it day by day and model it in its own likeness. Our existence is, if not effective progress in everything, at least possibility of progress, a capacity for improvement; thus Quijote, by the force of love and kindness, conquers more and more territory in the nature of Sancho.

Invitation to Liberty

The supreme virtue of this book lies in the fact that everything we see in it is suggested by Cervantes in such a subtle and delicate manner that there is no work less doctrinal, less sermon-like, less exacting. If melodrama displeases us it is because, from the first pages, the author authoritatively ordains that we believe everything Mr. X does is good and wholesome, and everything Mr. Y does is detestable and nefarious; the reader must swallow all the author cooks up for him. But Cervantes envelops his work in a climate of liberty. It is my opinion that the literary technique of liberty is humor, because humor, in illuminating with two lights, in offering two or more versions of the same reality, moves us to an act of election. Cervantes collocates his characters in the special atmosphere which A. Castro has called oscillating reality, "*la realidad oscilante*." In it Don Quijote can be "loco" or wise, the basin-helmet or the helmet-basin; the reader is invited to choose constantly according to his understanding. The essence of liberty consists in permitting man to elect, and even more, in permitting him, if he does not feel truly convinced, to abstain from electing. Cervantes always proposes; he never imposes. And because of this his readers and critics, wise and ignorant, have worn out centuries contending that the "Quijote" is this, that, or the contrary. It is because, in reading it, we exercise the great privilege of the human mind confronted with the spectacular drama of the world: to discern its distinct realities, to compare them, and finally to place over those of our preference the sign of our liberty, election.

Report on Eastern Europe

RUSSIA'S EUROPE. by Hal Lehrman.
D. Appleton-Century Company.
\$3.75.

WHILE I was in Poland last summer, one of my American colleagues was a correspondent for a New York afternoon paper which expected him to give a more favorable picture of conditions there than had been provided by the rest of the American press. The reporter, being intellectually honest, found himself admitting that the situation was not so "simple" as he had been

predisposed to believe. I never checked up on what he wrote, but when last seen he was in a close huddle with his conscience.

Hal Lehrman started out for Eastern Europe a year or so earlier with similar preconceptions, and he admits with disarming candor that he had outlined his book in his mind before he started gathering material for it. That is not always the best *modus agendi*, and the upshot was that a very different book eventually emerged. "Russia's Europe" is the story of the mental and emotional process by which Mr. Lehrman was converted from what he might now describe as a starry-eyed liberal into a political realist. He wants "simply to show the impact of Soviet policy and action on the average mind of an average liberal." That seems a fair statement of what he has done.

One is sometimes surprised at Mr. Lehrman's surprise at what he found. A little reading of Marx and Lenin and a good history of Eastern Europe might have prepared him for some of it. As it is, he appears to bear a grudge against the Russians for not having turned out to be nice bourgeois democrats. In all fairness to them, they never really pretended they were. He was disappointed to find Russian and non-Russian Communists alike tough, unscrupulous, opportunistic, and filled with suspicion and fear of Westerners.

All this is not to say that "Russia's Europe" is a poor book. It is, on the contrary, a very good reporting job on the major part of Russia's Europe and a little slice of ours, Greece and Turkey. Mr. Lehrman did a lot of zigzagging back and forth through the Balkans and pieced together the story of what happened there during the first two years after the liberation. He has enlivened it with a goodly amount of "color" and anecdotal material; so that it reads briskly. He devoted more time—and more space in the book—to Yugoslavia than to any other country, and since this is the "toughest" of all the so-called iron-curtain countries, his division of space tends to weight the book. This could be justified on the ground that Yugoslavia is the model of what the Communists would like to achieve elsewhere.

Unfortunately, the more interesting northern countries are passed by. Czecho-

slovakia is tossed off—and aside—in less than a dozen pages, while Poland and Finland are assumed to conform to the pattern of the Balkans. The assumption is wholly unwarranted with respect to Finland, and at least an oversimplification as regards Poland. I should like to have seen some discussion of the reasons why the Communists felt compelled to adopt quite different tactics in countries where they found a strong native movement of the democratic left and center. In discussing Greece and Turkey Mr. Lehrman argues that these are the groups the United States should support against the totalitarian tendencies of the left and right.

In Czechoslovakia the non-Communists have already started waging the fight of their lives against a Communist attempt to crack down on them. It seems to me that Mr. Lehrman—like the State Department, incidentally—makes a mistake in underestimating the importance of that resistance. In Poland the Communists have yet to deal effectively with the Socialists. In Finland they have not so far tried to crack down.

The part of "Russia's Europe" that deals with Britain's and America's Greece and Turkey is only slightly less critical than the rest of the book. Mr. Lehrman visited Greece first and last. In 1945 he saw Allied policy there as a "betrayal to the extreme right"; in 1946, against the background of what he had learned in the rest of the Balkans, he saw it as "betrayal to the extreme left, through support of a reactionary clique whose excesses were forcing a democratic people to move closer and closer to the Communists." Since Americans have better opportunities these days for being informed about unsavory conditions on the other side of the "iron curtain," they may be more shocked by the sections on Greece than by those on Yugoslavia.

So far as I know, this is the first time anyone has attempted to piece together the whole story of Southeastern Europe since the war. Mr. Lehrman does tell that story, and his book will be useful, at least as an interim history. Eventually, it may be hoped, someone with the background and sophistication of a Hugh Seton-Watson will give us a more definitive history.

RUSSELL HILL

History as Narrative

ORDEAL OF THE UNION. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. \$10.

THE publication of these brilliant volumes by one of our outstanding historians is an event of great significance to the general public as well as to the profession itself. For over a decade Allan Nevins has been preaching in season and out the necessity of bringing the reading of history back into the home to satisfy a popular interest that made Bancroft, Prescott, and Parkman "best-sellers" a century ago. His own distinguished books, which include two Pulitzer Prize biographies, testify to his belief that history can be made enjoyable, that intelligently conceived and properly written it need not restrict itself to the learned monograph or yield to fictionalization and the substitution of the photograph for the printed page. To prove his point Mr. Nevins has now embarked in Macaulay-like fashion upon a detailed narrative of that perennial favorite in our national past, the era of the Civil War. The first two volumes, "Fruits of Manifest Destiny" and "A House Dividing," proceed at a leisurely pace from the end of the Mexican War in 1848 to the inauguration of Buchanan in 1857. A third, reaching the summer of 1861, is promised; beyond that the author wisely declines to commit himself.

Judged by almost any standard—scholarship, readability, comprehensiveness, or sheer daring—this is one of the supreme achievements in recent historical writing. No previous account of these stirring years, and there have been many, can match this one for breadth, insight, and impartiality; none can rival it for body and flavor. Not content with mastering a formidable array of specialized writings by other students, Mr. Nevins has gone back to original sources, some familiar, many unused, and has succeeded in giving the period a freshness that few would have thought possible. On countless topics his is now the best account in print. Yet throughout, the prodigious research remains unobtrusive; and the story unfolds pleasantly, at times even breathlessly. The work's unique value, however, rests upon its vast scope. No one, not even the fiery von Holst or the more candid Rhodes, has painted on so broad a con-

vas; and this advantage is exploited to the utmost. Personalities come to life in these pages because they are fully sketched. Debates prove exciting when detailed arguments on both sides can be heard. Industrial and agricultural developments take on a new meaning under a searching analysis of the social and economic conditions that called them forth. The railroad race to the Mississippi, the plight of the free Negro, and the blunders at Aix-la-Chapelle assume an air of reality thanks to a generous allotment of space. Most important of all, the massive framework enables the author to avoid a fault common in most social history: a tendency to compress reformers and inventors, editors and artists, educators and capitalists into a catalogue of names. To be sure the very magnitude of this enterprise leads to errors of fact, and this reviewer has found his share; but the wonder is that these lapses are so insignificant and so few.

An emphasis on chronology, personalities, and politics may strike some as old-fashioned. But Mr. Nevins makes it clear that his is "primarily a narrative history," and he rightly insists that "only a careful narrative can lay bare the inner meaning of the crisis, as only an ordered story can do justice to the suspense, drama, and human passion of the era." Knowing full well that many readers today learn most of their history from biographies, the author has given abundant pen portraits of the major figures of the fifties. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, whose stock has fallen recently, emerge with new laurels as the only men, perhaps, who could have made the sectional truce workable and permanent. Although placing on his title-page the dictum of John Richard Green that "political history, to be intelligible and just, must be based on social history in its largest sense," Mr. Nevins refuses to bow to current prejudices against political history and properly gives it a prominent place. After all, no country was more politically minded than mid-century America, and to omit or minimize that facet would be a serious distortion. Eighteen of the thirty-one chapters deal with President and Congress, the causes and consequences of such momentous legislation as the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the break-up of

the parties and election campaigns. Yet none can complain that non-political matters have been neglected, for entire chapters are devoted to national characteristics, popular culture, reform movements, foreign policy, industrial progress, agricultural advance, railroad building, and the immigrant invasion. Perhaps the most notable accomplishment of all is a trio analyzing slavery as an economic institution and a race problem.

At a time when men again talk of an "irrepressible conflict," when agitators at both extremes again try to destroy any middle ground in an attempt to win adherents to their banner, Mr. Nevins's volumes cannot fail to teach a lesson for today. The author does not believe that the Civil War was inevitable, but a reluctance to face realities and the failure of statesmanship tended to make it so.

On the critical question of slavery he blames both sections: the South for refusing to consider its peculiar institution as a dynamic and evolutionary system, leading by regular gradations to freedom; the North for declining to do anything of a practical nature to assist in racial adjustment on a new basis. Equally dangerous was the bankruptcy in national leadership. From 1849 to 1861 the White House was occupied by three singularly incompetent men. "Zachary Taylor was stubbornly wrong-headed; Franklin Pierce impulsively erratic; James Buchanan timidly fumbling." With the passing of Clay and Webster, the new chieftains—Douglas and Seward, Davis and Chase—were more intent on exacerbating than composing the sectional quarrel. Many of these conclusions are not new, but they are all well worth restating. There is also food for thought in the suggestion that many difficulties that followed the Kansas-Nebraska Act would have been avoided under a parliamentary form of government.

It is sincerely to be hoped that Mr. Nevins's crusade to restore history to its rightful heritage will be crowned with success and that these remarkable volumes will be widely read and deeply pondered. For those who hesitate to read so many pages on so few years I can give no better encouragement than Mr. Nevins himself gave some years ago in his "Gateway to History":

The idea that fifteen minutes a day, or ten times fifteen, of aimless, undirected reading among good books will make a man well-read is one of the most pernicious ever disseminated under high authority. The idea that much history is "fascinating" in the sense of offering easy entertainment for a casual hour is equally fatuous. But if approached with as careful preparation and precaution as any sensible man uses in approaching a symphony, a masterpiece of art, or the handling of bicycle or skis, and if a little persistent effort is applied to it, ere long it will offer one of the most interesting, varied, and profitable—and most truly fascinating—of all employments.

"Ordeal of the Union" will amply repay any effort expended in the reading of it.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

Novelist's Notebooks

THE NOTEBOOKS OF HENRY JAMES. Edited by F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock. Oxford University Press. \$6.

REVIEWING Mr. Matthiessen's "The James Family" in these columns, I said that the Jameses were "specialists in intimate experience." This is no doubt true, but it must be confessed that Henry James's notebooks are intimate only in respect to the problems of his craft. The few pages of personal matter in them are as unrevealing as they are charming. They summarize his early

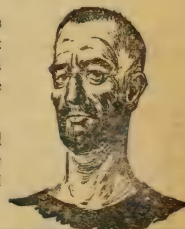
travels; they record his feelings on his mother's death; they relate an occasional literary event such as a meeting with Du Maurier or Taine; and they abound in examples of his familiar habit of stock-taking and resolution: "I must let myself go!" All this, however, is put down in the aloof spirit of a letter to a distant friend. Nor is there—and this is even more disappointing—any very tangible discussion of themes, of general ideas, of the larger meanings of James's work.

What the notebooks do contain in fascinating abundance is the anecdotal materials out of which he made his tales and novels. In many cases the original idea is not only recorded by James but tirelessly analyzed with a view to bringing out its "values," as he called them. Thus the notebooks supplement—but certainly do not rival!—James's prefaces as documents on the literary intelligence in relation to its materials. One notes, among other things, how very many of his stories originated in tales related to him at the dinner table or by the fire-side. It was as if his ideas came to him thus sanctified by their origin in a social occasion. For James, one might say, anecdotes were *little myths*. "Saturday, January 12th, 1895. Note here the ghost story told me at Addington (evening of Thursday 10th), by the Archbishop of Canterbury. . . ." The Archbishop's ghost story became "The Turn of the Screw."

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The editors have done their work conscientiously and with a notable lack of academic fuss. F. W. DUPEE

Religious Poems by Rilke

RILKE'S LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY. Translated by C. F. MacIntyre. University of California Press. \$2.50.

THESE are beautiful religious poems, less mawkish, less *selbstvoll*, than the early works about God in "The Book of Hours"; around them, in his usual contented fashion, Mr. MacIntyre arches, purrs, rubs against your knee to be stroked when you are trying to read. No translator of Rilke, so far as I know, can be as exasperating, as obtrusive as MacIntyre; and none is as good as he is at his best. Reading his notes and commentary, with the exuberant irrelevancies and the occasional idiotic obtusenesses, one wonders how he could possibly have the taste, the sense, the insight, even to care about Rilke, let alone present him; yet, every so often, the presentation is there, simple, direct, felt, conveyed, and right. An earlier selection of fifty poems of Rilke's, likewise published by the University of California Press, offered proof of his quality as translator, and more, of his capacity to choose, most capably, those Rilke poems which no one would like to forget. Like the former book, this one is carefully and handsomely printed; like it, this one should also be on the shelves of every reader who cares at all about Rilke's best, and has sufficient German to study the original through the help of the translation.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

TWO years ago when Tennessee Williams was being hailed as the best new playwright to appear in a decade I was among those who were inclined to wait and see, but "A Streetcar Named Desire" (Barrymore Theater) is amply sufficient to confound us doubters. In mood and manner it is, to be sure, strikingly like "The Glass Menagerie." Indeed, the theme and even the story might be said to be the same, since both dramas are concerned with the desperate, unsuccessful effort of a female character to hang on to some kind of shabby gentility. But the new work is sure and sustained where the former was uncertain and intermittent. Gone are all the distracting bits of ineffectual precisosity, all the pseudo-poetic phrases, and all those occasions when the author seemed about to lose his grip upon the very story itself. From the moment the curtain goes up until it descends after the last act everything is perfectly in key and completely effective. The extent of Mr. Williams's range is still to be demonstrated. He may or he may not have much to say, and it is quite possible that sickness and failure are the only themes he can treat. But there is no longer any doubt of his originality, or of his power within the limits of what he has undertaken. Since 1930 only three new talents which seemed to promise much have appeared in our theater, and of Mr. Williams one must say what one said of Odets and Saroyan. Only time can tell just how far a young man who begins like this may possibly go.

Considered merely in terms of the story it had to tell, "The Glass Menagerie" was bleak enough, but the story of the new play is both bleaker and more frankly pathological. Its central figure is a young school teacher, daughter of a decayed Southern family, who has lost her job because she is—technically and not in the loose popular sense of the term—a nymphomaniac, and who has come, as the play opens, to seek refuge with a married sister in New Orleans. At the beginning we know nothing of the past of this central character, and we have nothing except a few intriguing, unexplained incongruities in her be-

havior to suggest that she is anything more than the shabby, desperately refined, and respectable young woman she seems to be. We share her distraction at the discovery that her sister has complacently accepted a descent into the blowsy happiness of a misalliance with a coarse, violent husband of frankly proletarian habits; and then, as the action proceeds, the dreadful truth about the heroine emerges until, in the terrible but finely conceived final scene, she begins what she believes is a flirtation with the attendant who has come to conduct her to the insane asylum. That the play is not merely the ugly, distressing, and possibly unnecessary thing which any outline must suggest is due, I suppose, in part to its sincerity, even more to the fact that the whole seems to be contemplated with genuine compassion and not, as is the case with so much modern writing about the lower depths, merely with relish. It remains, as there is no point in trying to deny, morbid enough. The mood and the atmosphere are what really count, and both are almost unrelievedly morbid, even, or perhaps especially, in those moments when a kind of grotesque comedy emerges. Yet despite the sensational quality of the story neither the atmosphere nor the mood is ever merely sensational. The author's perceptions remain subtle and delicate, and he is amazingly aware of nuances even in situations where nuance might seem to be inevitably obliterated by violence. The final impression left is, surprisingly enough, not of sensationalism but of subtlety.

Comparing, as one inevitably does, this play with its predecessor, the difference in merit between the two seems to be almost entirely the result of the author's vastly increased mastery of a method which is neither that of simple realism nor of frank fantasy. Obviously Mr. Williams is a highly subjective playwright. His stories are not told primarily either for their own sakes or in order to propound a merely rational thesis, but chiefly because they enable him to communicate emotions which have a special, personal significance. Already one begins to take it for granted that his plays will be immediately recognizable by their familiar themes and a sensibility as unique as that of a lyric poet. Yet he never quite abandons dramatic objectivity as a method. To go one

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step farther in the direction of subjectivity would inevitably be to reach "expressionism" or some other form of non-representational art. But though there is in the plays as written a certain haunting dream-like or rather nightmarish quality, the break with reality is never quite made, and nothing happens which might not be an actual event. Even the almost dadaist suggestion of the title is given—and more meaningfully than in the case of "The Glass Menagerie"—a rational explanation.

Though the new play is superbly directed by Elia Kazan and beautifully performed both by Jessica Tandy and by the other principal actors, the fact that the author has achieved so firm a mastery of his own technique will forestall the tendency to raise again the question so persistently raised in connection with "The Glass Menagerie"—the question, that is to say, whether or not it was the acting and the direction which "made" the play. "A Streetcar Named Desire" could easily be ruined by inadequate production. Everything in it depends upon the ability of a director and his actors to realize a subtle intention. One may even go so far as to say that if it had been given a bad performance, the spectator might easily have been misled into supposing, not that the production was bad, but that there had been nothing to produce. But to say that is by no means to say that the play was "made" by the director or the actors. It was made in the first instance by Mr. Williams himself, a playwright who demands much but who gives even more.

CONTRIBUTORS

PEDRO SALINAS is professor of Spanish literature at Johns Hopkins.

RUSSELL HILL was one of the team of four correspondents of the New York *Herald Tribune* who recently completed a survey of Eastern Europe.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD is assistant professor of history at Harvard.

F. W. DUPEE is at work on a critical biography of Henry James.

CORRECTION: "The Fantasy of Peter Brueghel," by Adriaan J. Barnouw, and "Eugene Delacroix: His Life and Work," by Charles Baudelaire, were listed in Books of 1947 as being published by Crown Publishers. They were published by Lear; they are distributed by Crown.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

IT IS to be hoped that the first show by the newly organized Pyramid group of artists—there are twenty-six of them—at the Riverside Museum (through December 14) will not be taken as a conclusive demonstration of what the latest generation looks like in paint. Where we might expect freshness and energy, a glimpse of the new, we find only the shabbiest and most non-descript expressionism and post-cubist abstract art. Where we would assume that the reason these artists are not shown on Fifty-seventh Street is that they are ahead of it, we find on the contrary that they are behind it. Aside from the ineptness and natural lacks of most of the exhibitors, what is most distressing is a general backwardness, an expressionist constriction that no amount of self-assertive violence can break through. The effect is one of a dun monotony.

I wish to complain specifically about the color—the muddy, the gray, the bleak, the garish, the pallid. Why do these painters, even when they use fresh pigment, insist on harmonies that convert it into mud? Why are they unable to achieve positive tones? Is it because they are timid, provincial, uncultured? They are all that, and more. Meanwhile the genuine painters of the youngest generation remain in their cold-water flats, uncompromised. There are almost none of them in this show.

Two or three of the Pyramid artists should be exempted from the full force of these strictures. The delicate, pictorial sculpture of Blanche Sherwood, the only sculptor of the group, stands up despite its derivativeness; like most of the best contemporary sculptors she has a draftsman's gift. Howard Mitcham's abstract "Tropical Submarine," markedly influenced by Jackson Pollock, is the best painting shown and the only one well painted in the full sense of the term. However, the fatty greens and browns of Mitcham's other canvas darken it down, despite the real feeling with which it is handled, to a great gaping hole in the wall. Lewin Alcock's work, too, should be spared a bit; sadly uneven as it is, it contains at least a promise.

THE case of the late Alfred Maurer, a show of whose work was given recently at the Bertha Schaefer Gallery—and is now running at the Baltimore Museum of Art—is not unlike Ryder's. Maurer, who died in 1931, was not only one of the most distinctive American painters of the twentieth century; he was also perhaps the only authentic cubist we have produced. After going through an illustrative variety of impressionism, and his own original version of German expressionism, he came late under the influence of Picasso's and Braque's cubism, which he digested in a more integral way than did other American followers of the style, such as Max Weber. Nevertheless, Maurer's assimilation of cubism was not quite complete, and his later cubist still-lives, while they demonstrate a vivid talent and a growing control of it, suffer from a failure to understand and convert into instinct that one great lesson of French painting since Cézanne—namely, that from now on three-dimensional experience must be described in or transposed into strict two-dimensional terms (here Matisse and Bonnard have as

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much to say as cubism). Maurer wanted to put more color and variety into middle cubism than Picasso and Braque had; but he did this only by picking out an object here and there in the picture, and modeling it conventionally and tinting it more brightly, with the result that it was thrown into a three-dimensional relief that clashed disturbingly with the logic of the rest of the canvas.

One has the feeling that Maurer would have eliminated such errors had he lived longer, and that he would have struck out beyond the School of Paris. His powers were large enough. In any case his art deserves more attention. Perhaps the Museum of Modern Art will provide the occasion for more lengthy consideration by giving Maurer a commemorative show.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued a recording of Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata played by Serkin (Set 711; \$4.60). It seems to me that the dramatic atmosphere of the first movement must be established immediately in the hushed opening, and that Serkin's swift, smooth, on-the-surface playing here and in other such passages hasn't the slightest implication of dramatic force. On the other hand the second movement is made stodgy by the unusually slow pace—instead of Beethoven's *Andante con moto*—that Serkin maintains throughout. The recorded sound is the best Columbia has achieved of the piano—not that it has the warmth and luster of RCA Victor's piano-recording, but that the

treble is sufficiently clear and bright and strong in relation to the bass.

Treble which is not sufficiently clear and bright and strong—to the point of occasionally being inaudible—is heard in the recording of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 played by Casadesu (Set 698; \$4.60). And that is a pity because the performance is the kind I think correct—with suppleness and grace but without the distortion of phrase that most pianists and critics regard as correct Chopin style. More traditional in style—but done with taste—is Novaes's performance of the Ballade Opus 47, a piece I don't care much for, which comes off the record with the high notes sounding a mile back of the lower ones (72345-D; \$1.25).

Faulty recording is heard in the sound of Levant's performances of pieces by Debussy (Set 710; \$5.85), which is dull on a wide-range machine and muffled on one of limited range. An agreeable surprise, however, is the evidence in the playing of the care and consideration with which Levant treats the piano, and the increased competence with which he handles it. The playing still isn't always clear and precise—for example in "La Soirée dans Grenade"—but it isn't clumsy and brutal. And the greater care and control are evident also in his treatment of the music: there is in "Reflets dans l'eau" only a little of the old erratic tendency that messes up "La Soirée," and that shows itself occasionally in some of the other pieces (most of them early and lesser Debussy). So, on a single disc (72372-D; \$1.25), Brahms's popular Waltz Opus 39 No. 15 and Schumann's "Träumerei" are without the erratic details in Brahms's treacly Intermezzo Opus 118 No. 2.

As a matter of fact Levant's playing of Debussy's "General Lavine—eccentric" is pianistically and musically superior to E. Robert Schmitz's in the RCA Victor recording of the second volume of Debussy's Preludes (Set 1138; \$5.50). Of Schmitz's performances I would say what I said of the ones of the first volume: that they are unequivocal and insensitive, without shape or direction, in their treatment of the music, and clumsy and unprecise in their handling of the piano. The recorded sound is good; the surfaces poor.

I like neither the highly mannered playing that Rubinstein does in popular pieces by Schumann and Brahms (Set 1149; \$4), nor what his performance as a rip-roaring virtuoso makes of Tchaikovsky's popular Piano Concerto No. 1 with the Minneapolis Symphony under Mitropoulos (Set 1159; \$5); and it doesn't matter much what he does with Liszt's trashy Piano Concerto No. 1, which he plays with the Dallas Symphony under Dorati (Set 1144; \$3). The recorded sound of all these is good; surfaces are poor.

On a single RCA Victor disc (11-9672; \$1) are a good performance of Liszt's Etude in D flat, an excessively mannered one of Schumann's "Aufschwung," by Ania Dorfmann. The recorded sound is good.

As for the English Decca recording of Franck's Symphonic Variations for piano and orchestra, which I find one of his best works (ED Set 35; \$5), Eileen Joyce's playing of the solo part is pianistically heavy-handed and stylistically distorted and sentimentalized. The sound of the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Muench is richly reproduced; that of the piano is, as usual, heavy down below and weak on top.

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Letters to the Editors

A Public Allegiance

Dear Sirs: An article published in your special supplement on Palestine of October 4, headed Inside Arab Politics and written by J. L. Teller, mentioned me as one of the opponents of His Eminence the Grand Mufti of Palestine.

I wish to inform you that there is no substance whatsoever in the allegations made in your publication. It is quite untrue that I had any connection with any political party or with the UNSCOP, or that I am an opponent of His Eminence. On the contrary, the Grand Mufti is the sole recognized and respected leader of all Arabs in Palestine, and I pride myself on having been one of his numerous supporters and admirers for the last thirty years.

The whole article referred to above has no foundation in fact.

M. BARADEY ABBASSI

New York, November 25

Dear Sirs: The Honorable Judge, while expressing admiration for the Mufti, does not deny that he was a signatory to a memorandum submitted to UNSCOP in Geneva in defiance of the Mufti's Arab Higher Committee's boycott. Nor does he deny that he was decorated by King Abdullah of Transjordan, whose aspirations are known to conflict with those of the Mufti. It is customary, because of the Mufti's methods of combating political opponents, for the latter publicly to proclaim allegiance to him.

For this reason, too, I unfortunately cannot disclose the names of the Arab sources—and there were several of them—with whom I checked the information contained in my article.

J. L. TELLER

New York, November 31

Attention, Mr. Thomas!

Dear Sirs: Recently I came across a statement by an American citizen of considerable prominence which I feel should be brought to the attention of J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. The statement represents the sort of dangerously radical sentiments which Mr. Thomas and his fellow committee members are so zealously endeavoring to eradicate in this country. It runs as follows:

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or

its officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is purely animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares "that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient." Under that gospel the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.

Unfortunately the author of this highly subversive and thoroughly un-American utterance is now beyond the reach of Mr. Thomas's committee, as he died in 1910. He was Samuel L. Clemens, alias Mark Twain, and the passage quoted appeared in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

WALDO R. BROWNE

Warwick, N. Y., November 27

Dangerous List

Dear Sirs: As a result of the current hysteria about left-wing groups it is becoming increasingly difficult for the hard-pressed liberal to determine with which organizations he may "safely" cooperate. To solve this problem, a formula is obviously desirable, and, as a result of laborious research, I offer this one:

Do not cooperate with any organiza-

tion which has any of the fifty-five names listed below in its title:

Agency; Alliance; Appeal; Assembly; Associates; Association; Auxiliary; Board; Book Club; Book Shop; Branch; Brigade; Brotherhood; Bureau; Caucus; Center; Chamber; Chapter; Chest; Circle; Clinic; Club; Commission; Committee; Conference; Congress; Cooperation; Council; Department; Division; Drive; Forum; Federation; Foundation; Fellowship; Fraternity; Friends; Fund; Front; Group; Guild; Institute; League; Legion; Lodge; Mobilization; Movement; Office; Order; Organization; Round Table; Service; Society; Union; Workshop.

WILL MASLOW

New York, December 3

Objection to Mme Flagstad

Dear Sirs: We professional musicians who served our country in World War II protest against the coming Carnegie Hall recital of Kirsten Flagstad, who did not serve her country in its years of darkness.

We do not advocate suppression of the works of creative artists, but we do believe that pro-fascist interpretative performers should serve a period of non-performing penance for their sins against humanity and democracy. We hold this "Music Plan" enforceable against the Furtwänglers, Giesekings, Giglis, and Flagstads. How else can we show respect for those who suffered because of conscience in fascist countries?

It is of interest that on the same day that the press carried notices of the riot caused by the public appearance of Furtwängler in Vienna, Mme Flagstad's appearance in Chicago was greeted with enthusiasm.

The Musicians' Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee hereby records its continuing respect for anti-fascists and its continuing objection to any public appearance of Mme Flagstad.

LEON GOLDSTEIN, Chairman

Musicians' Chapter, A. V. C.

Brooklyn, December 7

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Only Alphabetically First

Dear Sirs: I have just read the excellent article by Homer A. Jack, The New Chicago Fires, in your issue of November 22. It is an outstanding piece of work. I have only one minor comment to make. In the article the author refers to "legal talent headed by Leon M. Despres." There were three lawyers in the case—Mr. William Temple, Mr. M. J. Myer, and I. Since we were all equal, the announcements listed our names in alphabetical order. In that sense Mr. Jack was accurate in his statement. However, although I may have been *primus*, I was only *primus inter pares*.

LEON M. DESPRES

Chicago, November 28

Young New Dealers

Dear Sirs: We are writing you to introduce you to the United Youth of America, a progressive group formed approximately six months ago. Its members are mainly ardent young New Dealers, and it thus greatly resembles Americans for Democratic Action. We would appreciate it if you would advise some of your younger readers to join our group. Its address is 400 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City. We must all continue to fight for the restoration of the New Deal.

JACK KLASS, Membership Director
GEORGE NICKOLAIDES, Treasurer

New York, December 5

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Crossword Puzzle No. 242

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Does he tease a biscuit? (10)
- 6 He is untaxed when free. (4)
- 10 Unfinished, on the biased side. (7)
- 11 See 26 down.
- 12 It's easy for the Spanish to be wrapped up in a kiss. (8)
- 13 You seldom consider her ruthless. (5)
- 15 These keep a lady on her toes. (5)
- 17 Mix well, or use only with difficulty. (9)
- 19 It's simply tragic, the way he turned them out! (9)
- 21 Pat couldn't wear it once. (5)
- 23 This usually places you somewhere else. (5)
- 24 These cover the hands and face. (8)
- 27 How to put Edward in office? (7)
- 28 Asia is disturbed by a returning spirit. (7)
- 29 You might find this around a bay window. (4)
- 30 The driver who calls for your suit? (5, 5)

- 3 Even if it's watered, I must have more around. (5)
- 4 Not really a cover for the engine. (9)
- 5 Solid gold sometimes. (5)
- 7 Strange debts to a dog! (7)
- 8 Gets tiny, if disturbed. (10)
- 9 Last work. . . (4, 4)
- 14 and workers at last. (10)
- 16 Stops his arguers with this one! (8)
- 18 You can't say they didn't try! (9)
- 20 "Dear Sir" . . . (7)
- 22 Swell sort of general. (7)
- 24 Cried hard? (Some like it so!) (5)
- 25 It's a small apartment, in a way, so put a brief time in to make a proper place of it. (5)
- 26 and 11 across. Proper for birds, and proper in 1521. (4, 2, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 241

ACROSS:—1 SUNLIGHT; 5 SEXTET; 9 INTEGER; 10 LODGING; 11 RHUBARB; 12 TIME OUT; 13 POETIC LICENCE; 15 FORTUNE TELLER; 21 EMLACE; 22 DE-RIVES; 23 SEATING; 24 ACETONE; 25 SESAME; 26 ASSYRIAN.

DOWN:—1 SHIRRS; 2 NOTRUMP; 3 INGRATH; 4 HARDBOILED EGG; 6 ENDEMIC; 7 TRICORN; 8 TOGETHER; 10 LITTLENDIANS; 14 OFFENSES; 16 REPEATS; 17 URANIUM; 18 LARGELY; 19 RAVIOLI; 20 ASTERN.

DOWN

- 1 Transported. (4)
- 2 Years when clothes come first. (7)

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

THE REPUBLICANS' NEW ANTI-INFLATION bill is about as efficacious as a shinplaster for a broken leg. The only good reason we can see for Mr. Truman's signature on it is that it extends export and transport controls, due to expire February 29, and provides the President with power to limit the use of grain by distillers. Its central feature is the pernicious proposal for voluntary allocation agreements that figured in the original House bill. As we pointed out last week, such agreements are unlikely to gain their objectives, and their immunity from the anti-trust laws is a dangerous precedent. All in all, the bill well merits the scathing comment of Wayne Morse of Oregon, one of the three Republican Senators to vote against it. "If this is the only remedy we offer the country for inflation," he said, "that inflation will continue to grow higher until the people demand a different course of action."

✕

CERTAINLY, IF REPRESENTATIVE KNUTSON has his way, inflation's growth will be rapid. For while his colleagues have been cutting a leaf or two from the top of the plant, he has been preparing a heavy dose of fertilizer for its roots. This is the new \$5,600,000,000 tax-reduction bill which he has just introduced, a measure so artfully loaded with appeal to small, medium, and big taxpayers alike that it is being hailed as "veto-proof." Last summer, Mr. Truman rejected a Republican tax bill on the ground that it was bad both in content and timing. The new bill appears to distribute its benefits more equitably by adding \$100 to personal exemptions and by giving the middle and higher brackets smaller percentage cuts. But persons receiving larger incomes will, if married, be more than compensated by a provision allowing for equal division of income for tax purposes between husbands and wives. Such a change in the tax law would make little difference to those with incomes below \$5,000 but would afford substantial savings to those with \$10,000 to \$100,000. Even a much better bill would be untimely at this moment, for it would be bound to give a strong stimulus to inflation. On the one hand, it would add directly to purchasing power in the hands of the public and so swell the demand for scarce goods; on the

other, it would cut sharply into the Treasury's prospective surplus and so weaken one potent weapon for combating credit inflation—a steady retirement of the public debt.

✕

THE SPLIT IN THE FRENCH FEDERATION OF Labor is much more complex than press dispatches have indicated. In part, it resulted from a widespread revolt among trade unionists against Communist direction of the recent strikes and the predominance of Communists in the leadership of the unions. In part, it represents a revival of old anarchist trends in the French labor movement. That the second factor is playing a role in the present crisis is shown by the refusal of several anarchist unions to join the Force Ouvrière in forming a new non-Communist coalition. This two-way division, however inevitable, may result in a serious fragmentation of labor forces at a time when reaction is showing increased energy. Coinciding with the news of the break, a Gaullist mass meeting at the Vélodrome d'Hiver launched a violent attack, both on the left and on the authority of the National Assembly. Less direct but equally significant is a subtle maneuver to wreck the Schuman government, initiated last Saturday in the Assembly by René Capitant, De Gaulle's aggressive parliamentary lieutenant. Thus, by several parallel routes, France moves toward new political crises. In coming weeks, these developments will be reported and analyzed by our European Editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, who is now in Paris.

✕

THIS WEEK, ILLINOIS IS CELEBRATING THE hundredth anniversary of a governor who looms larger today than when he died in 1902. *Fortune*, of all journals, has described John Peter Altgeld as "one of the great underground Americans," and a lonely truth-sayer "when most men believed that power brought wisdom." While he lived, storms broke around his head—in 1893, when he pardoned the anarchists imprisoned for complicity in the Haymarket bombing, and again in the famous Pullman strike of 1894, when he took the part of the workers and their leader, Debs, against the government and President Cleveland. He was denounced

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almost universally as an anarchist and an unscrupulous demagogue. Apparently Altgeld was not much of a radical in theory. But by instinct and conviction he invariably sided with the weak and, in doing so, aroused the hatred of the strong and conventionally righteous. *The Nation* of that day joined in the general criticism, looking upon Altgeld as a man whose sympathies had led him into defiance of the courts and of orderly government. Today, his magnanimity and trust in the people, his contempt for repression as an instrument of democratic power, are qualities of which his country stands in urgent need. This journal, gladly reversing its ancient judgment, joins in honoring a man who sacrificed his career, his health, and his fortune to defend his own idea of human decency. *

BRITAIN'S HIGHEST COURT COULD HARDLY have granted the plea of a husband who asked to have his marriage annulled on the grounds that it had never been consummated because his wife refused to have children and insisted on the use of contraceptives. But the language and temper of the decision of the five Law Lords of the House of Lords, as set forth by Lord Jowitt, were such as to shiver the timbers of the Church of England and send a thrill of horror through the Catholic hierarchy. Lord Jowitt stated that the marriage law uses the word "consummate" as it is "understood in common parlance and in the light of social conditions known to exist." These social conditions, he went on to say, include the establishment in recent years of reputable birth-control clinics and their use by many young married couples. Moreover, he advised against too strict reliance on the wording of the Book of Prayer in regard to marriage and children. "It seems to me that the essence of the Christian view of marriage is that any child born into a family should be brought up and nurtured in the Christian faith. That is not the same thing as saying that a marriage is not consummated unless children are procreated, or that procreation is the principal end of marriage." It is not surprising that the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Westminster, confronted with Lord Jowitt's civilized heresy, declined to comment.

*

THE NATION—AND HENRY H. COLLINS, JR.—had too good a scoop last week. The bill authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to use Commodity Credit Corporation funds to stimulate agriculture in non-European nations was introduced into Congress not, as Mr. Collins's article said, by Representative Jesse P. Wolcott in the House, but by the Administration floor leader, Senator Barkley, in the Senate. It was, however, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency instead of the Committee on Agriculture, and may yet emerge as a bipartisan measure. In any event, it sidesteps the FAO.

P.C.A.'s Quixotic Politics

IT IS not too late for Henry Wallace to undo a sad day's work by the Progressive Citizens of America. In casting the die for a third party last week, the P. C. A. seriously altered the political landscape of the country—and not for the better. Not only a whole series of polls but the results of last month's election showed clearly that the Republicans had lost a great deal of ground since their victory in 1946. If Wallace, following the prompting of P. C. A., runs as the Presidential candidate of a third party, the gains of the Democrats may well be wiped out. Close key states like New York, Illinois, and California may go to the Republicans without a struggle, in which case we can look forward to at least two years of rampant Taberism on Capitol Hill and, in the White House, four years of Taft or reasonable facsimile thereof. For the G. O. P., believing it can win with anybody, will do no fancy experimenting with pseudo-liberals or popular generals.

Before concluding that the two major parties were identical and that only Wallace could give the voters a genuine choice next fall, the P. C. A.'s strategists might have asked themselves *why* political sentiment seems to have shifted so markedly in the past six months. If they had, they would have sensed that, for all the weaknesses and mistakes of the Truman Administration—and we have not glossed them over—there is still a gulf between the two parties, taking them by and large, both in intention and in program. It is a far cry from the jungle economics of Republican Representative Knutson, who thinks the progressive income tax "conflicts with the American spirit of fair play," to the President's veto of the G. O. P.'s lopsided tax-reduction bill. No matter what dangers lurk in the application of the Marshall Plan, nobody can honestly ignore the difference—acknowledged, in fact, by Wallace himself—between the Administration's foreign-aid program and the vicious attacks of most Republican leaders on the projected "WPA for Europe." Nor do we see an identity between Republicans and Democrats on legislation dealing with inflation or labor.

With a record of having supported "Old Bob" La Follette in 1924, we are not ones to oppose a third ticket merely because it cannot win or because it will serve to elect the less desirable of the two major-party nominees. But it is impossible for us to welcome a third-party movement today or even to treat it as indulgently as the New York *Herald Tribune*. This good Republican organ coyly and understandably suggests that a third party which waits for ideal conditions waits for the millennium. The G. O. P. is obviously eager for this hazardous venture to get started.

The fact is that the P. C. A.'s decision could not pos-

sibly be worse timed. Perhaps we could afford to take a chance on electing Coolidge in 1924, but the world of 1948 presents a different picture. Connolly, of the American Labor Party, calmly writes off the results of the next election on the ground that "what is important is to form a basis so that in '52 we can elect a people's party." By 1952, the fate of the American economy may well have been sealed and the question of war or peace decided. It is all very well for Communists to entertain the hope that after the deluge their turn will come, but why should Henry Wallace invite either consequence?

It is precisely because of the abnormal importance of the 1948 election that the P. C. A., by its quixotic move, now finds itself cut off from every important labor group in the country. The C. I. O. high command turned thumbs down on the third-party idea months ago. The Railroad Brotherhoods would have no part of it in spite of A. F. Whitney's former bitterness against the President. The A. L. P. will almost certainly be split on the issue. And the P. C. A. itself has been severely jolted by the resignation of Frank Kingdon, Bartley Crum, A. F. Whitney, and J. Raymond Walsh—all officers of the organization and supporters of Wallace's political views. The attitude of labor is alone enough to make Wallace's campaign very different from La Follette's. Never before has a serious progressive group in this country even thought of launching a third party without major support from the trade unions. The result of the P. C. A.'s decision, if Henry Wallace agrees to run, can only be to confuse enough progressives to assure a Republican victory without establishing a mass base for a future third-party movement.

London to Washington

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE reasons for the breakdown at London have been set forth by the Foreign Ministers, and their versions vary exactly to the degree and in the form dictated by the diverse interests of their respective states. But when those interests are understood and discounted, a certain common denominator emerges from the conflicting explanations: in essence, it was the Marshall Plan that killed the Foreign Ministers' conference.

When the sessions in London began, *The Nation* made this comment on the outlook: "With the Marshall Plan still in the lap of the Congressional gods, the Foreign Ministers can do relatively little. For all of them must know that the future of Europe is being decided, not in London, but in Washington." In his report on the last day of the session, the New York *Herald Tribune's* correspondent, Walter Kerr, summed up the reasons for adjournment in these words:

It is generally understood here that progress at this

time was impossible because of the major conflict involved in the Marshall Plan and Soviet hostility to it. All four powers hoped for political and economic unification of Germany, but the West wanted it only on terms that would aid the Marshall program, while the Soviet delegation wanted it only on terms that would wreck the Marshall program. For this reason, the ministers never really got down to business.

So it began and so it ended, though I think Mr. Kerr's account understates the differences that exist among the Western powers on the organization and control of Germany. But, by and large, those powers are counting on the operation of the Marshall Plan in Germany and in Western Europe to block Russian aims and end Communist aggression; while Moscow is determined to defeat this strategy by every possible method—diplomatic, propagandist, and political.

In such a context, how could the conference have accomplished anything but noisy contention? Molotov has charged that the United States never expected or intended it to succeed; Marshall insists that he went to London "with an open mind" but that the Russians converted the session into a forum for unscrupulous propaganda. I think both versions are patently true. The Secretary of State would have done better to be frank about his own expectations; certainly, America's plans for organizing Western Germany as a separate state, in fact if not in name, were freely discussed in advance of the conference. As for Russia, it has never attempted to conceal, except in detail, the rapid integration of the Soviet zone with its own political and economic structure, or its purpose to win German support by promising political unity and higher living standards. At London, the world was treated to the spectacle of Russia and America competing without apparent shame for the favor of their late enemies.

The talks broke down on the Soviet demand for reparations out of current production; but this was an occasion, not a cause. Any one of the previous disagreements—over Austria, or what nations should be accepted as participants in the peace conference, or whether a frontier commission should be set up, or what sort of German government should be established, or any of Molotov's declamations on Western imperialism and American plans to enslave Europe—might have provided an equally suitable issue; perhaps even more suitable, since Molotov had expressed a willingness to compromise on reparations. The talks broke down because they had degenerated into a slanging match, in which the advantage was held by the power that had most to gain from all-out attack. The delegates were taken aback when Marshall proposed adjournment; but from a strategic point of view, the General's move was correct. In a talking war, the Russians might win. They cannot win, Washington believes, in a war of dollars and food.

SO THE focus shifts to the massive plan of support for Europe comprehended in the bill for interim aid—reduced from \$597,000,000 to \$540,000,000 and passed on the last day of the special session of Congress—and the European Recovery Plan (ERP) sent to Congress for consideration when the regular session convenes on January 6. The hopes of Western Europe, which induced France and Britain to accept American leadership in London even to the point of rupture with Russia, must find their justification in an early and effective application of the plan. For if this program should dwindle to another measure of stop-gap aid, or if it is hedged about with self-serving qualifications, or if it is delayed and haggled over while European industries close down and hunger spreads, then we may be sure the prophecies of the Russians will take on new force and meaning.

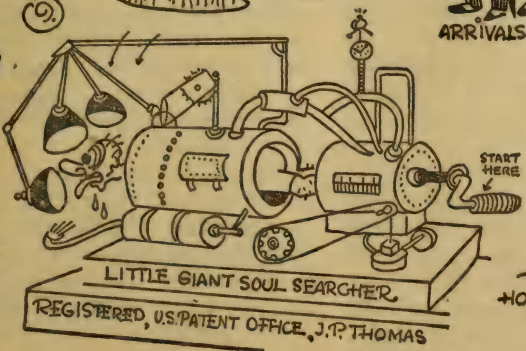
What is the chance of quick action on ERP? Already, Mr. Taft, with his unfailing tact, has announced that Europe isn't really as badly off as the plan implies. "People don't completely collapse," he explained; "they go on living anyway." Already, Republican axes are being whetted to hack the Administration's estimates to a size consonant with Congressional ideas of spending in an election year. Already, we are warned, the idea of a four-year commitment is doomed to defeat; the Republicans want to save Europe on a year-to-year basis.

Even in its present state, the ERP contains many questionable provisions, as I. F. Stone shows in his article on page 696—provisions which will measurably limit the economic independence of participating states. If it is further distorted and watered down, the result may be as dangerous as no program at all. But to many Congressmen, it seems only natural that if the United States provides the money it must also be permitted to say how the money shall be spent: that is, how the industry and finances of a recipient country shall be organized, and what sort of government it shall have. We have made such control a condition of our increased financial support of the Bizone in Germany; taking over from Britain final say in matters of policy. We have done the same thing in Greece. And when the Marshall Plan was first discussed we made it clear to the governments of both France and Italy that their chance of qualifying for aid would be slim if they included Communists. Having established that ban, why should we not insist on other policies designed to protect our investment in recovery?

Since the Administration itself provided these precedents for interference and the setting up of political conditions, it will have a tough time persuading Congress that ERP is different, that Western Europe as a whole cannot be treated like Greece or the Ruhr. But this is what it must do. For if the majority in Congress adopts a Republican "Marshall Plan," the failure at London will be repeated in Washington, with political consequences throughout Europe too terrible to contemplate.

THE NEW LOOK

A JAUNDICED GLANCE INTO THE CRYSTAL BALL 1948



SURREALISM
REBORN

ERP Goes to Congress

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

THE Marshall Plan, as sent to Congress by President Truman, has a magnitude which commands respect. Seventeen billion dollars "ain't hay," and no other nation in any other post-war period has proposed so magnanimous an effort at reconstruction. Unfortunately it is unlikely that the plan as finally approved will be adequate for its purpose—the recovery of Western Europe to the point where it can again support its present population through normal production and trade.

The key figure in the documents furnished Congress by the State Department is in the statement: Western Europe, in order to pay for its pre-war volume of imports, must export "perhaps 30 per cent more than pre-war in physical terms." This need for a 30 per cent increase in the volume of exports reflects the loss in the last war of the investments and colonial possessions from whose earnings Western Europe formerly paid for its net excess of imports over exports. These imports covered foodstuffs and raw materials.

In order to achieve so steep a rise in exports, Western Europe must modernize and expand its industrial facilities. It must vastly enlarge output and sharply reduce production costs. This requires capital, to feed its working people and to invest in new plant. But these requirements have been shaved too close in the plan as sent to Congress. Let us first look at the figures on food. The Paris proposals asked 40,000,000 metric tons of bread grains over four years; the plan offers only 23,000,000 tons. The Paris proposals asked 12,000,000 tons of fats and oils over four years; we propose to supply 2,000,000. To enlarge Western Europe's own output of food, Paris asked \$1,200,000,000 in farm machinery; the President is prepared to make only half that amount available from the United States and Canada. The participating countries and Western Germany estimated that they needed a minimum of 600,000 tons of nitrogen; we offer 121,000 tons from the United States but believe 301,000 additional tons may be obtained elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

BEHIND these cuts, which endanger European recovery, lie a complex of private interests and habits we dare not disturb. Domestic soap and cosmetic firms must have their fats and oils; the fertilizer industry holds back on expanding nitrogen production. There is a boom market at home for farm machinery, and there is little disposition to enforce food savings. The threatening shadow of competing business interests is even more evident on

the other side of the Marshall Plan program—the proposals for expanding Western Europe's capacity to produce and therefore to export. In steel, shipbuilding, factory construction, housing, and power the United States has lowered Europe's sights in deference to its own basic industries, which fear European competition.

The American steel industry dislikes increased production abroad as much as at home. The Paris proposals envisaged a \$2,500,000,000 expansion in steel plant, requiring \$400,000,000 in new equipment from the United States. The Marshall Plan cuts this to \$192,000,000. The Paris proposals also asked scrap and semi-finished steel for fabrication in Europe. The Marshall Plan offers no scrap and very little semi-finished steel but suggests a sharp increase in the sale to Europe of American finished steel. The industrial strategy of these changes in the steel proposals is clear. Similar, if more complex, is our attitude on shipbuilding. The Administration seeks at one and the same time to cut down European steel requirements for shipbuilding and to discourage the production of too much competing tonnage in European yards by contributing 500 cargo ships from war surplus to carry Marshall Plan supplies. This proposal would also cut the dollar cost of the plan substantially, but it has already run into opposition from both capital and labor in the American maritime industry, which wants supplies carried in American bottoms.

In oil refining the motivations are similar but the pattern different. This is the one major industry in which the Marshall Plan has vastly increased the goals proposed at Paris. The Paris conferees asked a half-billion dollars' worth of oil-refining equipment for Western European oil companies. The Washington proposals suggest that the Marshall Plan include "allowances needed by United States companies within the participating countries" and raise the sights to one and a half billion. United States oil companies foresee a richly profitable market in Europe for cheap Middle Eastern oil and are anxious to control the refining as well as to supply the crude. In this connection one should note that the bill sent to Congress with the President's message would authorize dollar-for-dollar guaranties of American private oil investments under the plan up to a total of \$850,000,000. The guaranties would be good for fourteen years, and both the oil companies and other American concerns holding blocked marks—which include the war profits of their German subsidiaries—can be expected to make good use of them. But this may also cut further into the dollars available for European recovery plans.

THE Paris proposals sought the restoration by 1952 of a standard of living in Western Europe slightly below that of 1938. "So rapid an improvement," says the State Department analysis accompanying the Marshall Plan message, "cannot be achieved." It certainly cannot be achieved on the basis of the Paris proposals as reduced and modified by the Marshall Plan. The United States suggestion is that Western Europe eat less and export more, but can we achieve political stability in a framework of still greater economic "austerity"? The State Department analysis admits that if Western Europe can attain the level of exports assumed by the American program, with imports no greater than those allowed for, "those countries will be subjected to the most severe strain that free countries can be expected to bear under the circumstances of the times." The department, with a wary eye on Congress, pleads that "assistance on a smaller scale" would prolong "the very situation that makes assistance necessary." The scale set by the President is already too small for safety, but Congress will almost certainly whittle it down. There will be a strong move to give primary emphasis to the rebuilding of Ger-

many and to enlarging the scope and volume of the guaranties to private investors seeking bargains on the distress counters of Europe.

The most serious obstacle of all to Western European recovery lies in the tendency to "sell" the Marshall Plan here on an anti-Communist basis. For one has only to read through the supporting documents, with their bland assumptions about mounting deliveries to the west of Polish coal and Soviet timber, to see how essential is revival of east-west trade in Europe. But how is this trade to be revived in an atmosphere of increasing tension between the United States and Russia? The Marshall Plan, as sent to Congress assumes that in four years Western Europe will be able to buy twenty-five billion dollars' worth of essential goods from "non-participating countries outside the Western Hemisphere" and sell them twenty-two billion dollars' worth of goods. These huge totals depend largely on recovery in Eastern Europe. Can they be achieved in the course of an anti-Soviet crusade, which discourages good trade or other relations with the Soviet bloc? These are the crucial, perhaps fatal, contradictions of the Marshall Plan.

Radio Starts to Grow Up

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

AN UNMARKED anniversary has lately passed, that of the broadcast (October 10, 1938) of "The Men from Mars," after which thousands of terrified Americans wept or prayed, sped frantically away in cars—where to didn't matter—or snatched a last meal from the icebox before they met their Maker. The anniversary seems worth recalling as we again witness, in the witch hunts of today, the susceptibility of modern man to mass hysteria.

Radio still feeds on the credulity and escapist impulses of a people troubled in spirit and confused in mind, but there have been signs in 1947 of a developing maturity. Radio has turned, on a few significant occasions, from fantasy to facts and played its mirror on the nature and occasion of our discontent. A new kind of radio is coming into being. Its originators call it the "radio documentary." If it is not to be still-born, it must be acclaimed and fostered by those who recognize its great potentialities.

Though largely dominated by men with a cash com-

plex and a cynical contempt for ordinary listeners, radio has always mustered a few people who combined appreciation of its power with a sense of social responsibility and an awareness of the cultural crisis to which radio and other mass media have contributed. It is to two of these that we owe the radio documentary—Edward Murrow, until lately CBS vice-president in charge of public-service programs, who conceived it, and William Paley, chairman of CBS, who with a nicer conscience and a shrewder sense of salesmanship than his own account executives gave it the invaluable support of his authority. As a result of their collaboration a documentary unit, headed by Robert Heller, was created in CBS, given generous funds both for research and for production, ample time—no deadline for any broadcast was fixed—and unusual promotional facilities. Best of all, these documentary programs have gone on the air at hours convenient for people not plagued with insomnia. What have they attempted and what have they achieved?

The radio documentary is concerned, first, to give us facts about the unfinished business of democracy, to report on man's conscious or unconscious inhumanity to man. It is concerned, secondly, to show us our responsibility for the inhumanity in our society and to prompt us to action, though not to prescribe it. It observes scrupulously radio's proper function with respect to social problems, which is to give us facts without seeking to

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN is chairman of the Department of Communications of the School of Education of New York University and author of "Radio's Second Chance." This is the first of three articles on current tendencies in radio; the second will deal with news broadcasts and commentaries.

influence our decision on the facts. The documentary does not preach. It points. Its virtue and discretion lie in its choice of areas in which its fact-finding is carried on.

Successive programs have given us the facts in a wide range of problems. The first was "The Empty Noose." In this the war criminals of Nürnberg were arraigned before us. We heard the charges and the verdict. We were moved to indignation—by a dramatic record of the facts. But lest indignation provide an alibi for conscience, there followed a disturbing but salutary question: "We hanged these men. But did we hang the crimes that they committed?" The program ended with some brutal facts on our own treatment of Jews and Negroes who had returned, in uniform, from the service of their country. The audience did not like this last, but it listened.

The second, "The Eagle's Brood," dealt with juvenile delinquency—its causes and the medieval cruelty and ineffectiveness of our reform and prison system. The third, "A Long Life and a Happy One," dealt with public health and the unfinished business of the medical profession. The fourth, "Experiment in Living," explored new techniques for developing democratic leadership among the young. The fifth, "They Went Back," reviewed the war fronts two years after the war's end. The sixth, "Fear Begins at Forty," foreshortening time, precipitated our old age for us. It pictured the miseries of old people tossed on the junk heap of society, without work or funds.

These programs have cost money to produce. Beyond this, in order to make room for them, CBS has several times sacrificed advertising revenue by canceling sponsored programs. The results have revealed the readiness of audiences expecting entertainment to respond to the drama of real life. "The Empty Noose," for instance, was substituted, without prior warning, for an Ellery Queen "whodunit." All but a fraction of the listening mystery fans stayed with the documentary to the end. The same thing happened when "The Eagle's Brood" replaced "Information Please." Audiences, indeed, have been uniformly large, generally upward of five million. Correspondence afterward has run to thousands of letters.

BUT what is most interesting is that a precedent has been established. Through its documentary unit CBS is committed to a permanent if as yet modest contribution to public service. In addition, some of its affiliated stations have followed through with programs taking up, at the local level, where the original documentary left off. Listeners thus learn that "national" problems are only local problems writ large and can be solved by collective effort in the several communities. The problems of intolerance, crime, youth leadership, old age, and so on cease to be remote abstractions and are seen to be the consequences of our own personal default or apathy. In Chicago a CBS affiliate continued to discuss delinquency in a magnificent local series. In Minneapolis

discrimination against Jews and Negroes in employment and housing was illustrated in the local context.

Runner up to CBS in this public service is ABC, which this year has given us four excellent programs on the teacher problem, two on slums, and in "Shame of the People" an indictment of the public's failure fully to exercise its rights or perform its duty at the polls. Recently, MBS has swung into line with two fine programs on the problem child in our public schools. NBC, oldest and richest of the networks, alone has failed thus far to come through with a documentary of distinction.

We can discern the promise of this new kind of radio in the reaction to these first experiments. A significant amount of the great volume of correspondence from listeners asks, "What can I do about it?" Conscience, or better, perhaps, decent neighborly feeling, has been stirred. "Men at some time are masters of their fate," and some radio listeners are rediscovering the fact. A few communities have formed councils to rid themselves of the abuses disclosed. The Department of Justice has asked CBS whether its own efforts to deal with juvenile delinquency might not usefully be synchronized with further efforts by radio.

Here, then, is a tentative blueprint for collaboration among government, radio, and listeners; here, in fact, is promise of that working partnership on which the success of our system of broadcasting depends.

However, it is promise only. We shall have solid social gain only when certain conditions have been met. We must have, for instance, more such programs—on CBS and on all networks. (For a start we might look for documentaries bringing to life the content of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights.") The practice of following through with programs at the local level must be more widely adopted. And documentaries must be presented at fixed times and at fixed intervals, with adequate advance publicity. Radio audiences are creatures of habit, and the documentary habit won't be formed until these programs are scheduled as regularly, if not as frequently, as Jack Benny or Fred Allen.

These are all demands on radio. But there is a no less imperative demand on listeners. If the documentary is to flourish, audiences must be mustered whose size and articulate response are comparable to the money and effort that go into the execution of these programs. It has been proved that audiences for entertainment and fantasy are responsive also to reality. To increase that responsiveness is only in part radio's job. Teachers, community leaders, trade unions, and other influential elements in the listening public have also a moral obligation. Yet to the detriment of radio and of the public interest it remains largely unfulfilled. Much of the best in radio today goes down the drain, unheard and unappreciated by those who are often readiest with criticism.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Hazlitt's Laissez-Fairyland

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

A JUST verdict on Henry Hazlitt's new book, "Will Dollars Save the World?"* is given by the author himself in his first chapter. "It would be ungenerous and shortsighted," he writes, "to minimize the appalling physical destruction and the enormous economic and political problems that the last World War brought to Europe." The remainder of his ninety-five pages represent an attempt to prove that Europe's present plight has, in fact, very little to do with the war but is the result of failure by the various governments to give unrestricted private enterprise its head. "Ungenerous and shortsighted" certainly are the adjectives to apply to this attitude.

Hazlitt's major premise is that European recovery is being thwarted by socialist experiments, economic planning, and government restrictions that prevent the forces of supply and demand from resuming their beneficent direction of production. His minor premise is that unless Europe mends its ways and sweeps away all obstacles to a free-market economy, any outside aid in the form of loans or gifts will prove futile. This leads to the obvious conclusion that since the imposition of such reforms as a condition of aid is impossible, Europe must be left to stew in its collectivist juice. Or, as Hazlitt puts it, "If our loans are made without economic reforms in the borrowing countries, the funds will be dissipated without bringing any revival; but if we insist on reforms as a condition of our loans, the Communists will exploit the powerful issue of 'dollar imperialism' and 'economic subjugation.'"

If American loans are not the solution for Europe's troubles, what can be done? Although Hazlitt is inclined to wonder whether there is any way "to save nations that are bent on destroying themselves," he does devote two and a half pages to "positive recommendations." He advocates private charity, provided the recipients show they are deserving. In an "overriding emergency" he would approve government gifts of food to Europe if every loaf were stamped "kindness of Uncle Sam." But, he suggests, our most important contribution will be to "expose the fallacies of European statism and socialism by our contrary example." The way to attack the Communist ideology is "to defend capitalism without apology." No loans for Europe in short, but a little charity and a bellyful of propaganda about "the merits of our free-enterprise system."

I do not wish to convey the impression that Hazlitt

* D. Appleton-Century Company. \$1.50.

is a callous man. He is not anxious to see Europeans suffer; he chastises them for their own good in the firm belief that they can regain their prosperity only by swallowing the free-market, free-enterprise pills he offers them. Hazlitt, you see, is a fundamentalist, who believes that economic truth was established once and for all in the early nineteenth century. He is a man with a vision of the perfect state, a laissez-fairyland, where government is a policeman whose only job is to keep the ring while every man pursues his profit competitively with every other man, where the sum of all self-interests somehow adds up to the greatest good of the greatest number.

The presiding deity of this Utopia is not Mammon—in conditions of perfect competition profit tends to become more and more marginal—but the Goddess of Liberty. Nevertheless, free men for generations have been voting not for less and less restriction of the market but for more and more. So Hazlitt has little chance of establishing his Utopia unless he can make himself a dictator. That is a paradoxical and frustrating situation for an apostle of liberty, and it is not surprising that he is soured. Thwarted in his desire to build the perfect state, he is using his very considerable talents to tear down such constructive proposals as the European Recovery Plan.

Hazlitt is an able pamphleteer with a clear and vigorous style. He knows that one reason why economic writing is hard for the uninstructed reader is that the complexity of the material forces conscientious economists to refine and qualify their statements, often at tedious length. Hazlitt avoids this difficulty by ignoring the complexities and sticking to broad, unqualified generalizations. He makes a few simple points and drives them home by constant repetition. It's a technique well known to professional propagandists, and Hazlitt handles it with a skill that Molotov might envy.

Even so, in the competitive atmosphere of bookstores, Hazlitt's volume might not have attracted enough buyers to exert a strong influence on public opinion. To make sure of mass distribution, therefore, he arranged for its simultaneous publication by the Foundation for Economic Education of Irvington-on-Hudson, in the Sleepy Hollow country, an organization of which he is vice-president. This paper-covered edition is priced at 75 cents, with quantity orders obtainable at progressive discounts. Judging by the number that are now floating

around—one of our readers reports he has received five copies from five different donors—it would seem that corporations and business men who support the foundation are buying them in carload lots for presentation to friends, customers, and employees. Consequently, there is no need for readers to rush for the book: sooner or later they will probably receive one as a gift and have \$1.50 saved toward the cost of a CARE package.

AMONG the recipients, we can be sure, are all members of Congress, and echoes of Hazlitt's arguments are likely to be heard in forthcoming debates on ERP. It is worth while, therefore, to subject parts of his thesis to a somewhat detailed analysis. Of special interest is the program of "*minimum* reform" (his italics) which he insists European nations must adopt to insure recovery. It includes the following items (my comments in brackets):

1. A balanced budget: to be achieved by cutting military expenses, social-security costs, food subsidies, subsidies to nationalized industries, building, and so forth.

2. Elimination of exchange controls so that the value of currencies may be established in the free market. [Admittedly, this requires amendment of certain statutes of the International Monetary Fund, statutes insisted upon by the United States with a view to preventing competitive currency depreciation.]

3. Abolition of price controls on either domestic or imported goods, and an "end to other regulations that prevent or unbalance trade and production." [This presumably includes an end to consumer rationing, allocations of industrial raw materials, and so on.]

4. Lowering or removal of excessive foreign-trade barriers.

5. Reduction of excessive military establishments. [On this one point Hazlitt's views coincide with those of the "Keep Left" Labor group in Britain, but not, I suspect with those of the State and War departments. Britain and France are the only Western European nations with large military establishments, and drastic cuts would probably necessitate withdrawal of their occupation forces from Germany and Austria. Does Hazlitt think that would be a good thing?]

Hazlitt does not test this program by showing how it might work out under actual conditions in different countries. He prefers to talk about "Ruritania," a mythical land which, he says, is a composite portrait of them all. Personally, I distrust this device, for such pictures are apt to be blurred. I propose, therefore, to discuss Hazlitt's formula in terms of the country I know best—Britain.

Unlike "Ruritania," Britain has a large budget surplus, so we can pass directly to item 2—elimination of exchange controls. This step Hazlitt regards as especially important, for, he argues, overvalued currencies

are a cause rather than an effect of unbalanced trade. Britain, he holds, is short of dollars only because it wants to import more from America than it can afford. The pound is stabilized at \$4 while its real value in a free market is probably \$3 or less. Consequently imports are encouraged, since prices of imported goods are artificially cheap, and exports discouraged, since they are too dear. If the pound were freed from exchange controls, imports would decline, exports expand, and Britain's international balance of payments attain equilibrium.

No one can dispute the economic logic of this proposition; the only thing wrong with it is that the price of balanced trade would be malnutrition, if not outright starvation, for many Britons. British imports are not inflated; their present volume, in fact, is about 70 per cent of pre-war, and for Britons imports mean not luxuries but basic foodstuffs and raw materials. Nor can it be said that British imports are too cheap. Actually, Britain's "terms of trade" are much less favorable than before the war; that is to say, average prices of its imports have risen more than average prices of its exports. Devaluation would increase this discrepancy, so that it would take more cases of whiskey or more Wedgwood tea sets to pay for a ton of wheat.

Further cuts in British imports, coupled with removal of price controls, rationing, and food subsidies—all necessary steps for the restoration of a free market—would mean of course a tremendous rise in prices. That, in Hazlitt's view, would be all to the good, for he believes that the proper way to create capital for recovery is to restrict consumption through inflation. This prescription ignores the human element, takes no account of the fact that, under such circumstances, Britain's almost unbroken post-war industrial peace would be dissolved in a welter of labor strife as wages vainly chased prices. Britons have submitted to very sharp restrictions of consumption so that their cities and industries may be rebuilt and export trade rapidly expanded; but they have done so by virtue of a social compact based on equality of sacrifice.

FEW Britons, I believe, are prepared to exchange that compact for Hazlitt's free market, in which the devil takes the hindmost. I am sure he could not persuade the British Tories to adopt his program. Were they to do so the electors would reject them even more forcibly than in 1945. Hazlitt always talks as if "socialism" and "planning" were imposed by a "state" over which the people have no control. But in Britain at least the voters have the last word, and they are no more likely to cast their ballots for dictatorship of the market than they are for dictatorship of the Communist Party.

The same thing is true of the American electorate, and I am ready to bet Hazlitt that he cannot sell a genuine free-market economy to any major American party or

political leader. He probably knows this, for when he formulates his example-setting program for the United States he pulls his punches. He suggests, for instance, merely a *reduction* in tariffs. Come, come, Henry. Why not say what you surely believe—that tariffs are incompatible with the sovereignty of the market and must be wiped out completely. And why are you silent about the need for abolishing price supports and other government

aids to agriculture, subsidies for shipping, aviation, housing, and silver, the "fair-trade" laws, and all such blotches on the escutcheon of our "free-market economy"? Is it because, were you really to speak your mind, the Tafts, Knutsons, and McCormicks would refuse to take you seriously? Or are you afraid of alarming the business men who sustain the National Foundation for Economic Education with tax-free donations?

Planning Without Headlines

BY MICHAEL J. DE SHERBININ

Geneva, December 11

WITH each day bringing new evidence of the widening breach between Eastern and Western Europe it is heartening to be able to report that East and West have been meeting during the last three months in a cooperative, business-like spirit in the conference rooms of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) at the Palais des Nations here.

ECE is based on a historical fact—the economic interdependence of all European countries—and its work has continued quietly while the "western" Committee of European Economic Cooperation, which wrote the report for the Marshall Plan, has been in the headlines. It was created by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations last March to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe, for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries, both among themselves and with other countries of the world." It was given the power to make recommendations directly to member governments without going through the council.

The new organization is absorbing three groups which are only a little older than itself. The European Coal Organization, which has done an excellent job allocating United States, German, and Polish coal to European nations since the end of the war, continues its work as the Coal Committee of ECE, beginning January 1, 1948. The European Central Inland Transport Organization has become the ECE Transport Committee, concerned with international transportation problems. The third organization, the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, was a more loosely organized predecessor of ECE.

At the head of the organization is the commission

itself, composed of representatives of all U. N. nations. A number of committees, subcommittees, working parties, and the secretariat make up the body. The secretariat's chief job is to do the research needed by the various committees. Many excellent economists have joined the staff. The executive secretary is Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a brilliant Swedish social scientist who resigned as his country's Minister of Trade to take this post.

All European nations concerned with the problems under discussion—except Spain—are asked to attend the ECE meetings. Five nations not members of the U. N.—Austria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland—took part in the recent discussions of the Industry and Materials Committee. The U. S. S. R. was represented at the two plenary sessions in May and July, but it has not sent delegates to meetings of committees and subcommittees. The Russians say that the problems considered are not common to their economy. United States delegates have been present at every meeting held here since the first one last May. Representatives of the German occupation zones attend from time to time.

Recently the Eastern countries have shown an encouraging interest and desire to cooperate. Poland, Hungary, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have sent key men from their economic-planning departments. They are looking for machinery or other supplies which can only be bought in Western Europe or America. Their choice in regard to help from America under the Marshall Plan was made for them by Russia last July, but they still have access to this U. N. meeting-ground to arrange increasing trade with Western Europe.

Emphasis within ECE has been on work, not on oratory. It regards itself as a technical body to promote economic recovery, not a political forum. All meetings except the plenary sessions have been closed to the press, and while the ECE has in consequence received scant publicity, the delegates have refrained from chauvinistic eloquence. ECE considers that its first task is to increase European production of certain key commodities whose lack now impedes revival. Committees are working to

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solve problems in steel, man-power, electric power, timber, and fertilizer, as well as coal and transport.

Considering the length of time it has been in business and the forces working against it, ECE is progressing well enough. The committees first met in September, October, or November. They examined the data prepared by the secretariat and then, in many cases, requested additional studies. For instance, the Fertilizer Subcommittee of the Industry and Materials Committee has asked for more complete data on the capacity and use of nitrogen-producing facilities in Europe. Myrdal himself gave a good appraisal of the work of ECE when he said recently: "At the minimum, these technical explorations will provide data to the governments on which they can make their own production and trade plans on a more firm basis. At the maximum, the objective of our work is the negotiation of production, trade, and financial arrangements among the countries concerned which will aid in the solution of particular commodity problems." There is no other forum in Europe today where government representatives of East and West meet to exchange economic information.

THE relationship of the Marshall Plan to the ECE is of course of primary importance. Last July, when the decision was made to form the Committee of European Economic Cooperation in Paris, there was considerable outcry because ECE had been by-passed. In Geneva Britain was generally thought to be the villain of the piece. However, a Russian statement of June 29 suggested that U. N. machinery should not be used for providing the United States with European economic data and that European countries should compute their needs from the United States individually. While Molotov, Bevin, and Bidault were conferring in Paris on the Marshall suggestion, the Moscow radio, as quoted by the *London Times*, announced: "The Soviet delegation does not, after all, insist that the U. N. Economic Commission [presumably meaning ECE] should be given the task of receiving and collating the estimates. It prefers that it should be done by special European committees in which Allied countries should be given first place." In view of this attitude, it is difficult to see how the economic requirements of the participating countries could have been effectively and quickly considered by ECE, of which Russia is a member.

The Paris committee did not consult ECE last summer, but its report indicates a desire to use the organization in connection with the Marshall Plan. It counts on imports from the East to meet certain Western needs and time and again leaves the door open to Eastern countries that may wish to cooperate, mentioning the ECE as the organ through which this cooperation might be effected. ECE, for its part, has formed committees which cover all the economic sore spots, from fertilizer to steel, dis-

cussed in the Marshall Plan report. This is encouraging to the Eastern countries, which see in it proof that ECE means business—business done in Geneva, not Paris—and will help ailing Eastern as well as Western economies.

The effectiveness of ECE will of course depend on the general feeling between the United States and the U. S. S. R. If political relations become even more strained, the Eastern countries may be expected to be less willing to work with the West, and the Western countries may feel compelled to act as a "Marshall Plan bloc." This would definitely limit ECE's hopes of bringing Europe together.

In the Wind

THE AUTHORITIES CONTINUE to investigate the recent attacks on non-Catholic places of worship. . . . Falangist instigators are known to have been among the attackers. . . . Without any doubt these attackers were inspired by the September Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Segura, [who] stated that . . . Protestant churches shall 'not be tolerated' in Spain."—From a Madrid correspondent of *Spanish News Letter*.

"IT [the report of the President's Committee on Civil Liberties] should be forgotten as soon as possible."—The Mobile (Alabama) *Press Register*, November 9.

IN PHILADELPHIA, where Dennis Cardinal Dougherty has forbidden Catholics to attend, for the period of one year, movie theaters which continued to show "Forever Amber" over his objections, the Philadelphia Transit Company reports that "more copies of 'Forever Amber' were turned in than any other book in the history of Lost and Found."

"FROM THE PULPITS of every Catholic church in the city yesterday morning at least half of Pittsfield's citizenry was advised to vote 'No' on the referendum question of . . . proportional representation."—The *Berkshire Evening Eagle* (Pittsfield, Massachusetts), November 3.

"RADIO HAS NO APOLOGIES to make for giving to its listeners the best service extant. The trouble is the public doesn't know it."—From an editorial in *Broadcasting*, November 24.

A MUSICAL VERSION of "Pride and Prejudice" is being planned by M-G-M.

ANTON REFREGIER, painting a mural in a San Francisco post office, has been ordered by the Public Buildings Administration to eliminate from his design a projected portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In addition, Refregier was told to take out a banner celebrating the eight-hour day. "The eight-hour day is controversial," the Public Buildings Administration said.

THE OCTOBER, 1947, *Fortune* poll reports that more than 50 per cent of the American people (47,000,000 adults) are prejudiced against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL!

Del Vayo—"Talk Success"

London, December 16

REVISITING London for the first time in more than a year, I am happy to report that Britain appears to be pulling out of its crisis. There are still six very hard months ahead. From now until summer the British people will be on the lowest rations in their history. In contrast with the almost overheated homes of the poorest Americans, English flats are perpetually cold and damp. Although prices of necessities—food and various "utility goods"—are held down and the goods severely rationed, uncontrolled prices are absurdly high: a pair of fleecelined boots cost £6, 10s—about \$26; a shirt that New Yorkers would consider expensive at \$8 sells for \$15 in London; the few luxury foods and liquors found in the black market command prices no one can afford. Some rents are controlled; others are inordinately high. A student whom I visited lives in a single miserable room, its red carpet in rags; he pays more than I do for my three-room apartment in New York. Altogether the British are having a drab time of it, and one of the unhappy results is a marked hostility toward foreigners, particularly Americans.

But of this I am sure—England will come through, and faster than even its own leaders believe. Indeed, the people, especially the workers, have shown more stamina than their Labor government. It would be unjust to minimize the government's achievements at home, which stand in sharp contradiction with its reactionary foreign policy in Palestine and Greece and Spain. On the whole the Labor Party's domestic program deserves praise. What is lacking, however, is faith in the capacity of the working class; the government simply does not know how to talk to workers, or for that matter to the public in general. Several times I heard Prime Minister Attlee broadcast in tones as oppressive as a London sky. Most other official spokesmen are no less querulous and melancholy. Seldom does a spark of enthusiasm or optimism, let alone revolutionary ardor, enliven their statements to a country struggling to carry through a social revolution after its own fashion. The miracle is that in spite of uninspired leadership the British people have shaken off the mood of impending disaster and come to grips with their problems.

Journalists must often fill the gaps left by statesmen. The London *News Chronicle* is one paper that has recognized the average Englishman's need of an encouraging word. In a new column called Talk Success, which occupies a prominent position on page one, this liberal journal is doing a job the *Daily Herald*, official organ of the Labor Party, should have tackled long ago: here it publishes dispatches from roving correspondents on what the British workers are doing. A typical column tells the story of thirty-six-year-old Jack Lee of Swanley, Kent, who has overcome the nemesis of the farmer—days lost because of bad weather. Another describes a group of forty women who marched into the

mill of Bullock, Thornhill and Sons at Macclesfield to help man the machines and speed up production. The heroine of a recent column was Mrs. Emily Jackson, fifty-two, mill worker, who volunteered a month ago to help organize a relief shift of housewives at her factory. Letters in support of the *News Chronicle's* campaign are pouring in from all parts of Britain. "Start talking success" has become the slogan of this dreary winter. There has been launched, in effect, a kind of British "Stakhanovite" movement that demonstrates what the workers are capable of accomplishing when they are encouraged to rely, not on the uncertain generosity of a Republican-dominated American Congress, but on a social ideal and their own efforts.

According to official figures, British miners dug 4,356,200 tons of salable coal last week, breaking the record of 4,313,000 tons established seven and a half years ago in the post-Dunkirk spurt of August, 1940. On the day the coal figures were published, London papers carried, as a kind of comic footnote, the statement by John L. Lewis before the Senate Commerce Committee in Washington that the "British Empire is being liquidated before our eyes" because its miners and mine owners have refused to adopt mechanization. At this moment Britain is preparing to resume coal exports on a fairly large scale and thus obtain hard currency with which to relieve its rigid rationing system. On the heels of the coal story came the announcement that steel production last month—at the rate of 14,174,000 tons annually—was the highest for any November in the country's history.

These concrete indications of economic revival may have—at least so the best Labor people are hoping—a salutary effect on the government's foreign policy. The other evening in the House of Commons I asked some Labor and Liberal M. P.'s who had supported the Spanish Republican cause how they could keep silent in the face of the political murders now taking place in Franco Spain; that morning the papers had reported the execution of a student named Julio Nava, carried out with all the refinements for which the Falange is noted. Their answer was that the people have been absorbed in their own problems. Perhaps now that Britain is beginning to see the green light of recovery, we may hope for a more vigorous, independent foreign policy in line with the campaign promises of the Labor Party. Harold Laski says that dissatisfaction with the government's stand on foreign affairs has brought the rebels in the party up to 40 per cent in the last eleven months. In any case the advocates of unconditional acceptance of Washington's anti-Russian strategy are steadily losing ground. Announcement of the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement provoked the most enthusiastic demonstration the House of Commons has witnessed this year. Even Anthony Eden, acting leader of the opposition, rose to congratulate the government.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Journal of the War Years

THE MAKING OF YESTERDAY:
THE DIARIES OF RAOUL DE
ROUSSY DE SALES, 1938-1942.
Reynal and Hitchcock. \$4.50.

PERHAPS the dailies should adopt as their ideal old Ranke's formula: "as it actually happened." But even the dailies have to select—and how! No uncritical chronicle can be considered history. History is inevitably partial, relative, subjective. It is the light projected upon the confused mass of events by a doctrine or a personality. As such, it is worth exactly what the system or the man may be worth. I like works which attempt to explain; I enjoy even more the record of experience, when the recording instrument is sensitive.

Raoul de Roussy de Sales was an almost perfect instrument. A well-educated, aristocratic Frenchman, he was almost completely free from class and national prejudices. He lived for ten years in New York, as political correspondent for *Paris-Soir* and the Havas news agency. His was almost a diplomatic post: the Quai d'Orsay, directly or through the French ambassador, consulted him, and completely failed to heed his advice. His diary of the war years—1938 until his death in 1942—has the quality of Amiel's Journal: it reveals a questioning, anxious, despairing soul. Keen-sighted, disinterested, disenchanted, he does not seek to convince us (he thought his diary was unpublishable); he compels us to question ourselves. In comparison, most of the other war books are mere anodynes, meant to alleviate the malady of thought.

Admirably placed to know and to understand, he confesses he did neither. Nor did Hitler, Stalin, Churchill, or Roosevelt; as for Cordell Hull, he might have lived in another planet. Roussy de Sales is no infallible prophet. He failed, almost completely as the State Department, to gauge the force of the De Gaulle movement, which he considered as "purely episodic." But no contemporary drew an accurate forecast. Lippmann asserted that it would never be necessary to send an expeditionary force to Europe. Marshall staked his

reputation as a military expert on the proposition that Hitler would annihilate the Soviet armies in a few weeks. Did not the early Christians—so we are told by Reinhold Niebuhr—believe in the imminence of the Second Coming?

Roussy de Sales admits at the end that his congenital pessimism blurred his vision. This pessimism may have been aggravated by the state of his health. The chief cause of it was that he belonged to a world in which he no longer had faith. So he was at heart a traitor to a class and a country that he could not quite renounce. He is right in calling himself a bad Frenchman. A Frenchman, because he still held, with Maurois and St. Exupéry, that all Frenchmen ought to be united, a bad Frenchman, because he utterly rejected Pétain, the symbol of legitimacy, the living flag. He flirted with the "rebels" and "dissenters," the Fighting French, without fully committing himself to their cause. In the same way he was still a member of the privileged classes, those profiteers whose last round-up had been on the Riviera; but he despised that alleged élite, and himself for not having more openly broken with it. His tragedy was not radically different from that of Stefan Zweig. Disease saved him from suicide, or from a survival embittered by self-contempt.

There are two thoughts that stand out with the utmost clarity from these deeply moving pages. The first is that since 1917 the bourgeois world has never relented in its crusade against communism. Chamberlain, Hoover, Lindbergh were in their secret hearts—a very open secret—at one with Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, the Pope, and the Kaiser (odd to find that forgotten ghost, William II, proclaiming so clearly the Truman Doctrine!). Men and nations—Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia, Blum, Roosevelt, Wallace—were distrusted or hated because their anti-communism was not pronounced enough. It was obvious to Roussy de Sales that what we condemned in communism was not the dictatorial methods which we condoned in Franco or Chiang Kai-shek. This crusade, he says, "brings to the surface the normal need of the ruling class for re-

pression. Communism only means in many cases the efforts of the working class to ameliorate its lot."

The second outstanding point is Roussy de Sales's anti-nationalism. It focused slowly. For a long time he condemns roundly "France" and "the French" ("I belong to a fine nation of cowards"), "America" and "the Americans." He accepts the nationalistic hypothesis but despises the idols that others adore. His attitude is almost akin to the anti-theism of Vigny and Proudhon: "There is a God, but He is evil." At the end he recants. It is foolish to talk of France, Germany, America, or of the French, the Germans, the Americans. There are individuals with an essential humanity (the Common Man) and with unique idiosyncrasies. There are collective trends, convictions, interests, but these wholly ignore frontiers. The nations are the epitome and sublimation of everything that in an individual we would condemn as mean. By definition, a nation—any nation—is (a) selfish (myself, first and last!), (b) smug (God's own country, Holy Russia), (c) brutal (absolute independence, above the law, can be maintained only by the sword), (d) cowardly (bullying the weak, considerate of the strong: what an improvement there would be in our manners if we knew for certain that the Russians have started the mass production of atomic bombs! And how our "realists" despised our old friend France when they thought she was down and out!), (e) treacherous (diplomats "lie for their country"; military attachés forswear espionage and practice it; we boast that we kept on good terms with Vichy in order to undermine Vichy), (f) hypocritical (all nations profess the highest idealism and behave "realistically"), (g) confused to the point of stupidity, for no nation has a single mind. The Germans are a good people and a bad nation; but theirs is only an extreme instance. There is no such thing as a bad people or a good nation. The "guilty nation" is no myth, because the guilt is inherent in the very idea of nation.

Within and beside these two great themes there are innumerable remarks

In these pages that are profound, not because they are decisive, but because they are challenging. Certainly French and American civilizations, or ways of life, could have no more pitiless critic; neither could the bourgeois order, the Catholic church, Protestantism, even Christianity. Philosophy and science demand a constant revaluation of all values. Roussy de Sales is not the destroyer but the assayer. Any institution, any belief, that shrinks from the test is self-condemned. In the case of this ailing and fearless man, as in the case of Voltaire, the acid test is the manifestation of faith. God does not need our lies. The skeptic, the *jouisseur*, the profiteer do not waste their efforts challenging idols. Their one question is: "What is there in that racket for me?"

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

Federico Lorca

THREE TRAGEDIES OF FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA. Translated by Richard L. O'Connell and James Graham-Luján. With an Introduction by Francisco García Lorca. New Directions. \$3.75.

WHAT Lorca intended as a dramatic trilogy, "taking his time about it, and occasionally shooting off at a tangent, is now available, for the first time, to the English reader in translations by Messrs. O'Connell and Graham-Luján. In these three plays, "Blood Wedding," "Yerma," and "The House of Bernarda Alba," Lorca progressed, quite consciously, from the Corinthian, through the Ionic, to the Doric style, a happy progress incidentally for his translators, who are rather at a loss when dealing with lyric passages or interpolated songs and on much surer ground—though they are not smug about it, as their revisions of "Yerma" indicate—when it comes to handling direct colloquial prose.

To the present volume the poet's surviving brother has contributed an introduction emphasizing the effect of the poet's passion for the theater on his life and art. Don Francisco is loving, persuasive, and eloquent, also a little diffuse; one sees, reflected in his memoir, a good deal of the enthusiastic, exuberant, hard-working, and altogether charming intelligence that must have been Federico's; and one feels, if not

altogether ungracious, at least a bit uneasy at being unwilling to accept, completely, the doctrine that Lorca stands or falls by these three plays rather than by the "Romancero Gitano."

Three ballads from the "Romancero Gitano" collection appear in a selection of some two dozen poems of Lorca's, translated by Stephen Spender and J. L. Gili, published in London by the Hogarth Press and with the New York imprint of Transatlantic Arts, and listed here at the very moderate price of \$1.25. These translations represent a revised, improved, and enlarged version

of a collection published by the same translators in England in 1938; the emphasis here is on the literary rather than the literal, and there seems to be more Spender and less Gili than in the earlier book. In addition to some of the early lyric poems, some songs from the plays are included—the reader can make interesting comparisons between these and the Graham-Luján renditions; and two of Lorca's major poems, the Ode to Walt Whitman and the Lament for the Death of Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, are presented in their entirety.

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Canada, Past and Present

CANADA: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By Edgar McInnis. Rinehart and Company. \$6.50.

THIS is the fourth good one-volume history of Canada to appear in the past five years, all of them by Canadians and all, contrary to previous custom, in American editions. Thus not only has the large amount of excellent basic research into Canadian development which was done between the wars been boiled down in synthesis, but it has been commanding American readers. The old imbalance in American concern about Canada and Latin America, by which the Panama Canal and Caribbean oil heavily outweighed the largest single economic affiliation of the United States, appears to be adjusting itself to aerial travel, atomic energy, natural resources, and Canada's role in American calculations about all three.

McInnis's history is an apt reflection of his general diagnosis of Canadian survival, that notable triumph over conflicting cultural traditions at home and that striking British and Canadian contradiction of American "manifest destiny": "It is this sound sense of the possible that has enabled Canada to surmount each successive crisis; and each one has uniformly been followed by a new period of progress in Canadian independence and Canadian unity, and by a fresh growth in economic strength and political stature." In fact, in his extreme care to introduce and to adjust emphasis among the French, British, and North American elements in Canadian possibilism, McInnis over-indulges in what should be an outworn convention of Canadian historical writing by giving almost 40 per cent of his space to the period before 1815. Once that admittedly difficult task is out of the

way, however, he moves ahead with an easy mastery of existing knowledge and with the sense of proportion which might well have pervaded the whole book. Errors are almost non-existent. There is little or no novelty but, instead, consistently admirable consideration of the elements involved and, consequently, an enlightening introduction to the Canada of today. The prose is close-packed but lucid and fluent. There are almost a hundred excellently chosen illustrations of appropriately generous size. Liam Dunne's end-papers and maps are beautiful and communicative, but Mr. McInnis ought to have checked them, for the hatchings of that on page 4 are badly mixed up and the scales of miles on two others are, to put it mildly, whimsical.

J. B. BREBNER

McGuffey's Readers

MAKING THE AMERICAN MIND.

Richard D. Mosier. King's Crown Press. \$3.

IN THESE days of the Freedom Train, the hunt for our heritage, the trailing of our traditions, Professor Mosier has a "natural" in surveying the social and moral ideas in the fabulous "McGuffey Readers." These collections of improving stories, excerpts from chauvinist speeches, uplift poems, and do-good essays were launched in the age of Jackson by the shadowy William Holmes McGuffey, about whom Dr. Mosier vouchsafes little information, referring us to an article in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" which doesn't appear in my 1944 edition (want to bet, doctor?). From 1836 to 1920 seven publishing houses sold 122,000,000 copies of the books. For generations of little red schoolhouses the readers were basic texts. In 37 states, New England excepted, the series of readers carried on by an army of contributors set down a pattern of middle-class virtues which makes the American Mind what it is today, God help us all.

At least that's the way Dr. Mosier sees it. Of course he assumes that all the little dears, especially in the Midwest, where the readers had their biggest circulation, took their McGuffeys straight, an assumption which the history of the radical and progressive movements in the Valley of Democracy

would seem partly to refute. On the other side of the fence the Robber Barons, from the Rockefellers and Drews to the elder statesmen of the N. A. M. today, were all reared on the Bible and McGuffey, and grew up singularly unaffected by either.

For some obscure reason the publishers of Dr. Mosier's book announce that "the work is presented substantially as submitted by the author, without the usual editorial attention of the Columbia University Press"—which is a pity, because this work could stand editing, to say nothing of proofreading.

The author starts interestingly enough with the presentation of the issues involved in the Hamilton-Jefferson debates, which continue to this day. His sympathies are with the Jeffersonians, but he charges the compilers of the "eclectic" readers with loading the dice for the Hamiltonians and quite conclusively proves it by countless quotations. Then he rambles repetitiously around in a morass of petty-bourgeois bilge, forever harping on the theme that because of their enormous circulation these readers were "the studied and articulate reflection" of a civilization dominated by "middle-class ideals." Undoubtedly, but to label that drab cross-section of our civilization with the all-inclusive "the American Mind" is quite another matter.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Films

JAMES
AGEE

IT IS time and past time to add my own useless comments to all those which have been provoked by the recent relationships between Congress and Hollywood and by the Catholic Veterans' holy war against Chaplin. But I can say very little. I might manage an adequate salute to the Catholic Veterans and to a church which has forborne, with such unfathomable patience, to commend them to the rack; but this is made impossible by the postal laws. I am still less capable of adequately discussing the case of the ten men cited for contempt of Congress, and fired by their employers. For the nothing that it is worth, I cannot imagine how any self-respecting man could, under such circumstances, hold Congress otherwise than in contempt; such contempt natu-

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rally extends to include those who, with such eager and prissy abjectness, hastened to disown these men—thereby reducing the hopes of every honest man in Hollywood from a desperately achieved 2 per cent to sub-zero.

I believe that a democracy which cannot contain all its enemies, of whatever kind or virulence, is finished as a democracy. I believe that a vigorous and genuine enough democracy could do so. But I see no reason to believe that this democracy is vigorous or genuine enough by a good deal, or to hope that it can become so; nor am I thoroughly convinced that such a democracy can ever exist except in the most generous and sanguine imaginations. It seems to me that the mere conception of a vigorous and genuine democracy, to say nothing embarrassing about its successful practice, depends on a capacity for faith in human beings so strong that on its basis one can dare to assume that goodness and intelligence will generally prevail over stupidity and evil.

This is, I would presume, the bravest and noblest faith of which men, purely as such, are capable; but I cannot see that this faith is any longer available, in the face of all the monstrous evidence to the contrary, except to one particularly obstinate kind of religious enthusiast; and I am convinced that a religious enthusiast who is required, on pain of heresy, so recklessly to underrate the power of evil and stupidity in a singularly insecure, not to say insane, position. I think it would be possible to proceed on this assumption in any hope of sanity only among people who could share a minimum, however humble, of veneration for individual human beings, and of an ability to honor and trust each other's humanity, even in their fiercest differences. But it seems to me that virtually nobody, any more, chooses even to try to honor and trust even himself, or even his best potentialities. Failing that, it is of course impossible to deal honorably or trustworthily with others; and we have harrowing evidence what a peculiarly infernal mechanism democracy inevitably becomes when it is manipulated by and for people who no longer understand its meaning and purpose. The Stalinists are by no means the only enemies of this reverence for single people, and of the

possibility of mutual trust, even among opponents; in that respect non-revolutionists of every kind and class have already depraved themselves, this nation, and "democratic civilization" beneath any likely prospect of cure. But among all these enemies the Stalinists are as ruthless as the worst of the others; are moved by the energy of idealism, of a kind, rather than the naive self-cannibalistic self-interest which is so ravenous here; and are the most intelligent, coherent, and vigorous, the best equipped in every essential way to turn all alternatives to their advantage, and to win. More elaborately than any others they have developed a science of contempt for present humanity, including themselves in their own scruples as individuals, in the name of future humanity, and a science for utilizing, and conquering, those who believe merely in each other, or merely in self-advantage.

Harmless therefore as these ten men seem to me as individuals—harmless and, some of them, a good deal better than that, and contemptible as those are who have fingered them out, or who have run from the opportunity to defend them and their own self-respect, it seems merely sensible to recognize Stalinists in general as particularly dangerous enemies and to settle as best one can the unhappy question whether or not one prefers, in the name of the brotherhood of man, to offer legal protection to a professional assassin in the practice of his vocation among the members of one's family. A secondary meditation might—or might not,—determine which members of the family are classifiable, not necessarily as human, or friends, but at least as enemies who can be lived with; and which of them can qualify even as watch dogs.

Yet the real crucial conflict is not between the Stalinists and the nominal democracies. It is between those who honor existence and so, necessarily, morality and those who honor either only in the hypothetical future, if at all. I have a few personal opinions as to who is who and how to know them apart; some Stalinists, I am sure, and even, believe it or not, a Congressman or two qualify more honorably than group-mad bigots can ever suspect as members rather than enemies of the human race. But to venture such opinions, of interest to few, of use to none, would be the

more frivolous and impertinent for a reason somewhat more grave. Those whom I regard as friends and fellow-soldiers, many of them conscious and unimaginable millions of them never to become conscious, have already lost. And those whom I regard as enemies are already so securely in charge, throughout the governing of the world and throughout the so-called opposition groups, that one can care very little who fends off or dislodges whom, or which laws and principles, long insulted and injured, are at last officially put out of their misery—very little except in the tragicomic intelligence and in a small but acute personal way. I shall presumably die a so-called natural death if the civilization within which I live continues in anything roughly like its present form—unless, of course, I offend one of its idiotic machines. If it does not so continue, I assume that my death will be even less welcome and more terrible than the considerable talent of nature ordinarily provides. I doubt that it will continue. It has been rotting above ground, on its feet, legally classified as alive, for a long while already, and will destroy itself either by failure to shut out enough of its enemies, or by definitively violating its own nature in its primordial efforts to defend itself, or by shutting out, along with some of the more conspicuous of its enemies, all those who might conceivably preserve within it some last flicker of humanistic sanity. Whatever happens, I doubt that war will ever be joined on the only issue which sane men could whole-heartedly give themselves for.

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

AMONG the opera recordings that have been accumulating are three of complete works: a Russian recording of Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," issued here by Disc, which I will discuss next week, an Italian recording of Verdi's "La Traviata," issued here by Columbia (Set OP-25; 15 records), and Columbia's own recording of the Metropolitan Opera production of Humperdinck's "Hänsel und Gretel" (Set OP-26; 12 records).

The "Traviata" is conducted by Belletta with routine competence but no trace of the musicality that revealed itself in the exciting phrasing and style of Toscanini's broadcast performance last year. The soprano of Guerrini, the Violetta, is strident and tremolo-ridden most of the time; the baritone of Silveri, the Germont, is fair; the tenor of Infantino, the Alfredo, is best of all, but his mannered style shows least understanding of the music he is singing—an example being his jaunty delivery of *Parigi, o cara*. Chorus and orchestra are good; and the performance is well re-

produced, though with the usual European heaviness of bass.

The "Hänsel und Gretel" is conducted quite inflexibly (most noticeably in the purely orchestral parts) by Max Rudolf. It is sung in English—and I definitely dislike the English words with the German music, both for sound and meaning. Nadine Conner's small, clear soprano is right for Gretel; Rise Stevens' big mezzo-soprano, her strong tremolo, and her bulky cultivated enunciation are too much for Hänsel; the other singing is acceptable. The performance is well reproduced.

Columbia's second Metropolitan Opera recording is not a complete "Tristan und Isolde" but the Love Duet from the second act sung by Traubel and Ralf with Fritz Busch conducting (Set X-286; \$3.35). It is without the cuts—and the disturbing discontinuities—of the older RCA Victor recording; and I have the impression that we now get the duet complete from *O sink bernieder* to the catastrophe (but again with an all-is-well final concord substituted for the catastrophic discord). In addition both of Brangäne's passages are sung in the Columbia version, whereas the Victor gives the first one sung and only the orchestral accompaniment of the second.

And Fritz Busch paces and otherwise conducts the piece more effectively than Edwin MacArthur in the Victor. On the other hand the deterioration in Flagstad's voice, in the Victor recording, is slight in comparison with the deterioration in Traubel's, so that most of Flagstad's singing retains the lustrous beauty that Traubel's no longer has even when her voice is steady and clear, and much of the time Traubel's voice is strident and tremolo-ridden. Also Ralf's voice is fresher than Melchior's, but Melchior gets his phrases out with more continuity. And Flagstad sings the first of Brangäne's passages with the vocal opulence it calls for and that Herta Glaz doesn't have. I would therefore hate to have to choose between the two recordings; but if I did have to I suppose I would take the one that offered the complete piece and authoritatively conducted performance (which, incidentally, is well reproduced), resigning myself to the kind of singing one usually hears in the work—rather than the mere documentation of Flagstad's historic performance in a state of slight deterioration.

Among the RCA Victor offerings is a volume of Mozart arias sung by Eleanor Steber (Set 1157; \$3). Though her voice

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is a little tremulous in *Deb, vieni, non tardar* from "Figaro" this doesn't prevent her from producing sustained phrases that make the performance a superb one. But *Non so più cosa son* from "Figaro" is spoiled by tremolo; and in the high florid passages of *Martern aller Arten* from "The Seraglio" (sung in English) the voice is at times a thin shriek. The orchestral accompaniments conducted by Morel are outstandingly fine; and the performances are well reproduced.

Beautiful singing by Jan Peerce and Leonard Warren is heard in the duets from Verdi's "La Forza del Destino" that occupy three sides of another volume (Set 1156; \$3). There are good accompaniments conducted by Morel and Leinsdorf; and the performances are well reproduced. On the fourth side is a duet from Puccini's "La Bohème."

And on single records: The exciting beauty of voice and phrasing that Milanov is capable of are heard in *D'amor sull' ali rose* from Verdi's "Il Trovatore" and a cut *Ritorna vincitori!* from his "Aida," with accompaniments conducted by Weissmann (11-9839; \$1). The portentous phrases of Erda's Warning from Wagner's "Das Rheingold" come out in rich contralto coloring as sung by Blanche Thebom with an orchestra under Weissmann (11-9795; \$1) with an aria from "La Glauconda" on the reverse side. Robert Merrill's rich baritone is heard in *Di Provenza* from Verdi's "La Traviata" with an orchestra under Morel and in the Toreador Song from Bizet's "Carmen" with Robert Shaw's chorus and an orchestra under Leinsdorf (11-9794; \$1). James Melton's tenor is heard in a beautifully phrased performance of the Flower Song from "Carmen" with an orchestra under Morel (10-1329; \$.75), with an aria from "Marta" on the reverse side. *Am stillen Herd* and the Prize Song from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" are sung with Heldentenor sonority, rather than the lyrical style I would suppose to be more proper, by Svanholm with an orchestra under Weissmann (11-9791; \$1). And Berglund's bass is richly sonorous in the Catalogue Aria from Mozart's "Don Giovanni," with an orchestra conducted by Blech, but his singing lacks the sharpness and humor of the music. All these are well reproduced.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Welcome to America

Dear Sirs: Your readers ought to be told of the plight of six young anti-fascists here, the first refugees from Spanish fascism to reach Oregon. They are young men between eighteen and twenty-five, and their arrival here, together with their subsequent predicament, has aroused enormous interest throughout the Northwest.

The steamer Arthur P. Fairfield, forty-one days out of Le Havre, reached Portland harbor on Columbus Day. As soon as the mooring lines were made fast, Pinkerton guards swarmed up the gangplank. They had had notice that six men who had fled from service in Franco's army were on board as stowaways.

The immigration service, after a secret shipboard meeting, ordered the six deported. Then powerful labor groups swung into action, with Don Wollam, agent of the Marine Cooks (C. I. O.), leading the way. S. P. Stevens of the Oregon A. F. of L. wired Senator Morse in Washington asking that political asylum be granted to the Spaniards, and Hank Curl, acting agent of the National Maritime Union of the Pacific, urged Attorney General Tom Clark to "get the Spanish boys off the Fairfield before it weighs anchor for the gallows."

As a result of these and other protests the Fairfield returned to Europe without the stowaways. They are now in a detention center in Seattle, awaiting the decision of the Attorney General on an appeal which a Portland attorney, Irvin Goodman, has filed in their behalf. The petition was signed by 114 Oregon attorneys. Other pleas have gone to Washington over the signatures of the Seattle and Portland C. I. O. State Councils; the National Association for the Protection of Foreign Born; Matt Meehan, executive board member of the Longshoremen's Union; Methodist Bishop McConnell; Dr. Francis T. Cooke, head of the Portland Council of Churches; and Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.

These are the external facts of a story

which began in a Le Havre cafe last September, when the six men met for the first time and decided to stow away on the Fairfield. They had come from various backgrounds.

Luis, the only one of the six to have a passport—for Venezuela—had been a mechanic in Barcelona. "All I ask is security," he says to interviewers.

Emilio, twenty-three, a migratory farm laborer, served a term in a Franco prison after the collapse of the Loyalist armies, in which he fought at the age of fourteen.

Daniel, twenty-five, had been a clerk in Saragosa. "Why did I want to come to your country?" he said to me. "It is the dream of all Europeans. . . I hated the Franco regime with my whole heart." He was wearing a suit bought for him from the ship's stores by the Fairfield's engineer. "I hid on the poop deck for eight days before the ship sailed," he said. "We lived on chocolate stolen from the ship's stores." Daniel, like several of the others, walked over the frontier. None of the six had shoes when they came aboard, crew members testified.

Enrique, eighteen, had made 20 cents a day as a carpenter's apprentice in Madrid. "I, too, have been arrested," he said. "It was for stealing two heads of cabbage when my family had not eaten for two days. You have much food in America."

José, eighteen, from Valencia, had been a seaman on an intercoastal ship at a salary of 300 pesetas—about \$20—a month. He had not belonged to a union because there are no longer any free unions in Spain, only Franco's syndicates. His handsome dark eyes flashed as he told me, "Never will I serve under the flag of General Franco. If

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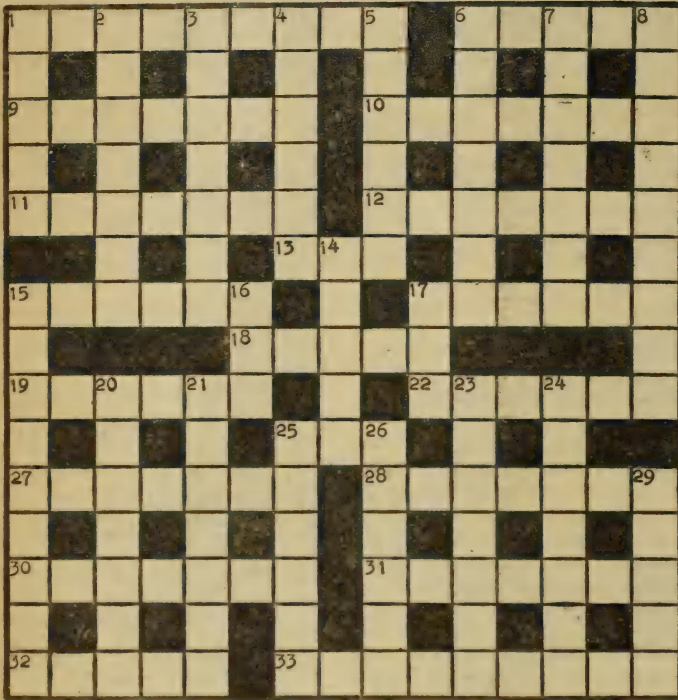
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Crossword Puzzle No. 243

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The curious part of rubric abracadabra. (9)
- 6 Horatius' battle-line. (5)
- 9 A kind of dog is also metal. (7)
- 10 Points in California? (7)
- 11 Gad-about parties. (7)
- 12 This used to be eighth, but now it's tenth. (7)
- 13 A river bend in a way. (3)
- 15 Please make it pass! (6)
- 17 One can see nothing on either side of the harbor here. (6)
- 18 This day is celebrated in Africa. (5)
- 19 The place that doesn't show. (6)
- 22 Juvenile wardrobe has a way of being accounted for. (6)
- 25 Doesn't sound like a prehistoric animal! (3)
- 27 Makes a rim seem wet. (7)
- 28 Famous city-state associated with an Empire. (3, 4)
- 30 It's hard, but one isn't always safe here. (7)
- 31 Pain, or utter confusion. (7)
- 32 Start for a country in Africa, but wind up in the hole. (5)
- 33 Concerning relations with the underground? (9)
- 5 Mons Meg is a famous one. (6)
- 6 A rocky place for baby. (7)
- 7 How not to be Tory, and yet get beat? (7)
- 8 Dammed up as the river rose. (8)
- 14 Frequently refers to decimals. (5)
- 15 and 20 Visitors from Calcutta? (4, 5, 7)
- 16 The last word in pictures! (3)
- 17 Antonym of 25 across' homonym. (3)
- 20 See 15 down.
- 21 Hurried up to the lower tiers. (7)
- 23 A visiting nurse looks in this direction. (7)
- 24 Make fascist? (7)
- 25 Three such in German, but two in French. (6)
- 26 Harmonizes when the tune is changed. (6)
- 29 Trim up the submarine parts. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 242

ACROSS:—1 RAGAMUFFIN; 6 SCOT; 10 PARTIAL; 12 CARELESS; 13 NAOMI; 15 HEELS; 16 ONEROUSLY; 19 EURIPIDES; 21 GREEN; 23 ALIBI; 24 CRYSTALS; 27 ELECTED; 28 SAMURAI; 29 SASH; 30 PRESS AGENT.

DOWN

- 1 Kipling called it frantic. (5)
- 2 In a goddesslike state. (7)
- 3 This poor sap has something to do with the case! (7)
- 4 Wandered out of danger. (6)

DOWN:—1 RAPT; 2 GARBAGE; 3 NOIRE; 4 FALSEHOOD; 5 IDOLS; 7 CURIOUS; 8 TESTIFYING; 9 SWAN SONG; 14 SHOR-MAKERS; 16 SOPHISTS; 18 ESSAYISTS; 20 RAIDERS; 22 ENLARGE; 24 CIDER; 25 TAMPA; 26 and 11 across: DIET OF WORMS.

Spain had a democratic government, you would not be troubled by us."

Manuel, twenty-five, had served in the navy. At the time of his escape he was being pressed into the Falange. "In that time which all of us remember," he said, "I fought with my brothers against Franco, in the mountains." His brothers were killed and he himself still carries a bullet in his leg.

Enrique and José were children when Madrid fell, but liberty is a word which, though long in disuse, has not lost meaning in Spain. From conversations with foreign sailors and from a leaflet picked up on the steps of the American consulate they had formed the same picture as the older ones—of a free world at the end of the westward ship lanes.

What the boys want, assuming they are not allowed to remain in the United States, is to go to Mexico or Venezuela. This would involve granting them transit visas to travel legally from Seattle to their destination. The decision is up to the American public, final court of appeal in any case involving human rights.

KATHLEEN CRONIN

Portland, Ore., December 20

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